

KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Klan Protesters!

When a gang of KKK nightriders tried to stage a race-hate provocation in downtown Chicago on June 29, they found themselves sprawled on the pavement of Daley Plaza and their fascist flag and Klan paraphernalia seized by outraged anti-racist protesters. The 15 racist terrorists of the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," armed with bolt-studded shields and flagpoles wielded as clubs, were countered by a spirited demonstration of nearly 100 union members, leftists and youth. The *Chicago Tribune* (30 June) reported that "Thomas Robb, leader of the group that traveled from Harrison, Ark., had blood on his shirt from cuts he suffered to his face."

The anti-fascist protest, initiated on less than 24 hours' notice by the Partisan Defense Committee

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June 29—KKK racist on the ground, protected by Chicago cop (left), as anti-Klan protesters turn out to stop race-hate provocation. WV Photos

Black Churches Torched Across the South

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

The epidemic of church burnings sweeping the South has provoked revulsion and outrage among wide layers of the population and is rightly seen as a deadly threat by every black person in the country. In the past 18 months, scores of Southern black churches have been burned down in suspicious circumstances. In ten of these cases, the night-riders underlined their message of race-hatred by setting the fires around Martin Luther King Day. A number of other burned churches had integrated congregations of black and white believers, making them symbols of "race-mixing" in the eyes of racist terrorists like the Klan. This wave of terror recalls the targeting of black churches during the civil rights movement, such as the infamous 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham.

It is patently obvious that white-supremacist organizations, feeding off the climate of racist attacks on blacks and minorities, are involved in a large number of these attacks. A case in point was the torching last summer of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in Greeleyville, South Carolina and the Macedonia Church in nearby Bloomville. Just before the fires, a Klan

rally near the Macedonia Church singled out black churches as places where people learned how to get on welfare. A KKK flyer depicting a hooded Klansman and a skull and crossbones was tacked to the church door. After the fires, the Klan opened a storefront recruiting

Federal Government— No Friend of Labor, Blacks, Poor

center in Greeleyville.

The escalating wave of racist terror is not restricted to the South or to churches. Last December, three Nazi skinheads from the U.S. Army's elite 82nd Air-

borne Division in Fort Bragg, North Carolina wantonly gunned down a black couple in nearby Fayetteville. In May, a lynch mob attack led by an off-duty cop in Westhampton, Long Island almost



North Carolina church in flames last month, one of scores of Southern black churches torched in past 18 months. NBC News

killed a young black man, Shane Daniels. Meanwhile, the KKK has recently raised its ugly head in several Northern cities.

The racists burning down black churches are out to destroy what remains of the limited rights gained by blacks in the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s. After resisting pressures for months from the NAACP and other black groups, Clinton and his "Justice" Department last month formed a special federal task force to investigate the church burnings, cynically aimed at securing his hold on the black vote in the November elections. But for months, even as the number of black churches burned down soared, the leaders of both capitalist parties maintained a studious silence.

Furthermore, as the frequency of church burnings rises, more and more denials are heard from government spokesmen that there is any widespread "conspiracy" involved. Obviously, we have no way of knowing if all the burnings of these often old, ramshackle buildings were the result of racist arson. But the sharp rise in the number of black churches burned in the past 18 months is undeniable. According to the Center for Democratic Renewal, there were an average of eight burnings per year of Southern black churches between 1990 and 1994. That number increased to 18 in 1995. And so far this year, some three dozen black churches have been torched, even as the overall number of church fires in the U.S. has been declining. Imagine the immediate outcry there would have been if scores of *white* churches were being reduced to cinders!

From the moment federal agents moved in, they made it clear that their "investigation" was directed at...the

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At Cleveland Conference Labor Party Advocates Don't

After years of holding meetings to plan more meetings to discuss the "feasibility" of forming a labor party, in early June "Labor Party Advocates" (LPA) held a four-day founding convention in Cleveland, Ohio. The result was a newly christened "Labor Party." But while the name has changed, the LPA's game is the same—to act as a "labor" appendage for Clinton's Democrats. What we wrote last year remains no less true today: "These 'labor party advocates' don't even...advocate forming a labor party. They just want to talk about it, in order to pressure the Democrats" (WV No. 622, 5 May 1995).

This was made crystal-clear at the "founding" conference. A featured speaker was former California governor and quirky Democrat Jerry Brown. The "Labor Party" has vowed not to run any candidates in the '96 elections. And at the opening press conference, LPA bigwig Robert Wages, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), assured the union officialdom that the new "party" will do nothing to upset the AFL-CIO's political action machine, COPE (Committee on Political Education), which squanders millions of



Longtime OCAW union bureaucrat Tony Mazzocchi addresses founding conference of non-"Labor Party," shill for Clinton's Democrats.

union members' dollars to support the Democrats.

The LPA was formed six years ago by longtime OCAW International official

Tony Mazzocchi, who took notice of rumblings among unionists who were increasingly disaffected by the Democrats. Mazzocchi and Wages never intended to build a workers party in opposition to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Rather the aim was to organize an independent-sounding "labor" vehicle to suck workers disgusted with the Democrats' record of anti-union attacks back into the "lesser evil" Democratic Party fold. In this, Mazzocchi was taking a lesson from his early years as an activist for the American Labor Party (ALP), which was formed in New York in 1936 as a vehicle to garner votes for Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt among socialist-minded workers.

Some 1,400 delegates—many of them low-level union officials—from around the country came to the Cleveland convention. Very few of the delegates were black or under the age of 30. The founding program had been worked out well in advance, with control over voting firmly in the hands of Mazzocchi, Wages and the top officers of four other unions. The program these bureaucrats presented was consciously crafted to avoid "controversial and divisive" social issues—like racial oppression, abortion and the American rulers' imperialist exploitation and oppression of colonial and semicolonial peoples around the world.

This is not surprising, since Mazzocchi & Co. push poisonous economic protectionism which pits workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters abroad. At the conference, the LPA leadership even had a band singing such grotesque lyrics as: "They're sending all our jobs down Mexico way." As we noted last year, "Any 'third party' constructed around such policies would

look dangerously like Ross Perot's 'United We Stand America,' with its demagogic appeals to the 'angry white male' vote of anti-black racism and immigrant bashing."

Yet none of this faded Mazzocchi's fake-socialist cheerleaders, who positively enthused over the formation of this "Labor Party." The Freedom Socialist Party offered its "congratulations," bubbling that "six years of organizing by Labor Party Advocates is about to pay off." The San Francisco-based Socialist Organizer group hailed the founding as "a giant step forward for labor and all working people in this country—and for workers around the world." Labor Militant—whose British patrons were buried for decades inside the pro-imperialist British Labour Party—pledged their all to "make the Labor Party stronger."

The dyed-in-the-wool reformists of Labor Militant are notorious for their position that the racist, strikebreaking cops are "workers in uniform." At the conference, they cheered wildly for an amendment calling for a 50 percent cut in military spending—i.e., to support a budget of over \$140 billion for U.S. imperialism's armed forces. We say: Cops out of the labor movement! Not one person, not one penny for the imperialist military!

The various reformist "socialists" showed their willingness to bend over backward to suck up to the pro-Democratic labor tops during the policy discussions at the Cleveland conference. Supporters of the social-democratic Committees of Correspondence and Socialist Action were instrumental in tailoring the demands of a caucus of black delegates to avoid anything which might embarrass Clinton: there was not a hint of opposition to the racist death penalty or of the need for union-based mobilizations against KKK terror. And while Marxists fight for free abortion on demand, Jane Slaughter from *Labor Notes*, which is supported by the reformist Solidarity group, actually took the convention floor to denounce a proposed amendment calling for the right to "safe and legal abortion"! When one delegate put forward a motion explicitly rejecting support to the Democrats, Communist Party supporter Norm Roth vehemently denounced this as "divisive." The amendment was easily defeated. So much for the LPA's "alternative" to the big business Democrats!

A genuinely independent party of the working class—committed to a revolutionary struggle for a workers government to replace the capitalist system—will not be built through hot-air conferences and reformist maneuvers but in the course of sharp, tumultuous class struggle. Central to forging such a party is the fight against black oppression, the bedrock of racist American capitalism. The labor lieutenants of capital will oppose any move toward a truly class-struggle, multiracial workers party every step of the way. That is why such a party will only be built in bitter political combat against Mazzocchi, Wages and the rest of the entrenched bureaucratic misleadership of the unions. ■

Cannon on the Party Press

In 1944-45, James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, and other key leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were in prison for their opposition to the imperialist Second World War. While in the federal prison at Sandstone, Minnesota, Cannon kept abreast of developments in the then-revolutionary SWP. This excerpt from one of his prison letters in January 1945 has particular bearing on a number of fights with former Workers Vanguard editor Jan



TROTSKY



LENIN

Norden, especially in reasserting the fundamental principle that the party press is the property of the party as a whole.

The Press: My pal here who knows newspaper technique very well because he has studied it assiduously in the textbooks of experts, made some sharp criticism of recent makeup innovations in the paper and explained precisely what is wrong about them. I proposed that he write up his criticisms and send them in. He answered: "That would be a waste of my time. I sent in other suggestions and no attention was paid to them; they were not even acknowledged." These remarks were the harshest criticism I have heard—one is almost tempted to say, the harshest criticism one could hear—of the administration of the paper.

Resentment or insensitivity toward criticism is one of the most terrible weaknesses a leader can be afflicted with. I believe one of the characteristic marks of a real leader is the capacity to listen attentively to criticism. Those who can't do that shut themselves off from one of the best ways of learning. One who resents criticism inspired by good will is simply impossible, too childish for the role of leader. But even criticism inspired by malice sometimes contains a kernel or half-kernel of truth which one may profitably heed and appropriate. I personally learned more than anyone knows precisely this way....

"This paper does not belong to you." That motto should be printed on the minds of every member of the staff, if not on the office walls. The spirit which impels a man to regard the party office, post or institution in which he works as "his own," and to resent criticism of his handling of it, is a petty-bourgeois spirit, a form of the private-property spirit.

—James P. Cannon, *Letters from Prison* (1968)

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Polish Trotskyists Demand:

Stop Racist Deportations of Gypsies!

The following protest statement, translated from Polish, was issued on June 22 by the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski, section of the International Communist League, in response to a vile racist roundup and deportation of Roma and Sinti (Gypsy) refugees by the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) government. Capitulating to an orgy of anti-Roma chauvinism, self-styled leftists like the Polish cothinkers of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (and the U.S. International Socialist Organization) have refused to lift a finger against this pogromist attack. Uniquely among the Polish left, our comrades of the SGP have fought to mobilize the workers movement against anti-Semitism and anti-Roma racism.

In the pre-dawn hours of June 19, dozens of Warsaw police and Polish Border Guards launched a Gestapo-style attack on a Roma settlement in Zoliborz (a

Gypsy families near Warsaw are being subjected to Gestapo-style raids by Polish border guards.



northern suburb of Warsaw). In an assault prepared for months in advance, the cops seized 126 men, women and children from their beds and set fire to their encampment, burning their homes to the ground and destroying their possessions. Within 24 hours most of the Roma families were dumped at the Ukrainian border with nothing more than the clothes on their backs and whatever they had managed to save from the attack. Sixteen others have been imprisoned awaiting "documentation." The bourgeois press was filled with praise for the cops and chilling calls for "decontaminating" and "disinfecting" the charred and subsequently bulldozed remains of the Roma settlement (recalling the systematic burning of "Jewish beds" during the Nazi Holocaust). The "success" of this operation will definitely encourage the capitalist state to more such attacks, and

embolden it in its assault on the working class as a whole. The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski calls for urgent mass mobilizations by the workers movement to demand: *Hands off Roma/Sinti refugees! Stop the racist deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!* Directly responsible for this racist crime are the Social Democrats of Polish president Aleksander Kwasniewski's SLD, whose counterparts in the SLD-controlled city government planned and coordinated the police pogrom. Bearing their share of political responsibility for the actions of this "socialist" government of the International Monetary Fund are fake leftist groups, notably supporters of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (*Dalej!*) and the British Militant Tendency (*Ofensywa*), who supported *Solidarność*' capitalist counterrevolution and then openly or backhandedly called

for workers and anti-racist youth to vote for the SLD as a "leftist" alternative to the reactionary Walesa & Co. We communists, Trotskyists, who opposed *Solidarność*' reactionary course from the outset, openly denounced any political support to the pro-capitalist SLD.

The deportation of the Roma is part of a plan which includes the opening of new "déportation centers" financed through an agreement with the German Fourth Reich to keep "undesirable immigration" out of Fortress Europe (see "Stop Deportations of Gypsies from Germany," *Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 4, Summer-Fall 1993). This grotesque racist attack underscores the hypocrisy of the official ceremonies scarcely two weeks from now commemorating the Jews who died in the Kielce anti-Semitic pogrom of 1946, the last chapter of the Nazis' "Final Solution" (supported by the Polish fascists), in the course of which 500,000 Roma and Sinti were also murdered.

Parroted by much of the "left," the ruling class promotes reactionary Polish nationalism, anti-Semitism and hatred of minorities to disorient and divide the working class. As our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote in 1993: "The organized workers movement, together with immigrant organizations, has the power to defend democratic rights and the right to live of all the oppressed. That power can and must be mobilized to stop the deportations of Roma and Sinti." Urgently necessary is the fight for a revolutionary workers party to combat *all* forms of capitalist oppression on the road to smashing the rotten capitalist system and establishing workers power in Poland and from Vladivostok to Lisbon! ■



Polish Spartacists' protest statement headlined: "Social Democrats Launch Anti-Roma Pogrom! Stop Deportation of Roma/Sinti!"

Germany

Defend Vietnamese Immigrants!

The following is translated from a June 26 protest statement issued by the Committee for Social Defense, associated with the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

Amid a campaign of state racist terror against immigrants and refugees and exactly three years after the Bonn parties (the ruling Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats) gutted the right to asylum, the government is now announcing the deportation of 2,073 Vietnamese. In doing so it cynically appeals to the so-called "Repatriation Agreement" that Germany extorted from the Vietnamese government (SRV) on 21 September 1995 under the threat of stopping any and all "development aid." This agreement stipulates that by the year 2000 approximately 40,000 of the 97,000 Vietnamese residing in Germany will have to be "returned" in accord with "yearly quotas," explicitly including deporting people against their will. The Committee for Social Defense (KfS), along with the Spartakists, demands: Not one deportation! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Defend the Vietnamese!

Many Vietnamese were well-trained contract workers in the DDR (East German) deformed workers state. With cap-

italist *Anschluss*, their plants were devastated, and then they were forced out of their hostels and into homelessness. Left without a job or a place to live, they were then declared to be "illegal cigarette smugglers." Today the Vietnamese, along with Roma (Gypsies) and Kurds, are the target of a racist campaign carried out in the name of a "fight against organized crime." In 1995, after weeks of this witchhunt aimed at justifying intensified repressive violence by the bourgeois state, police chased 38-year-old asylum-seeker Vo Huan Cuong to his death under a train. He had been in Germany for just four months. The police who pursued him stood laughing and joking beside his body. In a report earlier this year, Amnesty International declared that this police terror, especially as directed against Vietnamese, is the result of "horrible, inhuman and humiliating treatment."

The Bonn government even succeeded in getting Vietnam's "repatriation" obligation inserted into the preamble of the cooperation agreement between the European Union and the SRV. The revolting face of this German-dominated "Fortress Europe" à la Maastricht is ever more obvious: the state's implementation of

the racists' cry for "Foreigners Out." The rulers are now carrying out the demand of the Nazi gangs during the state-instigated Rostock pogrom of August 1992, when 115 Vietnamese workers and their families were terrorized for days, barely surviving an arson attack on their dormitory. The KfsV fights for the workers movement to form worker defense groups jointly with immigrant organizations to smash the Nazi/skinhead gangs.

This year we celebrated the 21st anniversary of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants over U.S. imperialism. Everyone who stands on the side of the world's exploited and oppressed will recall with joy and triumph the images of April 1975, when the last packed helicopters departed in panic from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon. But neither have the vengeful imperialists forgotten these images. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and under the unyielding pressure of world imperialism, the revolutionary gains of the besieged Vietnamese nation are mortally threatened, while the market "reforms" pursued by Hanoi's Stalinist leadership are taking the country in the direction of capitalist counterrevolution.

Through a so-called "Reintegration



Berlin protest against deportations of Vietnamese contract workers in 1993. Signs read: "Workers Resistance Against Fourth Reich!" and "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"

Agreement" in 1992, Vietnamese were sent back to Vietnam, where they had little chance of surviving in a country being starved out by the imperialists. And those remaining here in Germany were forced into petty crime and a lumpy existence by an anti-Communist and racist campaign of vengeance. The organized workers movement, joining with immigrant organizations, has the power to defend the democratic rights and the very right to live of all the oppressed. This power can and must be mobilized to stop the deportation of the Vietnamese! ■

A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism

Jan Norden, who for 23 years was the editor of *Workers Vanguard*, was expelled from the Spartacist League/U.S. by a meeting of the Political Bureau on June 8 for willful violation of the most fundamental condition of membership in a Leninist party: that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity of its members. Marjorie Stamberg, a longtime member of the WV Editorial Board, was also expelled for refusing to accept the democratic-centralist discipline of the revolutionary party.

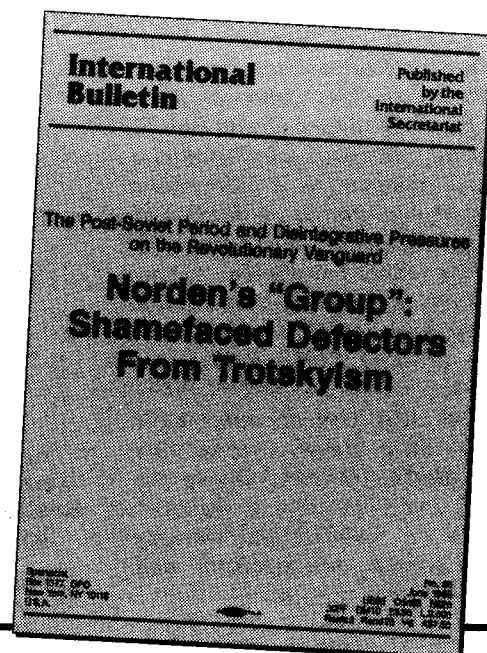
Norden, who had until recently been a member of the International Executive Committee and International Secretariat of the International Communist League, as well as of the SL/U.S. Central Committee and Political Bureau, had for some time evidently taken a large proportion of his political activity underground. For some eight months, he had stopped asking the party for reimbursement for bills incurred in discharging his political responsibilities from his home by phone, or through fax and computer equipment that had been supplied by the organization. At the same time, he continued to submit bills for all other material he felt he needed for whatever political work he was doing.

Of course, this doesn't explain much.

tionary party, especially within its leadership. The period from 1989 to 1992 was marked by profound changes and historic defeats for the working class internationally as capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe and the Soviet Union. Buying into the imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the left generally is rapidly repudiating even any pretense of Leninism, seeking "regroupment" in larger reformist formations together with social democrats and ex-Stalinists. Our small revolutionary international is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. But unlike our centrist and reformist opponents, who wallow in their opportunism while glibly denying any internal problems, we strive to be candid in assessing the tasks and difficulties facing us and are unique in diffusing this before the international working class and the left.

This is because unlike other self-proclaimed Trotskyists, who have long forsaken the goal of international proletarian revolution, we fight for a new October Revolution. But the disproportion between this purpose and the current political consciousness of the working class, youth and the left internationally is great.

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was the 1994 minority faction in our Canadian section of Y. Rad and Marie Hayes, who frantically cast about the world for forces other than the proletariat to lead "the struggle." This included glorifying various ex-Stalinist formations, like the Russian nationalist, fascist-infested "red-brown coalition"; looking to the murderous Algerian military regime to combat Islamic fundamentalism (while simultaneously retrospectively saluting Khomeini's mullahs as the "ally" of the Iranian workers in 1979); and calling for support to the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress in the 1994 South African elections.

gandism. This was matched by an increasingly hostile alienation from the party leadership, in which Norden had been no mere ornament. Stamberg, an alternate member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee, long preceded him in an increasingly frenzied alienation. She was the Spartacist candidate for mayor in the 1985 New York City elections—and it would have been hard to find a better one. But for some time now, she had bridled against a perceived leaden "bureaucracy" that stood in the way of her often "rad-lib" appetites. Over the last year or so, it became increasingly evident that she had essentially quit, at least in her head, as she shed various areas of political and organizational responsibility.

The Pathology of Impressionism

Norden had always had strong tendencies toward impressionism and vicarious adventurism, animated by an often-fatuous optimism about the capacity of forces very distant from Trotskyism, or from the proletariat for that matter, to "struggle" in some successful measure against the depredations of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Within the framework of a political collective, these appetites could not only be curtailed but could also provide for a healthy tension in determining political line and intervention. At the same time, there were occasions when that balance tipped over, introducing distortions in our propaganda.

From the question of the survival of Sandinista Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism in the 1980s, to the capacities of the army of Saddam Hussein's Iraq to inflict serious damage against the imperialists during the Persian Gulf War, Norden always stood at the extreme end of a tendency to impressionistically overdraw (and often fantastically so) the military factor. Correspondingly, this meant conjuring up an anticipated flood of anti-imperialist struggle while seriously downplaying the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material economic reality. As Trotsky noted, impressionism on military matters can lead either to the idealistic view that revolutionary fervor will make up for any military handicap or conversely can fuel a rightist impulse that any struggle is hopeless. On the latter score, early on in his time in the party, Norden viewed the 1973 Indochina "peace accords" as the end of the war against U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

The defects in WV's coverage of the Gulf War were particularly addressed in a document by comrade Ralf Eades,



PDS '95
solidarisch,
alternativ,
bundesweit.



Where Norden's appetites wandered: to geriatric remnants of former East German Stalinist bureaucracy now in social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism, and to Castro's Cuba.

The anarchist Bakunin was expelled from the First International for financial chicanery. But that tells one very little about the differences between Marxism and anarchism. In Norden's case, his organizational pathology reflected a shamefaced political defection from the program of revolutionary Trotskyism, not fought or argued forthrightly as such, but rather expressed in an increasingly desperate search for, and accommodation to, social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation. After a long and exhaustive internal struggle, Norden's revisionist course had been so thoroughly exposed that, despite his years of authority in the party, in the end he left with only his longtime political collaborator and personal companion, Stamberg, and his protégé Negrete.

Trotsky noted in *The Lessons of October* (1924) that sudden changes in the world situation always provoke disorientation and confusion within the revolu-

Today, even most subjective leftists view as rather esoteric the idea that a proletarian revolution, like that successfully pursued by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917, is the key to the liberation of mankind. This is due in no small measure to the crimes of the Stalinists, and the Social Democrats before them, who made a mockery of the program and ideals of revolutionary Marxism.

As we wrote in a "Perspectives and Tasks Memorandum" adopted at a meeting of our International Executive Committee (IEC) last January and reprinted in a recently published *International Bulletin* ("Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism"): "Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat, and the absence of the Soviet Union as an active and defining factor in politics, have led to disorientation and appetite to follow alien political programs and forces."

An early manifestation of the liquidationist pressures on the ICL in this period

Rad/Hayes' overt proclivity toward unsavory nationalist formations rapidly led them out of our international. Though not as extreme, the pressures of the period have also been manifested in fights over the relevance and purpose of a revolutionary Leninist vanguard in virtually every section of the ICL. These fights have been essential not only as a political corrective but in sharpening our revolutionary program for intervention into those struggles that are erupting and that will break out in the future against the ruthless offensive being waged by the capitalist rulers internationally. But for Norden the disproportion between what we strive for and the current consciousness of the working class had become a yawning, unbridgeable abyss.

He and Stamberg evidenced a deepening pessimism about the ability of our party and its revolutionary program to have any impact in the "New World Order," expressed in their ever more frequent broadsides against the ICL's supposed "abstract" or "passive" propa-



Bleibtreu/Syigma

Cuban general Ochoa, executed by Castro regime after Stalinist show trial in 1989.

of the Spartacist League/Britain, titled "Cold War Impressionism, *Workers Vanguard* and the 'Gulf War'." Noting the overblown statements in *WV* articles on Iraq's military might and its ability to inflict serious damage on the forces of U.S. imperialism, Eades asked: "Would it have been a capitulation to 'smoke and mirrors' imperialist propaganda to wake the workers of the world to the revolutionary defence of Iraq, to halt, derail, smash by class-struggle means the crushing one-sided slaughter being prepared before our disbelieving eyes?"

Norden's lightminded attitude toward the military might of U.S. imperialism was reflected in the ironic tone of a front-page article in *WV* No. 579 (2 July 1993). Comrades' criticism of this article, and of the way the paper was managed, was "met with a furiously defensive, turf-conscious, hypersensitive, arrogant, cliquish, anti-Leninist response" ("The Post-Soviet World: Perspective and the Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S.," *Spartacist* No. 51, Autumn 1994). This outburst was an expression of Norden's stated position in favor of "one-man rule" over the party press (and over any aspects of our international work in which he was personally involved).

In practice this meant creating a parallel apparatus, centered on *Workers Vanguard*, to that of the central party administration. Norden's personal party ambitions meant that he was constantly chafing against the Bolshevik practice that the press is subordinated to the party leadership collective. These issues came to a head in a sharp fight at a Political Bureau meeting in September 1993. The PB passed a motion noting that the Editorial Board "was beginning to act in a self-conscious and independent fashion." Nevertheless, as long as Norden accepted the discipline of the party and the corrective measures ensuing from internal political struggles, he remained as editor of *Workers Vanguard*.

Norden also had a Stalinoid bent particularly vis-à-vis Castro's Cuba which

was expressed, perhaps most grotesquely, in initial attempts to alibi the Stalinist show trial and execution of General Ochoa on charges of international drug dealing. Ochoa had fought with Castro against the Batista dictatorship and led the Cuban troops in Angola and South Africa. Norden was finally persuaded that the Ochoa trial was a classic Stalinist purge. But in the article "Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba—The Execution of General Ochoa" (*WV* No. 500, 20 April 1990), Norden insisted on "disproving" Washington's claims that the Havana regime was involved in the drug trade by upholding Castro's integrity: "For Castro to lie about this would be to invite an invasion."

Of course, the White House's drug charges against Castro were part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's relentless drive to crush the Cuban Revolution. But to assert, as Norden did, that Castro couldn't lie about this was a statement of blind faith in the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy. This was fought out, resulting in a clarification in *WV* No. 501 (4 May 1990). But even in the face of the bitter reality that Cuba's isolation following the collapse of the Soviet Union had led to a devastating erosion of the gains of the revolution and growing impoverishment and inequality, Norden's infatuation with Castro's Cuba did not abate.

Reporting on Cuba to an August 1993 meeting of our International Secretariat, just after Castro had made an enormous concession to the forces of capitalist restoration by introducing the dollar into the Cuban economy, Norden and Stenberg echoed the Stalinoid cheerleaders in North America who proclaim that "The Cuban Revolution is going to make it." Stenberg enthused that "the regime has a lot of authority...most people want to fight, they are class conscious." In fact, as another comrade later replied, "They are *not* class conscious. It's populist consciousness; it's exactly the consciousness that the Stalinists have instilled." While calling for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism, Marxists understand that the Cuban Revolution can only be "saved" by fighting for workers revolution throughout the Americas and proletarian political revolution against the nationalist Castro bureaucracy.

With the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990, quantity turned into quality. Norden's attraction to Castro's Cuba was paralleled by his fascination with the East German deformed workers state of Erich Honecker. When the DDR went down, presaging the subsequent collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Norden began to become politically unhinged.

From Impressionism to Revisionism

With the collapse of the Honecker regime and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the DDR was engulfed in a developing political revolution. The impulses of the East German masses were directed not toward capitalist reunification but rather to building what they considered to be a decent socialist society on the foundations of the DDR's nationalized economy. This produced an exceptionally open situation for Trotskyist intervention. The ICL undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in the history of our tendency, drawing upon the personnel and other resources of all sections.

We published and circulated tens of thousands of copies of a daily newsheet, *Arbeiterpresskorrespondenz* (*Arprekorr*, Workers Press Correspondence), centrally fighting to forge a Leninist-egalitarian party to establish a government of workers councils (soviets) in the DDR as a springboard to a unified German workers state based on a perspective of a Socialist United States of Europe. We later learned that our call for workers and soldiers councils had been widely discussed within units of the East German National People's Army (NVA), leading to the formation of incipient soldiers

committees particularly in the northeast. Our political impact was shown when 250,000 turned out for the 3 January 1990 united-front demonstration, to which the SED had acquiesced, in East Berlin's Treptow Park to protest the fascist desecration of a memorial to Red Army soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. Spartakist spokesmen addressed the crowd from the platform, denouncing the ruling Stalinist SED bureaucracy and advancing a program of proletarian internationalism. The spectre of organized working-class resistance to capitalist reunification manifested at Treptow alarmed the West German imperialists and their Social Democratic frontmen, who turned up the heat in their campaign to stampede the DDR into reunification.

The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in the DDR gave the green light for capitalist restoration in East Germany. Two months later, the parties of West German imperialism swept the March 1990 East German elections and the DDR deformed

supposedly lead such a fight.

To prepare for future struggles, through building the necessary proletarian internationalist leadership, the most conscious workers in the former DDR needed to acquire a political understanding of Stalinism and the collapse of the East German deformed workers state. Such a Trotskyist analysis was cogently put forward in documents by Joseph Seymour ("On the Collapse of Stalinist Rule in East Europe") and Albert St. John ("For Marxist Clarity and a Forward Perspective") which were published in English-language *Spartacist* No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91. But these documents did not appear in a German-language edition of *Spartacist* until 1994! Instead, taking advantage of his German language capacity and his role in the International Secretariat, Norden urged on our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), a policy of endless economist sorties into the working class of the former DDR, launching a campaign in 1991 to agitate for mass strikes. This posture



Rebours/AP

"Highway of death," horrid scene of U.S. military's one-sided slaughter of Iraqi soldiers withdrawing from Kuwait, 1991. Norden downplayed deadly power of U.S. imperialism.

workers state was swallowed up in a reunified capitalist Fourth Reich. The document of the Second International Conference of the ICL in 1992 noted:

"As Treptow later showed, from the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution."

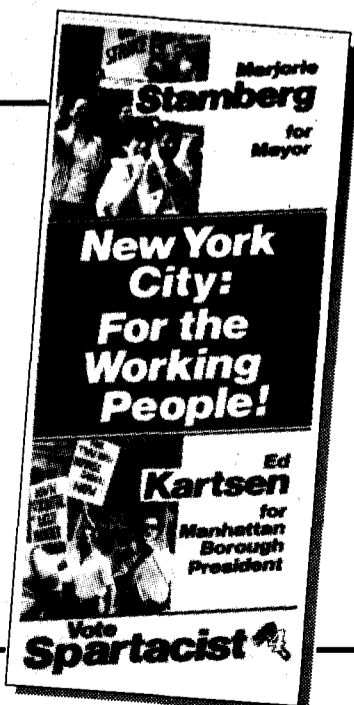
Norden was centrally involved in our intervention in Germany, both in editing many issues of *Arprekorr* and in the political deliberations of our international leadership. But he could not face the reality of capitalist *Anschluss*. Unable to accept the verdict of history—that mass resistance does not follow in the wake of historic defeats—Norden began to look around for a "fightback" on the terrain of the ex-DDR. This perspective was predicated on looking for a split among the Stalinist remnants of the old DDR regime, now grouped in the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), who would

of imminent "mass resistance" negated the critical factor of *consciousness* which only a Leninist vanguard could introduce.

Norden's ignorant and anti-Trotskyist perspective, that working-class struggle would lead a wing of the PDS to split and "fight" against the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution, had a disorienting impact on the SpAD, which itself could not face the grim reality of the destruction of the DDR. When his fantasy of economist "fightback" didn't work out (which must have been devastating for Norden, given his skewed, ahistorical expectations), Norden turned his attention to a perspective of recruiting "anti-fascist youth" through yet another "get rich quick" scheme.

The increasingly murderous fascist attacks on immigrants in Germany which came in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution provoked a significant radicalization of youth who sought to stop the Nazi terrorists. Exemplary united-front actions against the fascists, demonstrating in action our revolutionary program based on the centrality of mobilizing the social power of the working class, was surely one means to win the best of these leftist youth to Trotskyism.

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In 1985 Marjorie Stenberg ran an exemplary campaign as Spartacist candidate for mayor of NYC.

Spartacist Forum

The Struggle for Trotskyism in the Post-Soviet World

Speaker: Jon Brule, SL Central Committee

Update on Mumia Abu-Jamal:
Rachel Wolkstein, Partisan
Defense Committee staff counsel
and Jamal co-counsel

Thursday, August 1, 7 p.m.

P.S. 41, 116 W.11th Street
(at 6th Avenue)

NEW YORK CITY For more information: (212) 267-1025

A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica

The International Communist League has dissolved its fraternal relations with the Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB) group. In a June 17 letter to LM by the ICL's International Executive Committee (IEC), we explained:

"For many months now the ICL has fought to bring the actual practices of Luta Metalúrgica/LQB into accordance with the revolutionary political program expressed in the Declaration of Fraternal Relations endorsed by both of our organizations in September 1994. In particular, since our January 1996 IEC meeting there have been sharp political struggles against LM's trade-union opportunism and centrist subordination of the revolutionary program to a policy of endless unprincipled blocs and amorphous combinations in the trade unions....

"As the LM/LQB is evidently adamant on its opportunist course, we therefore dissolve fraternal relations and separate our organizations. We look forward to opportunities for common struggle."

LM originated as a proletarian formation with a militant history in the steel industry center of Volta Redonda. In 1989, this group joined the Brazilian Causa Operária group (a tendency allied with the pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Obrero of Jorge Altamira in Argentina) but split in 1994 centrally over CO's centrist accommodation to the popular front. CO called for a vote to the "workers' candidate," Lula, in the bourgeois formation, the Frente Brasil Popular, a class-collaborationist alliance between Lula's Workers Party (PT) and various "progressive" capitalist politicians (see "Brazil: IMF Candidate Wins Election," WV No. 608, 14 October 1994).

It was LM's opposition to the Lula Popular Front and also its understanding of the centrality of the fight against racial oppression—ignored by the rest of the Brazilian left—as a *strategic* question for socialist revolution in Brazil which laid the basis for our establishment of fraternal relations in the fall of 1994. Fraternal relations are a dynamic process of testing the apparent programmatic agreement through common work and debate of differences. A lengthy and difficult process in any case, this process was rendered more difficult in Brazil because of geographic distance, language difficulties and low level of communications technology. We sought to deepen our ties to LM, overcoming differences or potential differences, through patient and pedagogical discussion.

Recognizing that there is no stasis in

fraternal relations, i.e., if we weren't moving forward we were sliding back, the ICL brought one of LM's leading representatives to an authoritative gathering of our International Executive Committee in January. We then invested significant resources to maintain an ICL representative in Brazil for many months to pursue an agreed-upon agenda for common work. This centered on the need to publish a party propaganda organ, to extend our presence to a major metropolitan center, and to seek to win recruits

Despite a formal advocacy of the class independence of the workers, LM combined with non-Marxist and even sinister elements and braintrustered the MEL slate without ever mentioning in their election propaganda the question of removing the cops from the municipal workers union. Moreover, this election program, which sounded quite left-wing, was so sparsely distributed that a majority of the cops in the union voted for the MEL slate!

While LM opposed the bloc between Lula's PT and various bourgeois politi-

ated or made impossible by the presence in the unions of the forces which carry out racist massacres like those of Candelária, Vigário Geral and Carandirú, who massacre peasants in Rondônia."

Just a few weeks after we sent this letter, military police carried out a massacre of peasants in El Dorado dos Carajás (see WV No. 644, 26 April). At the same time, cops in the municipal workers union were exposed in the bourgeois press for their continued participation in death squads responsible for the murder of street children.

The urgent issue of ousting the cops from the labor movement came to a head when the state itself threw down the gauntlet through an ominous raid on the March 13 municipal workers union meeting by the notorious military police. In defense of our fraternal comrades and of the union, and based on our principled stand for the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state, the ICL mobilized its resources for an international campaign of solidarity. Organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, this campaign drew the support of labor unions and militants from South Africa to Tokyo to demand that the cops keep their hands off LM and the union itself. Since the battle was brought to LM, they have waged a principled and difficult struggle against the police presence in the union.

However, in the crucible of this campaign, our political differences were sharply revealed even as we made a united stand with LM against state repression. Despite abstract agreement with the need to forge a Trotskyist nucleus in Brazil, LM subordinated necessary party work—such as publishing a newspaper to openly make their case to the workers and expose the witchhunters—to preserving their control of the union from the top through the unelected position of "union adviser."

Yet the MEL slate included the chief witchhunter himself, one Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes, who has made himself the spokesman for the cops. Scandalously, this pro-cop provocateur is working under the direction of an ostensible Trotskyist group, the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (an affiliate of the Argentine PBCI)! In a joint leaflet issued by the ICL and LM/LQB (reprinted in *Espartaco* No. 8, Spring-Summer 1996) we wrote: "This is a dirty matter: a recent letter (1 March 1996) from the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI) to Arthur (coup-plotter against MEL) instructs him to attack Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL because we defend blacks and homosexuals.... The fake-leftists like Arthur and the LBI spit on blacks and women and embrace the repressive forces of the state."

Fraternal relations were at an impasse over the two most fundamental issues for revolutionary Marxists: the state and the party question. In another letter to LM on June 11, we wrote:

"The job of Marxists is to have a program that conceptually opens the road to a working-class revolution. Luta Metalúrgica, in its program and treatment of the state and its armed bodies of men threw up roadblocks to this program of working-class revolution, sowing confusion among the workers by running for the leadership of a union with cops in it and without specifically and forcefully addressing this crucial question in the union election campaign. The point is not to feel miserable about this, or annoyed with us for insisting on the question. The point is to do something about it....



Luta Metalúrgica initiated united-front protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Volta Redonda, August 1995.

from the younger generation, including in the steel industry where LM has earned authority.

In the months prior to the IEC meeting, LM was centrally involved in an amorphous and unprincipled lash-up, Municipários em Luta (MEL), which had recently won the leadership of the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. At the January IEC meeting, the ICL first learned that this union includes police! For the past six months, our relations with the LM/LQB have been dominated by the interrelated issues of fighting to oust the cops from the union and of breaking the LM group from its ingrained practice of unprincipled combinationism in the unions.

cians, a "union" between workers and cops is actually a purer form of popular front than that which exists at the parliamentary level: the mass organization purportedly for defense of the workers' class interests is directly tied to the armed bodies for the defense of capital. The most dangerous form of popular front, especially common in neocolonial countries, is that between the leaders of the workers movement and "progressive" commanders of the armed forces. The outcome has been measured in rivers of blood, from the Chinese Communist Party's bloc with the Guomindang (Kuomintang) in the mid-1920s, to the Indonesian Communist Party's bloc with Sukarno and the Muslim generals in the mid-1960s, to the agreement between Allende's Unidad Popular and "patriotic" generals like Pinochet in Chile in 1970-73. In microcosm, a similar bloc exists in the Volta Redonda municipal workers union.

In a February 23 letter to LM, we noted: "The fight for removal of the cops from the unions is the equivalent of the call for no vote to Lula: it is the concrete expression of the Marxist principle of the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state." Furthermore, we warned that LM's stated position on the black question is undermined by and stands in contradiction to its actual current practices:

"Among the political issues that draw Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL together is our emphasis on and fight for a proletarian-centered strategy to smash racial oppression. Comrades, consider what this means in concrete terms. If tomorrow the need were posed for the municipal workers union to take the lead in organizing labor/black defense, such a mobilization would be obstructed, viti-



Poor peasants gunned down by military police in northern Brazilian state of Pará in April. Cops are the murderous fist of the capitalist state.

"A solid core of genuine Bolsheviks must be forged in a clear political struggle for the political independence of the workers movement from the bourgeois state, even if the risk is losing influence at the top of this union at this time. Continued delay in subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union's leadership can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the 'leftists' who do their bidding. More importantly, the struggle for Marxist clarity and revolutionary political consciousness will be set back. The trust-worthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the base of the union—among the actual workers."

Trade Union Consciousness vs. Revolutionary Consciousness

Leninist work in the trade unions is directed at the base, to programmatically win the most advanced workers to an understanding of their class interests—embodied in the revolutionary program—and to building the revolutionary leadership that is needed to fight for those interests against the exploiters and fake-left misleaders. The famous "21 Conditions" for admission into the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky were aimed precisely at separating genuine communists from reformists and centrists by insisting on the fight to implement a communist program, not to merely express abstract agreement with such a program while violating it in practice. Similarly, the entire thrust of the Organizational Resolution of the Communist International was to direct and organize communist cells in the unions, not to engage in maneuvers and unprincipled blocs at the top.

A negative example is seen in the practice of the Stalinized American Communist Party (CP) which let its powerful base in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the late 1930s dissipate. Pursuing its popular-frontist strategy of "left-center coalitions," the CP focused on maneuvers for positions of influence with pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats at the top of the unions. Having frittered away a substantial amount of their working-class support, they were then largely destroyed by the McCarthyite witchhunt in the late 1940s and early '50s which followed the promulgation of the Marshall Plan, the Truman government's anti-Soviet assertion of U.S. imperialist domination in West Europe. Even some of these Stalinists came to publicly regret their neglect of their base.

A base of support for a revolutionary party in the trade unions cannot be built and maintained simply through trade-union militancy. A central aspect of Leninism is the understanding that socialist consciousness is not a linear extension of the economic struggle between workers and employers at the point of production. Advanced workers must be won to the program and perspective of leading all sections of the exploited and oppressed in overthrowing the bourgeois order and reconstructing society on a just and egalitarian basis. As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, polemicalizing against the Economist trend which glorified the day-to-day struggles of the workers:

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity....

"Consequently, however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle a political character,' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of Social-Democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow....

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of all classes and strata to the state and the government,



A.I. Solovyov
Lenin addressing Third Congress of Communist International, 1921. Only under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party can the working class overthrow the capitalist system.

the sphere of the interrelations between all classes. For that reason, the reply to the question as to what must be done to bring political knowledge to the workers cannot be merely the answer with which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers, especially those inclined towards Economism, mostly content themselves, namely: 'To go among the workers.' To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social-Democrats must go among all classes of the population in all directions."

LM's stubborn trade-union narrowness is a travesty of Leninism. A fraction of communist workers in the trade unions cannot substitute itself for the party and its propaganda. The Communist International outlined important political reasons for a division of labor between union and party formations. While fighting for leadership within the unions, communists seek to build the strongest possible unity of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. The task of the communist vanguard, however, is to sharpen the differences between competing political tendencies in order to bring the workers to communist consciousness and assemble the cadre, through splits and regroupments, in a Leninist party whose purpose is to lead the workers to state power. As one ICL comrade summed up in a discussion with Luta Metalúrgica, "Profintern = Unity; Comintern = Split." (The Profintern was the Red International of Labor Unions associated with the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.)

Instead, LM partakes of the opportunist practices of the Brazilian fake "left" where each contender typically measures

its strength by the number of unions it controls. Thus political program is blunted in the service of trade-union opportunism, and the unity of the union as a class defense organization is compromised by sectarian maneuvers in which the workforce is divided into competing union formations controlled by different political parties. As Trotsky wrote in "Communism and Syndicalism" (October 1929), "The question of the relationships between the party, which represents the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it is, is the most fundamental question of revolutionary Marxism."

LM carries with it the baggage of its experience in centrist politics and trade-union maneuvers. Through the period of fraternal relations, LM encountered something in the ICL which their prior political experience could not have prepared them for. For the ICL, a political program is not socialist camouflage or an abstraction to be belied in practice, but a guide to communist intervention in all spheres of life.

For Revolutionary Regroupment, Not Centrist Conciliationism!

The dissolution of fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica is also a political consequence of the defection of our former comrades Norden and Negrete (see article page 4). Unfortunately for LM, it was these very comrades who for a long period of time served as the ICL's links to LM. As fraternal relations moved forward through patient pursuit of political

debates and common work on the ground led by comrades who better represented the ICL, Norden and Negrete capitulated to LM's former posture and attempted to blunt the ICL's intervention at crucial junctures.

But the real harm done to LM by Norden and Negrete came right from the inception of fraternal relations. Our international tendency has been built through splits and fusions with other leftward moving formations. That is why we emulate Lenin's Bolsheviks in devoting so much attention to polemics as we seek to win over those subjectively revolutionary militants who are in or around our fake-Trotskyist competitors. Substantive programmatic agreement tested in practice through exemplary interventions and involvement in mass struggles, vigorous internal debate, rigorous cadre education: these are the methods of Bolshevik party building.

In contrast, with Norden and Negrete at the helm of our party work in Latin America, the approach to Luta Metalúrgica had more in common with oily bourgeois diplomats than Leninist internationalists. Both egomaniacs and facile pens, Negrete and Norden each later acknowledged that they personally wrote the Declaration of Fraternal Relations themselves! This document presumed and portrayed a broad, deep and synthetic programmatic agreement that simply did not exist. Moreover, fraternal relations was clearly viewed not as a substantive process to achieve a real transformation and the crystallization of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, but rather as "press release Trotskyism" for external consumption. The declaration was immediately released into print before the International Executive Committee had even discussed it or voted on it!

Our relations with LM in this regard contrasted sharply with our relations with the Japanese Rekken group. A 1986 agreement establishing fraternal relations was a modest document focused on the party question which included certain concrete tasks such as translating into Japanese selected fundamental documents of our tendency. This document was only made public a year later (see *Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88) after a period of testing demonstrated that the agreement was real.

The methods of Negrete and Norden have more in common with our centrist opponents like Workers Power, whose "international" is built with the same phony methods. Lofty statements are written for public consumption and to create an umbrella of "orthodoxy" to shield the very alien political practices carried out on the ground. Moreover, Norden's ability to spin out voluminous

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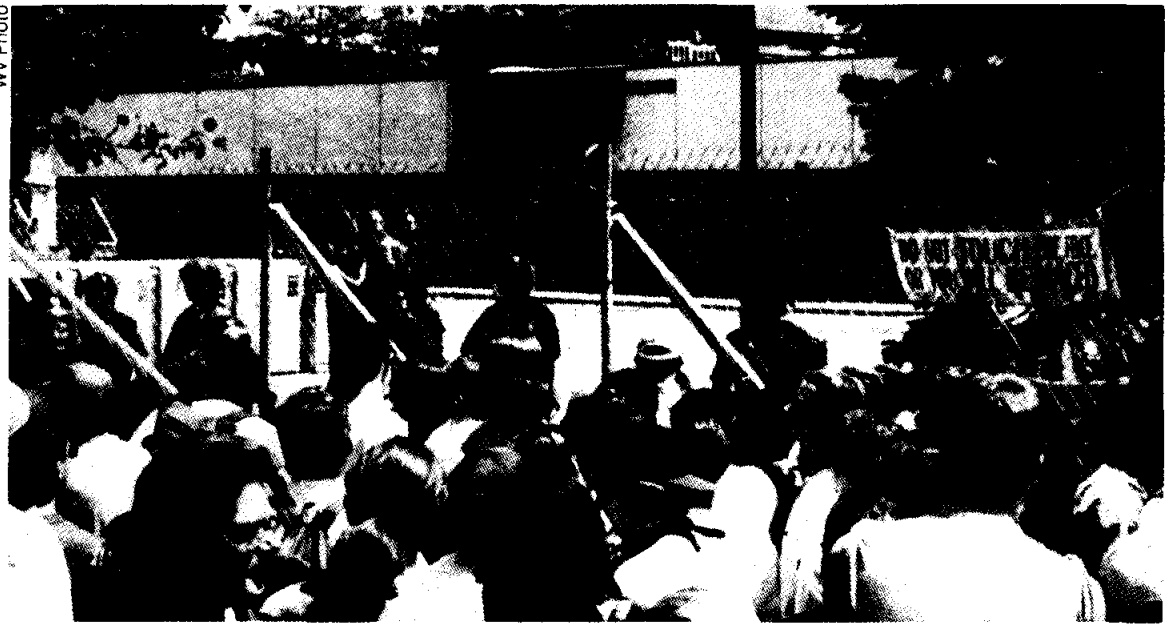
International solidarity with Brazilian trade unionists in Volta Redonda against sinister invasion of union meeting by military police.

Ann Arbor: Drop Charges Against Anti-Klan Eight!

Five hundred anti-Klan protesters came to the Ann Arbor, Michigan city hall June 22 to confront some 15 robed race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan. The anti-Klan demonstrators were met by an eight-foot-tall chainlink fence posted with a cop warning: "If you touch the fence, you will be maced." The Klan's friends in blue didn't limit their brutal attacks to those who ventured too close. The police staged repeated forays into the anti-Klan forces, lobbing tear gas canisters into the crowd and spurring a frightening and dangerous melee in which one person's leg was broken. Eight protesters—seven adults and one juvenile—now face charges after the cop riot. Obscenely, of the seven adults charged, while the five whites were released on their own recognizance, the two blacks were forced to post bail. Drop all charges against the Ann Arbor Eight!

It was vitally necessary that the Klan's attempt to spread its race-terror in Ann Arbor was confronted by anti-racist youth, minorities and other outraged people. A team of Spartacist supporters drove up from Chicago for the anti-Klan demonstration. In 1982, over 2,000 determined protesters drove a gang of Nazi punks out of Ann Arbor, sending the little Hitler-lovers with their dreams of swastikas and gas chambers packing. That successful mobilization was organized by the Committee to Stop the Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League. It was a united front centered on the labor movement, which was able to bring together auto

Ann Arbor, June 22: Cops protect Klan vermin, attack anti-fascist protesters.



workers, Jews, blacks, students, everyone targeted by the KKK's murderous rage. This united front allowed everyone to express their own opinions while uniting their forces in a successful mass action.

However, the June 22 protest was "no 1982," as a longtime Ann Arbor activist, whose union local endorsed the SL-initiated mobilization against the Nazis at that time, told WV. In contrast, the June 22 protest was *disorganized* by two small centrist groups, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Trotskyist League (TL), who announced separate demonstrations, along with a coalition

of numerous other organizations in "Ann Arbor Organizing Against the Klan." The fake socialists of the RWL and TL provided no leadership even at the most minimal level. The protest became sheer chaos as the anti-Klan demonstrators found themselves in a head-on clash with the cops without preparation—no first aid, no water, no marshals, no instructions for a tear gas attack, no one at the "emergency" phone number.

The root cause of the demonstration's disorganization was the fact that the RWL and TL are themselves politically disarmed in the face of the cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state and the

KKK's protectors. The RWL in particular has a long history of misleading anti-fascist militants by directing them into dangerous police "pen" traps; in Ann Arbor they argued that if a cop pen existed (it didn't), they would enter it.

The KKK and the Nazis can and must be swept off the streets. The lesson of how the cops protected the Klan must be brought home to the demonstrators in Ann Arbor who came out to try to stop the KKK. Funds for the defense of the Ann Arbor Eight, earmarked "Anti-Klan Defendants," should be sent to: Free Mumia Coalition, c/o IWW, 103 W. Michigan, Ypsilanti, MI 48197. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 1)

and Labor Black Struggle League, gave warning that KKK terror will not ride in Chicago! A number of black people passing by eagerly joined the demonstration. Some left groups like the International Socialist Organization and Progressive Labor Party arrived at the scene after the Klansmen had met the concrete.

Chicago police reacted predictably, protecting the vile Klan provocation by attacking protesters with pepper gas and mace and arresting nine. Those arrested included trade unionists, several supporters of the Spartacist League, a "Refuse & Resist" activist as well as anarchists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program. Outrageously, one militant was hit with a "public morals violation"...for rubbing his posterior with the seized Klan flag! It was only the cops' cordon and their vicious assault on the anti-Klan demonstrators that kept the nest of Klansmen from being swept out of the area entirely.

As the anti-Klan protest was ending, several youths leaving the area were brutally set upon by the cops, who threw them to the ground and banged their heads against police cars. Some arrested protesters were kept locked up for close to three hours in an airless paddy wagon with the engine running—with the temperature that day near 100 degrees! The racist violence of the cops is all too famil-

iar to Chicago's minority population. Just two weeks earlier, an army of cops had been mobilized to beat up on mostly black basketball fans celebrating the Bulls' championship, arresting 650.

With Southern black churches being burned down at a rate not seen since KKK terror raged against the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the attempt to stage a Klan provocation in the center of Chicago was a deadly threat against blacks, immigrants, Jews, gays—all minorities—and a dagger aimed at the integrated labor movement. In the context of the drive against welfare and affirmative action, of massive increases in police powers and prisons and accelerated use of the racist death penalty pushed by the Democrats and Republicans alike, the Klan is seeking acquiescence to its presence in order to gain legitimacy. Given the right-wing political climate in the U.S., the danger is that the Klan be considered the "boys next door."

The anti-racist demonstration was an important affirmation that *the KKK cross-burners will not be tolerated in Chicago*. As Labor Black Struggle League spokesman Lisa Brockmeier stated in the *Chicago Tribune*, "We want them to know they are not welcome in Chicago. If we let them in here, then where is the next black church burning going to be?" In 1994, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a union-based, united-front demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, with Chicago ATU transit workers at its core, which showed the power of labor,



Chicago anti-fascist protester at June 29 demo knows which side the cops are on.

mobilized at the head of all the oppressed, to defeat Klan terror. ATU members were again among those who came out in Chicago on June 29 to stop the Klan.

The city's Democratic Party administration headed by Mayor Richard Daley Jr. sought to provide a safe haven for the Klan provocation by agreeing to their march plan at least a week ahead of time and then keeping it secret, while the big business media blacked out any news of the matter. As they get ready to host the Democratic convention this summer, with memories of the antiwar protests outside the 1968 Democratic convention fixed in their minds, Chicago's political establishment clearly feared the potential for a massive, militant outpouring by the Klan's many intended victims. To avoid even the most minimally embarrassing protests over Clinton's renomination, the city is beefing up its repressive forces, intending to keep demonstrators miles away from the United Center sports arena where the convention will be held.

In a union town like Chicago, with its huge black and Hispanic population, there should have been thousands on the street to ward off the Klan threat. As the history of the "open shop" South shows, racist Klan terror goes hand in hand with

smashing unions. The lack of a massive response to the KKK in Chicago can be laid squarely at the door of the misleaders of the labor movement, who are completely tied to the Democratic Party machinery, and of the demagogue Louis Farrakhan, who preaches the fool's gold of "black capitalism" and mirrors the Klan's racial separatism. This is suicidal for the oppressed black masses! Representing the tiny layer of the black "elite," most black radio stations refused to air appeals to turn out against the Klan.

The trouncing of the Klan in Chicago is a victory for all working people. The key to this successful anti-racist action was the communist leadership provided by the Spartacist League and LBSL, which after hearing of the planned fascist provocation immediately began efforts to mobilize area unions and black and leftist organizations. In June 1982, a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration brought out over 3,000 trade unionists, blacks, Jews and youth in Lincoln Park to stop a provocation by Nazi scum against a Gay Pride Day march.

Trade unions, black community groups and all opponents of racism must demand the dropping of all charges against the anti-Klan protesters! The Partisan Defense Committee has initiated a call for a united-front protest picket on July 23 at 8 a.m., when hearings for the largest group of defendants begin, at the Circuit Court of Cook County, 1121 S. State Street. Be there to show your solidarity!

Send statements demanding that the charges be dropped against all those arrested on June 29 to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies of the protest statements and urgently needed financial contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee.

CHICAGO: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931;

NEW YORK: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone: (212) 406-4252, fax: (212) 406-2210. ■

KKK TERRORISTS TROUNCED!

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Klan Protesters!

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Black Churches...

(continued from page 1)

victims! Pastors were accused of torching their own churches and forced to take lie detector tests while entire congregations were fingerprinted. Bishop Melvin Talbert, president of the National Council of Churches (NCC), declared: "Without exception, the victims of these hate crimes said they felt intimidated by the very forces they had hoped would provide them with protection." In fact, the FBI and other federal police agencies are racist to the core: the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) had to remove two agents from Clinton's federal task force when it came out that they had attended a Klan-infested "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" last summer in Tennessee.

Black community leaders and liberals applauded a bill extending federal authority to investigate and prosecute church burnings which was unanimously passed in Congress. But a look at its sponsors makes it clear this legislation has nothing to do with fighting racist terror. A co-sponsor of the House bill is right-wing Republican Henry Hyde—who has spearheaded the assault on welfare and abortion rights—joined by black Democrat John Conyers. In the Senate, liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy joined hands with die-hard racist Republican Lauch Faircloth. Such legislation, like all moves to strengthen police powers, is ultimately directed against minorities and working people.

Today, many black leaders are calling for greater federal intervention in the South. "If it means the National Guard, so be it," declared Mac Charles Jones of the National Council of Churches. "If it means declaring a state of emergency, so be it." Such illusions in the "democratic" credentials of the U.S. ruling class are truly suicidal. To see what a military "state of emergency" would mean for black people, look at the National Guard's indiscriminate gunning down of black residents of the Watts area of L.A., Detroit, and other cities when black anger exploded in the ghetto revolts of the late 1960s. And don't forget that Bill Clinton, Janet Reno, the BATF and the FBI incinerated 86 men, women and children of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect outside Waco, Texas!

The way to fight race-terror is not through suicidal appeals for federal intervention in the South. The fight against racial oppression and for black freedom must be taken up by the only force that can win, the multiracial working class. The working class has a vested interest in smashing the Klan—the race-terrorists are not only implacably hostile to black rights, but are also deadly enemies of



Integrated congregation of burned Little Zion Baptist Church in Boligee, Alabama. Klan killers target "race-mixing."

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

labor. This was demonstrated last summer when the KKK burned a cross outside an Alabama poultry processing plant on the eve of a union recognition vote.

As the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, affiliated with the Spartacist League, declared in a June 16 leaflet following the attack on Shane Daniels:

"The key is revolutionary leadership. To achieve any real victories, provide decent jobs, quality education, health care for all and a future for the working people and impoverished ghetto masses requires a fight to break the ties that bind the unions to the two ruling-class parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. To put a stop to the system that breeds lynch mobs, to avenge all the victims of racist terror, we need to forge a revolutionary workers party that will unite all workers—black, white, Asian and Hispanic—to sweep away this racist, corrupt capitalist system and build an egalitarian socialist society."

Racist Rulers Wage War on Black Masses

With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the ruling class has been emboldened to drive back social gains which were won through decades of struggle by workers and all the oppressed. And heightened competition among the rival imperialist powers (especially Germany, Japan and the U.S.) is driving the bourgeoisie to squeeze ever-greater profits out of the working class. The KKK nightriders and other fascist scum—guard dogs of racist capitalist rule—are encouraged by this general climate of attacks on the working class and minorities, supported by both Clinton's Democrats and Dole/Gingrich's Republicans. This was noted in a Washington, D.C. sermon by Reverend H. Beecher Hicks Jr.:

"Through these burnings a message is being delivered: Social programs will be scrapped, affirmative action is a thing of the past, scholarships will end, congressional redistricting plans will be struck

down and all our efforts toward racial harmony have come to naught. The message to African Americans is to return to those 'thrilling days of yesteryear' and stay in your place."

—Washington Post (23 June)

The racist rulers are eliminating or slashing to the bone the few meager social welfare programs which still exist: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Head Start, Legal Services, Medicaid, Medicare—even Social Security is on the chopping block. In the 1992 elections, Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it"—and that is precisely what he is doing. In the past three years, 37 states have been granted waivers from federal AFDC rules. Welfare recipients



Young Socialist

National Guard mobilized against striking black sanitation workers in Memphis, 1968. Reliance on federal troops to protect black rights is suicidal.

are being forced into slave-labor "workfare" operations which serve to undermine municipal and government employees unions. At the same time, the Supreme Court has been striking down university affirmative action programs, eliminating set-asides for black businessmen, and overturning "redistricting" plans aimed at creating electoral districts to favor black candidates for public office.

Meanwhile, the jails and prisons are being filled to overflowing with black and Hispanic youth through the racist "war on drugs." From the gutting of public housing programs, to racist attacks on affirmative action, to the dismantling of busing and massive cutbacks in inner-city education, the racist creed "separate but (unequal)" is the law of the land. And the chasm between rich and poor, already the greatest of any major industrial country, has continued to widen as families at the bottom end of the spectrum are crushed under a growing mountain of debt.

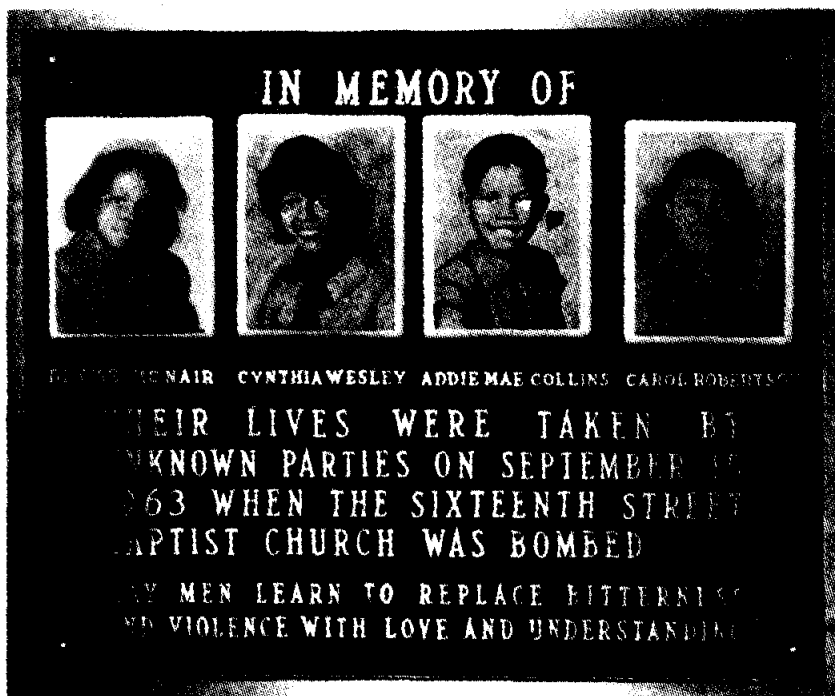
Troops vs. Blacks in the Civil Rights Movement

Black churches in the South have historically been a special target of fascist terror, striking at the heart of impoverished, small town and rural black communities. The church in many of these areas is a social center where children

are taught and where the important events in life from birth to death are marked. Spiver Gordon, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), believes that his church in Greene County, Alabama was singled out for burning because of its close association with the civil rights movement.

Waves of church burning erupted during the reactionary period that followed World War I and again during the civil rights movement, when black churches served as organizing centers for voter registration drives, bus boycotts and other campaigns against Jim Crow. In June 1964, civil rights workers Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman were assassinated as they returned home from investigating the burning of a black church in rural Mississippi. At the same time, black religious leaders acted as the "moderate" wing of the civil rights movement, increasingly counterposed to young radical activists.

Liberal civil rights leaders like the SCLC's Martin Luther King Jr.—who was derisively called "De Lawd" by young black radicals—based their strategy on appeals to the federal government to intervene against the Jim Crow local authorities in the South. Similarly, just as they called for federal troops to the South in the 1960s and to defend busing in Boston in the 1970s, phony "socialists" like the Socialist Workers Party today raise the call for "Federal troops to protect Black churches!" (*Militant*, 1 July). But it is precisely the history of the civil rights movement which clearly demonstrates the dangers of appealing for mil-



New York Times

Memorial at 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham commemorating four young girls murdered in 1963 bombing. Heinous bombing was engineered by FBI's Klan "Informant" Gary Rowe.

Black Churches...

(continued from page 9)

In Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, which took the lives of four black girls, galvanized the city's black population. Refusing any longer to heed M.L. King and "turn the other cheek," they began to establish armed street patrols and observation posts in the ghetto for self-defense. It was the sight of armed black patrols that led President John Kennedy to deploy troops to Alabama.

In Selma, Alabama in 1965, President Johnson sent the army to "defend" a civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. However, the troops were precipitously withdrawn when the marchers reached Montgomery, leaving the protesters defenseless. One of them, Viola Liuzzo, was murdered while shuttling marchers back to Selma. The carload of racists who shot Liuzzo included Klansmen and...an FBI informer, Gary Rowe.

Rowe is representative of the parasitic relationship that exists between government forces and racist and fascist organizations. During the five years he was on the FBI's payroll, he was directly responsible—with his bosses' full knowledge—for most of the major incidents of Klan terror in Alabama. He organized the May 1961 attack by 1,000 Klansmen which left freedom riders lying in pools of blood in Birmingham bus terminals. He participated in the hideous bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. He set off shrapnel bombs in a black ghetto, shot a black man in cold blood on the streets of Birmingham, and carried out countless beatings and stabbings.

Throughout Rowe's FBI-sanctioned reign of terror, black misleaders from King's SCLC to the NAACP were united in demanding intervention by the federal government. Yet this is precisely what they had. While federal marshals stood by and watched as racists beat black students entering integrated schools, the FBI's top informant in the Klan was in the crowd, swinging his chain. As Patsy Sims relates in *The Klan* (1978): "In the midsixties FBI informants held top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups and headed one state organization. At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers." These agents and "informers" acted as loyal dual agents of both organizations, keeping the feds well informed of Klan activity while perpetrating race-terror.

The same interpenetration of federal security forces and fascist terror squads was manifested in the November 1979 massacre of five leftists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina. From the outset the government aided and abetted the KKK/Nazi death squad, from the BATF agent who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations, to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade going to the murder site, to the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear.

Nevertheless, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party now calls for its own version of federal intervention in response to the church burnings, moaning that Clinton's actions are "not enough" and that the KKK must be "disarmed" and "outlawed" (*Workers World*, 20 June). Crying for federal marshals or calling to "Ban the Klan" plays right into the hands of the main enemy, the racist ruling class. Moreover, "anti-terrorist" laws supposedly directed against the fascists invariably end up being used against the left and labor movement. We fight instead to mobilize the power of the labor movement to keep the KKK/Nazis off the streets, as we have in a number of united-front actions from Detroit in 1979 to

Springfield, Illinois in 1994. When the Klan tried to stage a race-hate provocation in Atlanta in 1989, the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League built a 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization based on the support of area unions and community organizations. In response, the state and local authorities unleashed a literal army of cops and National Guardsmen to protect the fascists.

As Marxists, we understand that the state is an instrument of oppression of one class by another, "an engine of class despotism" in the words of Marx and Engels. In the final analysis, the bourgeois state consists of special bodies of armed men—the military, police and prison guards—which serve to defend private property and guarantee unfettered exploitation of the working class. The true nature of the state is revealed



Norfolk longshoremen march against segregation, for school busing in 1983. Labor movement must champion black rights.

with brutal, swift and deadly force when the capitalist class feels its rule is challenged by a revolt of workers and other oppressed. Marx and Engels sought to instill in the workers movement the crucial understanding that the police, army and state bureaucracy could not be made to work in the interests of the exploited, but had to be smashed.

For Organized Self-Defense Against Racist Terror!

Self-defense against racist terror is and was a burning necessity for the black movement in the South. An example was set in 1959 in Monroe, North Carolina by Robert F. Williams, whose courage in organizing armed self-defense against the Klan earned him the enmity of the liberal NAACP, which disowned him even as the FBI hounded him out of the country. He found refuge first in Castro's Cuba and then in Mao's China.

At the time, Williams was an exception among civil rights activists, who generally adhered to the program of "non-violence" preached by King and his SCLC. However, the movement was radicalized by, among other factors, repeated federal interventions under liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy and then Lyndon Johnson against black struggle. The organization of armed self-defense against the KKK took a significant step forward in 1964 with the rise of the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice, which soon spread to Mississippi and Alabama (see "Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). In 1966 the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then the main organization of young civil rights activists in the South, raised the slogan of "black power" in defiance of both the white liberal establishment and King and the black preachers.

We wrote at the time: "The concepts implied in the SNCC slogan of 'Black Power' are radical enough to have caused the bourgeois press and politicians to shower vicious abuse on it, precisely because the slogan is a groping for solutions outside the framework of the capitalist society" ("SNCC and Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December

1966). We sought to give the slogan of "black power" and the underlying mood of militancy a *working-class axis* around such demands as unionization of Southern labor, mobilizing the power of labor to defend against racist terror, and a break with the Democrats to form a Freedom-Labor Party.

In the mid-1960s, black militants in Lowndes County, Alabama associated with SNCC did break with the Democratic Party of the racist ruling class and, openly advocating armed self-defense, set up the Black Panther Party. In response, the feds framed up the SNCC leaders on a gamut of phony charges—arson, conspiracy, criminal syndicalism. Inspired by the Lowndes County organization, black radicals in the North set up the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, centered in California and

extending to various Northern cities. It was in good measure to suppress such movements that the bourgeois rulers began pushing their drive for gun control—echoed by pacifists and reformists—which is aimed at disarming workers and minorities.

The militant Panthers took the full brunt of the FBI's COINTELPRO murder conspiracy. Through nearly 300 FBI operations against black groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s—233 of them against the Panthers alone—virtually every militant black leader was either physically eliminated or slammed in jail. Former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is still in prison, framed up for a murder which the government *knows* he did not commit.

The Panthers represented the most radical expression of black militancy in this period. However, they remained confined within the self-defeating framework of ghetto-based black nationalism, glorifying "lumpen rage" while rejecting the racially integrated working class as the central agency for social revolution. The Panthers' own political shortcomings and the feds' murderous vendetta—wiping out a whole generation of radical black leaders—helped bring to the fore such a misleader as Louis Farrakhan, an anti-woman, anti-Semitic bigot and preacher of "black capitalism" who speaks for those who dream of becoming the exploiters of "their" people. Farrakhan's Million Man March last year was a reactionary appeasement of the racist rulers, laying the blame for conditions in the ghettos on the "personal responsibility" of black men and calling on them to "atone."

Finish the Civil War!

The texture of Southern society was formed by the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction (symbolized by the Compromise of 1877) following the Civil War. In the decades following 1877, the political and civil rights accorded blacks in the aftermath of the Civil War were progressively stripped away. And while the Civil War destroyed chattel slavery, blacks were left economically disenfranchised as virtual serfs, toiling as impoverished sharecroppers and rural laborers under the boot of white landowners.

Black people constitute an oppressed race-color caste integrated into American society while forcibly segregated at the bottom of it. The fight for black liberation, a central question of the American revolution, can only be resolved through the program of revolutionary integrationism, requiring the overthrow of the capitalist system by the working class standing at the head of all the oppressed. This is why we say that it is necessary to finish the Civil War through socialist revolution.

The KKK is likewise a product of the betrayal of Reconstruction by the Northern capitalists, who after the Civil War became the senior partners of the white Southern landowners and businessmen. Formed in the South by former Confederate officers, its purpose was the destruction of black rights through the lynch ropes and torches of white racist mobs. The Klan was revived in 1915 with the lynching of an Atlanta Jew, Leo Frank. The fascist terrorists of the KKK are not only implacably hostile to black rights and equality; they are also deadly enemies of working-class struggle.

In the South, more so than in other regions of the country, it is especially clear that the support of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and black liberals to the Democratic Party perpetuates violent racist oppression and the brutal exploitation of the working class. A campaign to unionize the South in the late 1940s, called "Operation Dixie," failed because the union tops would not combat the local Dixiecrat regimes, with their cracker sheriffs, lynch-law "justice" and nightriding Klansmen. In the subsequent decades, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy made no serious attempt to organize the large and growing industrial working class in the region into racially integrated trade unions.

As a consequence, the South has not only remained a bastion of political reaction but has increasingly become a sphere for the superexploitation of labor by American as well as foreign capital. A major factor behind the gutting of the union movement in this country over the past few decades is the massive transfer of industry from the North and Midwest to the "open shop," low-wage South and Southwest. The number of factory workers in North and South Carolina, taken together, is now greater than in any state in the union except California. Concentrations of integrated industrial workers, along with predominantly black ILA longshore and other unions in the South, can be the basis for organized workers defense guards against the nightriders and strikebreakers.

The labor tops, with their cringing acceptance of the bosses' rules—like the anti-union Taft-Hartley law—are utterly incapable of unionizing the growing ranks of industrial workers in the South. As we stated over a decade ago in the *WV* special supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (March 1984):

"To organize the open shop South, for example, will mean pitched battles with the Ku Klux Klan and cracker sheriffs. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight? In white racist America the fate of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. The bureaucracy's accommodation to the racist status quo set the stage for the union-busting offensive of the Reagan years. And there will be no effective defense against this union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights."

For this perspective to become a reality will mean a sharp political struggle to oust the sellout labor lieutenants of capital, forging instead a militant, anti-racist and anti-capitalist leadership within the unions as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. As long as capitalism remains, fascist murderers like the Klan and Nazis will be coddled and even cultivated by the bourgeois rulers, who hold the nightriders in reserve for defense of their profits and property. Socialist revolution is the only road to black freedom. ■

Luta Metalúrgica...

(continued from page 7)

statements in multiple languages from a remote international center while ignoring the real problems (disgustingly patronized by Negrete as "cultural differences") gave Luta Metalúrgica the false notion that the ICL was a federated combination, not a genuinely democratic-centralist international tendency. The ICL is not dominated by big sections with the smaller ones reduced to the status of mere onlookers, nor is the work of any one section its own national property. Rather, our internationally determined priorities are keenly followed and discussed by the cadre throughout the tendency.

Rather than recruit LM to Trotskyism, Norden and Negrete hoped to reel in LM as a showcase Latin American section whose "base" in the unions they could brag about in international propaganda. Unfortunately for the comrades of Luta Metalúrgica, their adventure with Negrete and Norden came late in the stage of Norden's degenerative Pabloite disease. A motion voted by the International Secretariat at its 11 May meeting noted in part, "Norden and Negrete's attempt to blunt the necessary sharp political fights with LQB/LM in Brazil manifests the same centrist appetites exposed in Norden's conciliation of the German KPF. Norden and Negrete's false fight against 'syndicalism' in the LQB/LM was designed to alibi LM's trade-union opportunism which was most egregiously revealed in the elementary question of opposition to the encroachments of the bourgeois state on the labor movement." A study of fraternal relations with LM prior to the January IEC meeting is a textbook case in how *not* to build a communist international.

Normally on the road to a healthy fusion, the groups that are fusing let down their guard and become more candid and generally open as their common political purpose begins to render their separate organizational structures increasingly redundant. Negrete and Norden kept LM isolated from internal discussions within the ICL, conveniently and especially regarding the fights with Norden over Germany. In an attempt to advance candid discussions and spur LM to adopt Bolshevik organizational norms, which were wholly lacking, we proposed an exchange of internal minutes of our leading party bodies. But the nascent process of internal differentiation within the group, combined with the political opposition of the individuals who were previously their main links to

the ICL, and the growing conflict between LM's professed aims and its actual work, inculcated an organizationally protective reflex. The exchange of internal documentation was refused by LM, and they drew a hard line on maintaining their opportunist course in the unions.

As a group consisting mainly of advanced workers and political autodidacts which was primarily defined by empirical opposition to the popular front on its own national terrain, and as former leaders of mass workers' organizations at the local level, it was difficult for LM subjectively and conceptually to transform themselves into a propaganda group. In the best-case scenario, it would take a substantial time to assimilate our methods of work as a Trotskyist fighting propaganda group. But we were very pre-

pared to try, including allocating our limited cadre and financial resources to work in Brazil. It was our sense that this group had the *potential* to forge a vanguard cadre of communist workers, something seen only a few times before in the history of the Trotskyist movement, as with the Belgian miners or Minneapolis Teamsters in the 1930s. As we wrote to LM in March:

"Lenin's Bolshevik Party was built through the fusion of 'declassed' intellectuals and the most advanced layers of the proletariat. The practice of the various centrist organizations in Brazil, and not only there, is the antithesis of Leninism. There are two-tiered parties in which a layer of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, posturing as the 'great thinkers,' lord it over the working-class members. This is simply a reflection of their oppor-

Political Program is Primary

This is a reactionary political period but one nonetheless presenting opportunities for communist intervention and growth of our party which are, however, spread unevenly around the world. Brazil is among the places where there is a lot of ferment among the workers, and among the students, and our commitment to a class-struggle fight against racial oppression and to build a party as a Len-



WV Photo

NYC labor/black mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, August 1995. Communists seek to win workers to revolutionary program in opposition to pro-capitalist labor tops.

inist tribunal of the people has enormous appeal. Still, it is a period where the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought the identification of the workers' class interests with the ideals of socialism to a nadir on the world stage. Rather uniquely on the left, the ICL swims against the stream and insists on the validity of revolutionary Marxism as a program for struggle today.

Indication of the flawed character of the Declaration of Fraternal Relations was its failure to even mention *permanent revolution*. Yet this is a key question for Marxists in Latin America! Without a conception of the centrality of the proletariat and the need for a Leninist vanguard to bring the workers to state power as the liberators of all the oppressed in society, the workers will be condemned to repeated cycles of "anti-imperialist united fronts"—i.e., popular-frontist blocs with their own bourgeoisie (surely camouflaged with lots of rhetoric against Yankee imperialism)—and to military coups and unbridled police-state terror.

Regarding the primacy of a correct political program, the ICL noted in its June 11 letter to Luta Metalúrgica:

"The ICL too has had to recognize and remove roadblocks we too created and which would have blocked the road to working-class revolution if we had not recognized our errors. A good and very recent example is the fight with and in our Canadian section to advocate independence for Quebec. If the forces within our organization had failed to block the comrades capitulating to Anglo-chauvinism within our Canadian section, then we would have had to forge a new party to lead the proletarian socialist revolution in Quebec and English-speaking Canada. Instead, very sharp internal debate, organized cadre education, and extensive discussion won the Canadian comrades over to the program that is *essential* for a Marxist perspective in Canada today....

"The Bolshevik party too encountered many roadblocks, including within the party itself, and Lenin's writings are filled with urgent polemics to remove the obstacles to revolution which often turned up right in the Bolshevik Party Central Committee. To return to the point that the job of revolutionary Marxists is to have a program that conceptually opens the road to a working-class revolution, it is interesting to note that the Bolsheviks barely made it to the October 1917 Revolution. The Bolsheviks stumbled into the February 1917 revolution with a program which was inadequate for October. Specifically, the Bolsheviks' concept of the coming Russian Revolution was the errant theory of two-class rule expressed in their program for a 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.'

"The party, led by Lenin and aided by the more radical Petrograd committee, semi-empirically overcame the limitations of this 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' because their political appetite was clearly for proletarian power and that's what they fought for despite the theoretical ambiguity. But in fact the Bolsheviks never adopted Trotsky's correct and essential theory of permanent revolution. This theoretical failure, and the failure to explicitly repudiate the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry,' then became a conduit for the forces later posturing as the Bolshevik 'old guard' (e.g., Stalin) to attack Trotsky, the theory of permanent revolution, and the revolutionary internationalist premises and implications of the Bolshevik Revolution itself. Some fifty years later, and after the ultimate capitulation to imperialism by the Stalinist bureaucracy in giving up proletarian state power, one can bitterly appreciate what a very large roadblock this programmatic error had become over time."

We do not have Lenin and Trotsky, but we have their experience to assimilate, particularly as a methodology.

We will of course continue to defend LM and its supporters against attacks by the bourgeois state and pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. We remain open to common work with this group. We will also continue working to build a Trotskyist organization in Brazil, the nucleus of a revolutionary proletarian party in this strategically important Latin American country. We hope that militants of the LM/LQB will reconsider and reject their present centrist course and on that basis will find their way into the ranks of the ICL. ■

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Defection...

(continued from page 5)

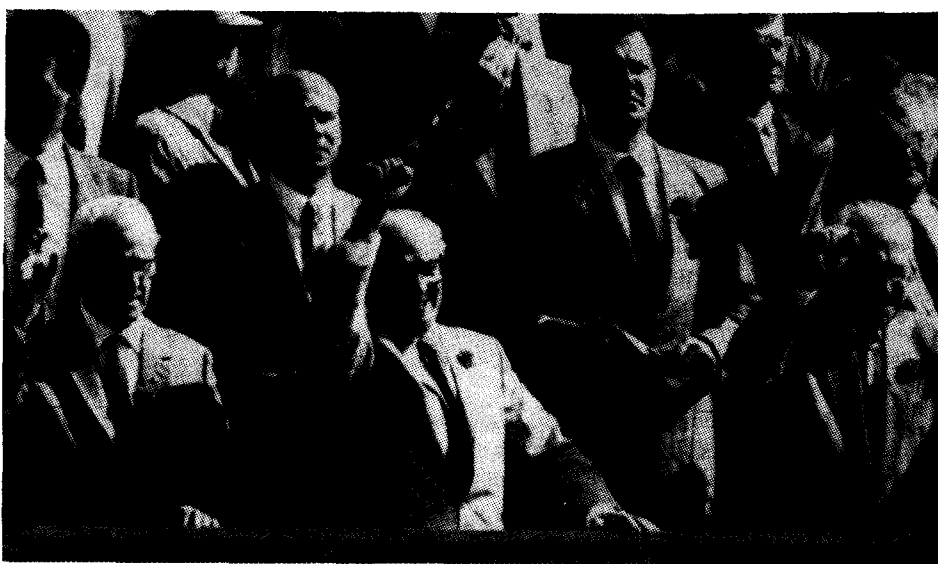
But Norden and Stamberg's idea of "anti-fascist actions" was all photo-op and little political content, as was seen the one time it was implemented, in an entirely tokenistic defense of an immigrant hostel in Berlin in which no damage was done in the fascists and out of which not one youth was recruited.

Continuing to flail about in his desperate search for a split in the PDS, Norden then came to see the main chance to "clean up" through an opportunist orientation to the geriatric remnants of the former East German Stalinist regime in the Communist Platform (KPF), the supposed "left wing" of the PDS. Excited by the increased vote for the PDS in the November 1994 German elections and opinion polls showing widespread "socialist" sentiment among the population of the ex-DDR, Norden argued for a "regroupment" perspective toward the Communist Platform, conceived as a rearguard action to make up for the recruits we didn't get in 1989-90.

If one were seeking to recruit workers or youth mistakenly attracted to the PDS milieu as a perceived alternative to the West German Social Democrats, that would mean unmasking and combatting the KPF/PDS as a political prop for Social Democracy. Instead Norden pushed the vacuous idea that these Stalinist has-beens retained "attachments" to the former East German deformed workers state—which they had sold out! This was precisely what the PDS purveyed—playing upon the desperation of the East German working people and their nostalgia for the "good old days"—in order to build up its own social-democratic parliamentary base.

Norden's opportunist appetites soon emerged in a flagrant public expression in a January 1995 presentation at Berlin's Humboldt University aimed at the KPF. This speech was a case study in centrism worthy of the late Joseph Hansen, who wielded his able pen to cloak the revisionist degeneration of the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party with reams of "orthodox" formulations. While invoking the program of Trotskyism, Norden presented a liquidationist view which denied the ICL's role as the conscious revolutionary vanguard, repeatedly intoning that in Germany in 1989-90 "the key element was missing, the revolutionary leadership." He disappeared the central purpose and intent of the ICL's intervention: to organize for a political revolution against the Stalinist regime, which had bureaucratically undermined the DDR deformed workers state and was now preparing to sell it off to the West German imperialists. A workers insurrection to replace the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy with genuine proletarian internationalist rule was key to stopping capitalist counterrevolution.

Instead, Norden reduced our own revolutionary intervention to a litany of ineffective tactics, while "reaching out" to the sclerotic remnants of the former ruling bureaucracy as misguided colleagues



Der Spiegel
East German Stalinist party boss Erich Honecker (above at center). Collapse of Honecker regime in November 1989 ushered in incipient proletarian political revolution, as demonstrators in Berlin demanded: "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges!"



who had a "grudging respect" for our efforts in 1989-90—which were aimed at sweeping away their Stalinist regime! According to Norden, the "SED tops" had simply been "paralyzed" at the time and not one of them "could even conceive" of a proletarian political revolution. In fact, the SED tops could not only "conceive" of a political revolution, but did everything in their power to suppress one, because they would have been its targets. Far from being paralyzed, these Stalinists took conscious, active steps to prevent a workers insurrection.

Centrist Politics, Bureaucratic Practices

After more than six months of internal party discussion and struggle that definitively exposed Norden's revisionist course, which if left unchecked would have destroyed us as a revolutionary Marxist tendency, Norden's opportunist policies were decisively defeated at the January 1996 International Executive Committee meeting. Norden, and Stamberg, completely rejected this decision of the highest leading body of the ICL between international conferences. They declared that any and all criticisms of the "regroupment" orientation to the KPF and Norden's Humboldt speech were completely false. At the same time, Norden arrogantly denied all responsibility for nearly destroying our German section with the concomitant bureaucratic practices he pushed to realize his perspective.

James P. Cannon, the founder of Amer-

ican Trotskyism, noted that there is always a consonance between the politics of centrism and anti-Leninist organizational practices. In Germany, Norden's opportunist pursuit of the geriatric Stalinist remnants in the KPF was complemented by a vicious witchhunt denouncing any comrades perceived as an obstacle to his orientation as a "comfortable social-democratic" layer opposed to "youth recruitment"! Comrades who criticized an article in *Spartakist* directed toward the PDS, in which Norden had grotesquely and gratuitously inserted that the Red Army forces who liberated Germany from the Nazis had "Stalin as commander in chief," were condemned for "capitulating" to the anti-Communism of the Fourth Reich and the popular-front left.

As comrade Albert St. John, who launched the fight against Norden's centrist liquidationism, said in his remarks to Norden at an SpAD conference immediately following the IEC meeting:

"Your denial of any political or organizational wrongdoing and your arrogant and defiant refusal to accept any responsibility for the consequences of your actions indicates to me that you are no longer being motivated by the program in practice of Trotskyism. Or perhaps more accurately there is a very deep contradiction between your alien political appetites and your formal adherence to the party's program. Now there is a real danger, if you don't try to pull back, that your currently strong centrist impulses will become dominant and thus resolve that contradiction negatively."

Trotsky emphasized in "The Mistakes of the Communist League on the Trade Union Question" (January 1931):

"...the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the party as the vanguard of the proletariat.

"Whatever may be the sources and political causes of opportunistic mistakes and deviations, they are always reduced ideologically to an erroneous understanding of the revolutionary party, of its relation to other proletarian organizations and to the class as a whole."

Norden's accommodation to alien political forces externally and his increasingly visceral opposition to the party "regime" internally were manifestations of a rejection of the need for a Leninist vanguard party. This correspondingly reflected a demoralization in the capacity of the working class to act as a "class for itself," i.e., to become conscious of its social position and power to overthrow the entire system of capitalist exploitation and to become the new rul-

ing class in an egalitarian society.

In place of the Leninist party needed to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, Norden increasingly came to objectify certain political formations and layers—particularly in the former DDR and Latin America—as somehow inherently susceptible to revolutionary politics. In the case of the Communist Platform, Norden saw elements of communist consciousness where none existed. On the Latin American terrain, Norden invested our fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica (LM)—in which he and his understudy Negrete, then a leading member of our Mexican section, initially had a central hand—with a level of political sophistication and broad agreement with the program of revolutionary Trotskyism that simply did not exist.

To defend his own "infallibility" regarding our early dealings with LM, Norden generated a revisionist methodology justifying the sort of rotten-bloc "international relations" pursued by centrist outfits like the British Workers Power group and its "League for a Revolutionary Communist International," in which high-sounding agreements on paper mask all manner of programmatic disagreements in practice. At the same time, Norden and Negrete argued for conciliating LM's non-Bolshevik organizational practices, implying a different conception of the party question for Latin America. Political struggle for genuine programmatic clarity and agreement with LM brought this to the fore.

Negrete in particular to alibi a centrist conciliation of LM's practices with the patronizing, anti-Leninist argument that these reflected "cultural differences." This invocation of Latin American exceptionalism represented an adaptation to the nationalism and "caudilloism" which politically characterized the Latin American left. In the course of a political struggle within the Grupo Esparquista de México, it came out that these features also characterized Negrete's regime in our Mexican section. The section was deliberately kept isolated from the vital struggles and debates within our international and every attempt to introduce Bolshevik norms of functioning were resisted by Negrete, who worked to maintain the section as his own personal fiefdom in which he was the unchallenged "all-knowing" leader.

When this situation came to a head and was fought out, Norden and Stamberg rallied to the defense of Negrete, arrogantly declaring that the members of our Mexican section were either liars or dupes who had been lined up by the "International." In return, Negrete attached himself to Norden and Stamberg, like a piece of lint on a pair of serge pants. Toward the end, Negrete fancied himself the modern-day equivalent of a member of Trotsky's Left Opposition being led away to a Siberian gulag. His (typically) long-winded proclamation in defense of Norden and Stamberg's refusal to abide by democratic centralism concluded with the grandiose exhortation, "Down with frame-ups and witchhunting methods! For the communism of Lenin and Trotsky, long live the ICL!" But then Negrete was always, as one comrade quipped, something of a "legend in his own mind."

Disintegrative Pressures on the Revolutionary Vanguard

The ICL is a voluntary organization. But, impelled by his own alien political appetites, Norden increasingly came to see the party and its leadership as some kind of bureaucratic prison with himself as the victim of wanton regime tyranny. The party hadn't changed, nor had Norden particularly. What had changed was the world. As Joseph Seymour, a member of the WV Editorial Board, wrote in a letter to Norden, with whom he had worked closely for over two decades:

"I am very concerned about your increasing alienation from the rest of the leadership. Your political personality has not changed fundamentally over the years though you do seem to have become more impatient for organizational suc-



Spartakist
International Communist League intervened to offer revolutionary leadership in East Germany, 1989-90. Spartakist banner at December 1989 anti-fascist demonstration in East Berlin reads: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"



Le Bolchévik

Pabloites of the first mobilization: Ernest Mandel (far left) and mentor Michel Pablo. Right: Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist "caudillo" Nahuel Moreno.



El Socialista

cesses, especially where you are personally involved in the work. What has changed fundamentally is the world in which we live and function. And therein lies the crux of the problem.... I believe you do not accept that, beginning in the late 1970s, there has occurred a *historic retrogression* in the political consciousness of the working class and left internationally. This development both conditioned the counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc and has been reinforced by it."

As belligerent and frankly bizarre as Y. Rad's factional struggle became (which included Rad's belief in mental telepathy!) at least he forthrightly put forward his political views. Not Norden. He used squid tactics, spilling ink in hundreds of pages of documents that were as obfuscating as they were turgid. Since the beginning of 1995 alone, at least 392 pages of internal material were written by Norden and Stamberg and circulated to all sections and locals of the ICL. Although he had fundamental differences with the program and perspectives of our international, his documents were a study in centrist evasion.

Norden obviously believed the leadership of the international was increasingly going off the political rails. But rather than declaring a faction to fight against this and for a different political perspective and a corresponding new leadership, Norden and Stamberg engaged in cliquist guerrilla warfare against the decisions of the party. Operating on the perception that the party press was his personal fiefdom—"WV c'est moi," to paraphrase Louis XIV—"His Editorship" (as Stamberg came to refer to Norden's position) rejected the Leninist understanding that the majority determined the line.

It is said that colleagues of Eduard Bernstein in the German Social Democracy advised him not to put his disagreements with, and rejection of, Marxism in writing. Instead they argued that he avoid a political struggle and simply act on his disagreements. But Bernstein was, evidently, an honest revisionist who committed to paper his reformist view that the "movement was everything" and the "goal" of socialist revolution "nothing." Norden was the opposite. He acted upon and tried to implement the substance of his political differences, which were increasingly antithetical to the program and purpose of the ICL, but would not openly argue for a different program or perspectives.

When caught out he would simply deny everything. But he knew he was operating on the basis of a different set of politics, as evidenced by the fact that he increasingly attempted to operate in secrecy, outside of the scrutiny of the party and its leadership. When asked to submit his phone bills, a common practice among leading cadre of our organization and something Norden had done routinely for at least the last decade, Norden defiantly and categorically refused.

Charges were brought by the International Secretariat against Norden and Stamberg "for violation of the party's discipline of democratic centralism, specifically [their] defiant and categorical denial of a fundamental condition of membership, that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity (i.e. not personal activity) of its members." Norden and Stamberg refused to attend the party trial which had been called to allow them to defend themselves against

these charges, dismissing the party's democratic procedures as a bureaucratic "frame-up" and denouncing the request for their phone bills as a demonic ruse to persecute other comrades. As the PB motion expelling Norden and Stamberg noted:

"In fact, either Norden and Stamberg have nothing to hide because their calls are all to comrades (who whatever their sympathies or antipathies for the politics of Norden and Stamberg have the right to discuss their views with any member of the party), in which case



Presidium of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1920. Our party stands on democratic-centralist practices of Lenin's Bolsheviks.

Norden and Stamberg's refusal to submit their phone bills (at considerable financial cost to themselves) is a dim provocation designed to engineer their own expulsion; or they have been in contact with political formations outside the organization."

We are still left wondering what game Norden and Stamberg were playing. As to where they are going, the possibilities are wide open so long as the minimum norm of being anti-Marxist is met. In this regard, we have the excellent example of Y. Rad. He left our organization screaming against the supposed "Stalinophobia" displayed in our opposition to the revolting Russian "red-brown coalition" and in our refusal to support the Serbian nationalist forces in the all-sided fratricide in ex-Yugoslavia. A few months after quitting, Rad had made a 180 degree turn-around, denouncing us as "the best defenders of counter-revolutionary Stalinism." Rad retrospectively took up the defense of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, of Yeltsin's 1991 imperialist-backed coup in Moscow, and of the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs!

Pabloism of the Second Mobilization

Years ago, Norden was won over from a quasi-syndicalist, New Leftist position to the Spartacist League. He devoted the best decades of his life to working 16 hours a day for the Marxist socialist movement, struggling to expound revolutionary Trotskyism around the globe, particularly through *Workers Vanguard*, the flagship paper of our international. An early expression of Norden's alienation from the party was his increasingly self-conscious view that *WV* was his fiefdom, and corresponding resistance to party intervention and criticism of the paper. Under the impact of the historic defeat represented by the counterrevolu-

tionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and his increasing rejection of democratic centralism, Norden's episodic impressionism (which always had a centrist bent) became chronic and acute.

Impressionists are prone to wild and quick reversals. A case study is that of Michel Pablo, an adventurer who emerged after World War II as the leader of the decimated forces of Trotsky's Fourth International and whose impressionism liquidated the political program and purpose of Trotsky's International.

In the 1950s, following the creation of deformed workers states in East Europe, Pablo predicted "centuries of deformed workers states" and pursued a "deep entrism" liquidation into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the 1960s, Pablo's heirs in Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (Usec) chased after petty-bourgeois guerrillaism and championed "student power." At their 1972 World Congress, the Usec rediscovered the working class, writing: "After May 1968 and, more generally, after the revival of workers' struggles throughout Europe, an



Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Red Army.

irreversible turn has taken place in this milieu everywhere in the world." The irreversible was quickly reversed as Mandel & Co. embraced the cause of anti-Soviet social democracy in the 1980s. By the 1990s, Mandel was speaking of the "crisis of credibility" of socialism, and the Usec was debating simply throwing in the towel and liquidating their organization outright.

Norden's liquidationist course was a Pabloism of the second mobilization: denial of reality, suppression of the Trotskyist program, vicarious political adventurism and adaptation to alien political pressures, and liquidation of the Trotskyist vanguard as the necessary subjective factor in history. He was given plenty of opportunity to reverse his course. But he rejected any attempt at a political corrective simply aimed at "destroying his authority," an authority which he correspondingly invested with papal proportions of infallibility.

It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils around the world. In a period conditioned by the colossal defeats for the international proletariat signified by capitalist counter-revolution in the former Soviet Union and across East Europe, this puts our small forces in a conjuncturally fragile situation.

Across West Europe, the working class and most militant battles in years, yet for the first time since the Paris Commune, the masses of workers in struggle do not identify their immediate felt needs with the ideals of socialism or the program of proletarian revolution. In the U.S., where the political consciousness of the working class has long been retarded by a ruling class which has effectively fomented first religious and then raw racial hatred as a fundamental prop for capitalist exploitation, the labor movement has been fractured and driven back by two decades of surrender by the trade-unio bureaucracy before a massive anti-labor offensive. Many youth who consider themselves to be "radical" are imbued with liberal-democratic idealism which finds its expression in vaguely anarchist sentiments or variants of "green" radicalism.

Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat has generated disorientation, demoralization and appetites to look elsewhere for the "answer." In this context internal political struggle is inevitable, and desperately necessary, to keep our party on the rails. As Trotsky observed in his 1937 article "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current... it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

As the recent strike waves in France and Italy and the anti-racist mobilizations throughout West Europe demonstrate, there is a new generation of fighters, both in the working class and among radical youth, to be won to the program of international socialist revolution. The fights to reorient and steel our forces in the face of a "New World Order" are aimed at intersecting new social struggles as they erupt and winning the best elements to the program of communism. ■

Bay Area: SEIU Tops Cripple Janitors Strike

OAKLAND, June 30—Four weeks after SEIU Local 1877 (Justice for Janitors) voted to strike against 24 janitorial sub-contractors in four Bay Area counties, the union has announced a tentative agreement with eight large contractors. Local 1877's demands were a mere pittance compared to the massive profits of the high-tech companies whose buildings the janitors clean. The union tops are now settling for even less. The multiracial, heavily immigrant workforce—Latinos, Chinese, Arabs and others—are among the most vulnerable and exploited. They faced a difficult struggle, especially given their dispersal among far-flung job sites. But the union leadership straitjacketed this strike from the start, and now they aim to seal off East Bay and Silicon Valley janitors from their sister Local 87 in San Francisco, which may be on strike next month against some of the same big contractors.

The union was demanding an average 5 percent per year wage increase over four years—which would have brought all janitors up to the abysmal federal poverty level—and family health benefits after six months on the job, as opposed to the current *five years* (or virtually never in this high-turnover industry). Oakland strikers were angry that the tentative deal—which was rammed down their throats, with the bureaucrats sending workers at the huge Kaiser building back to work before a vote—gives the most highly paid a “raise” averaging less than inflation, while the lowest paid will be making only \$7.64 an hour four years from now. The time on the job required to qualify for family medical benefits is to drop bit by bit, reaching one year only at the end of the contract. The employers agreed early on to the union's proposal for a four-year contract, implying an offer of “labor peace” enforced by the SEIU.

The SEIU bureaucrats' policy of “rolling strikes” pulled out a few hundred janitors in limited areas for a day at a time, only to return the next day to do the work they left behind, with hardly any impact on the companies in the buildings and thus no pressure on the

contractors. As the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 June) noted, “After a week and a half, the union's 180 workers in downtown Oakland got frustrated with the on-again, off-again strategy. On June 17, they voted to stay out until they get a contract.” About 40 janitors in San Ramon and some others did likewise.

tractors (some of which, like American Building Maintenance, are big operations that trade on the New York Stock Exchange) to make appeals for “economic justice” to the contractors' clients, “image-conscious corporate leaders.” At every step, the bureaucrats have stopped this from turning into a real strike against

to the janitors; but aside from empty letters of solidarity, nothing was done. Instead, Teamster UPS and garbage drivers and stationary engineers have been crossing janitors' picket lines, rendering the arrogant bureaucrats' “strike sanction” worse than an empty gesture. Meanwhile, the SEIU issued leaflets appealing to the “conscience” of individual union members. And at the key Richmond UPS facility last week, they bowed to a “two gate” setup and refused to put up picket lines to bring out the Teamsters. The strike has been sabotaged from the inside.

In San Francisco, another 4,000 janitors in SEIU Local 87 face employer demands to eliminate both the union's hiring hall and seniority in rehiring laid-off workers. But instead of pulling out the San Francisco janitors and fighting to shut down this financial center of the West Coast, there have been more token “rolling pickets” of several San Francisco buildings by Local 1877, which Local 87 has been observing. The union tops are helping the bosses disperse and isolate the workers' struggles. If the San Francisco janitors go out, they must get the full backing of city workers to *shut down the financial district*.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, historically based on the white, skilled labor aristocrats and wedded to the capitalist class enemy, has a long record of racism and chauvinist protectionism, and doesn't give a damn about low-wage minority and immigrant workers. The AFL-CIO tops and their local flunkies don't want strikes in this election year. Sweeney and his cronies are spending millions of the unions' money to re-elect Clinton, even though he is viciously anti-labor. This strike of an overwhelmingly immigrant workforce is being sacrificed to the AFL-CIO's standard strategy of capitalist party electoralism, this time in support of the virulently anti-immigrant Clinton. Break with the Democrats and Republicans! We need a class-struggle workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a tribune of all the people, to fight for a workers government! ■



Striking Bay Area SEIU janitors and supporters march through downtown Oakland, June 21.

Their anger and frustration was shared by the rest of Local 1877's 5,000 members, who *want* a real and effective strike, but have been held back by the union tops, both local and International.

This is part of the “corporate campaign,” a hallmark of the “new” AFL-CIO misleadership under John Sweeney, former head of the SEIU. The union tops have attempted to bypass the con-

tractors.

By themselves the janitors do not have a lot of social power. To make their strike really effective means stopping the struck buildings from functioning by bringing out the other unions: stationary engineers, skilled trades, Teamsters, postal workers, etc. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* Central Labor Councils in the Bay Area extended “strike sanction”

McDonnell Douglas...

(continued from page 16)

Boeing in late 1995, “outsourcing” and job security are the main issues in the battle against McDonnell Douglas, where some 1,600 jobs have been slashed at the St. Louis plant in the past three years. Meanwhile, Mac is rolling in profits, raking in over \$700 million last year and paying its CEO \$40 million—a *thousand times* the pay of a skilled worker. The IAM tops plead for “better contract language” on job security. That's what they got at Lockheed Martin last April, calling off a strike on the basis of a contract that saved a few dozen jobs. Days later, Lockheed announced 1,500 layoffs at their Georgia plant.

Black workers at McDonnell Douglas know best of all that the company's “job security” is a sham. They are victimized by cop violence, segregation and discrimination everywhere they turn and McDonnell Douglas offers up more of the same. Although jobs at Mac pay better than most, black strikers told *Workers Vanguard* that outright discrimination and the lack of in-plant training keep black IAM members tracked into unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Layoffs have hit black Machinists especially hard, and the company's “final” contract offer includes a *cut* in wages for the heavily minority janitorial workers by around \$7 an hour.

Moreover, not a year goes by in St. Louis without a cross-burning by racist terrorists. One KKK outfit is headquartered just across the Mississippi in Alton, Illinois. The fascists are not only a deadly threat to black people and all minorities but are also fervently anti-union—more than likely including the strikebreaking Vance Security ninjas among their numbers. The organized working class must be mobilized to smash the fascist scum. The picket lines at Mac—bolstered by thousands of UAW workers from the nearby Ford Aerostar factory and other unionists—should become the core of anti-racist workers defense guards.

Yet the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the IAM tops helps put wind

in the racists' sails. IAM president George Kourpias has been pushing an anti-Asian, anti-Communist crusade for punitive economic measures by the U.S. rulers against China. Last February, Kourpias was rewarded for his services to U.S. imperialism by being appointed head of the AFL-CIO's “Committee on International Affairs,” which oversees the various CIA “labor” fronts deployed around the world. Labor must break with the agencies of U.S. imperialism—for complete independence of the unions from the bosses' state!

Among the phony “socialists” who have appeared at the McDonnell Douglas workers' picket lines is the Socialist Workers Party. This reformist outfit simply alibis the sellout policies of the union tops. An article in the *Militant* (1 July) says not a word about the IBEW bureaucrats' scabberding and the IAM tops' backstabbing. Moreover, the SWP is notorious for engaging in polite “debates” with the KKK nightriders. In contrast, the Spartacist League fights for labor/minority mobilizations based on the power of the unions to *stop* the fascists. This is part of our fight to win the working class to a struggle to sweep away the capitalist system of racism, union-busting and unemployment.

To win this strike and fight unemployment requires a sharp break with the AFL-CIO traitors, who seek to tie the unions to the bosses and their state,

mainly through support to the Democratic Party. What's needed at McDonnell Douglas is a fight for union control of hiring and training, with special recruitment programs for minorities and women; for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to create jobs at the capitalists' expense; and to mobilize against every manifestation of racial discrimination and segregation that relegates blacks to second-class citizenship. The key task is forging a class-struggle leadership, as part of the fight for a revolutionary and internationalist workers party. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

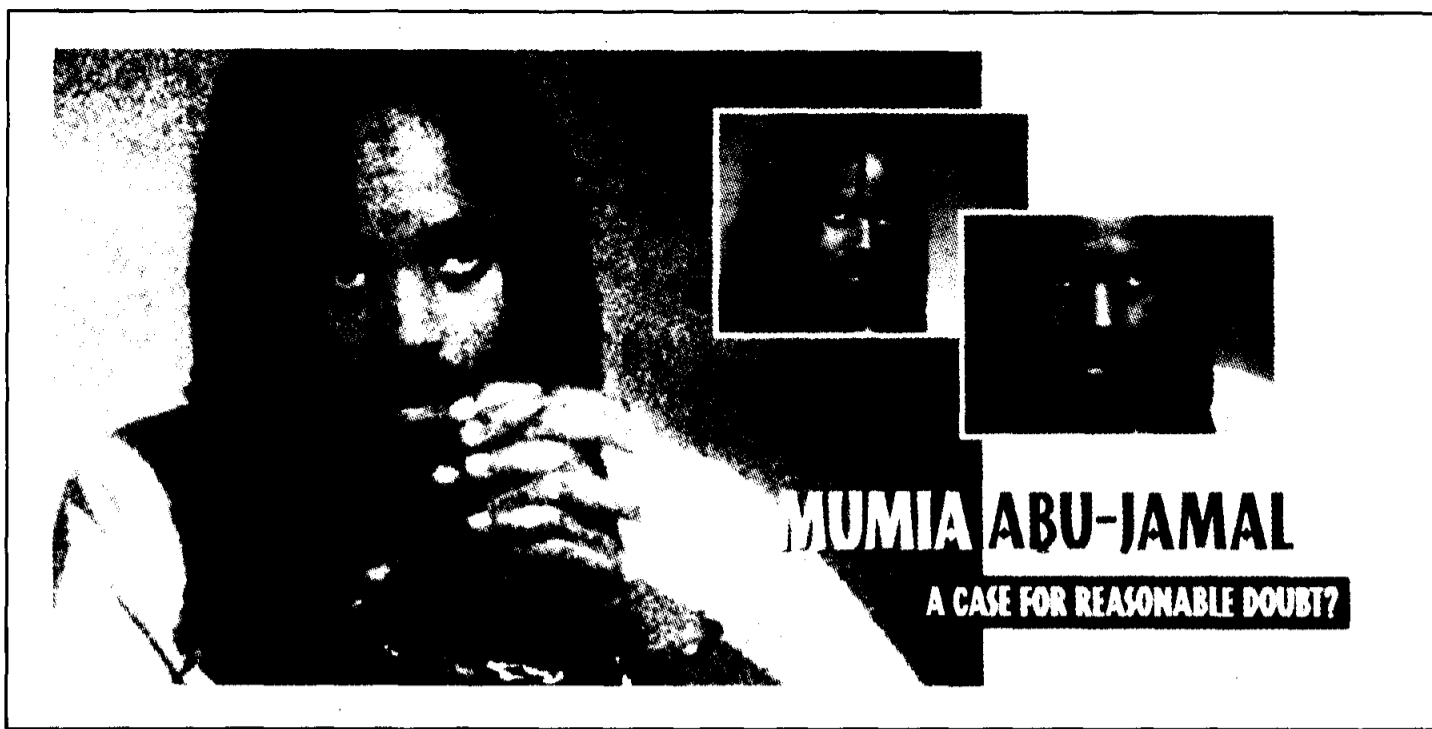
Chicago

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

New York City

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

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August.
Our next issue will be dated August 2.



HBO Special
Tune in July 7
10:00 p.m.

On Sunday, July 7, cable television's Home Box Office will air its new documentary, "Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?" at 10 p.m. EDT. The courts and prison officials continue to escalate their campaign to silence Mumia, but his eloquent voice against racist oppression continues to be heard. At 9 p.m. EDT on July 11, the HBO special will be re-broadcast on Court TV, which will also follow up the telecast with a roundtable debate on the issues of Mumia's case.

Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

with a fellow state legislator. At first McGeehan denied calling blacks "n-----s" and other racist epithets, only to admit later he did. McGeehan's filthy, but highly revealing, racist insults come against a backdrop in Philadelphia of still-unfolding stories of widespread police fabrication of evidence against their victims and of systematic racist brutality. These are the people and this is the "justice" system that want to silence Mumia for good.

As the authorities began speeding up their machinery of death against Mumia, starting with the harassment of his paralegals, requests for interviews with Jamal made by German TV 1, Connie Chung and others were denied. Prison authorities told the press that there was "an internal investigation for possible violation of Department of Corrections policy," claiming that Mumia was "running a business" by writing and speaking out about the horrors of death row.

As Mumia testified in the Pittsburgh court, one reason he wrote was "to make money and to use the money to pay, hire and employ lawyers for my appeal, investigators and other support staff." Equally, if not more importantly, Mumia's writings and interviews have generated widespread and intense media coverage which aids defense efforts to

locate witnesses and evidence. Given the level of national and international media coverage and support for Mumia, Veronica Jones, a key 1982 trial witness, is now willing to testify about the strong police coercion which caused her to tailor her original testimony in the interests of the prosecution.

However, Benson's ruling in large part also found that opening, photocopying and removing enclosures from Jamal's legal mail is justifiable if prison authorities can claim to "have a reasonable suspicion" that Mumia is engaged in criminal activity or is violating prison rules. Corrections officials of course argued that their rules against inmates conducting a "business" gave them the right not only to open Jamal's legal mail, but to subject him to "disciplinary" actions such as taking away telephone, radio, television and visitor "privileges"—all designed to further isolate and torture Mumia.

In upholding the "constitutionality" of regulating a so-called prison business, Benson has given authorities a "legitimate" basis to open mail Mumia receives from his attorneys, as well as the right to discipline him for future writings. Benson dismissed Jamal's right to paralegal visits, even while acknowledging that the visits were to discuss legal matters pursuant to Mumia's appeal. And while recognizing that raising money for hiring attorneys and generating publicity to find witnesses are natural activities for

Mumia, Benson nevertheless held that Mumia's right to free speech ends once he receives any payment for his writings.

Despite the concerted efforts of the cops and courts, Mumia's campaign continues to strike a chord among opponents of racist injustice. On May 19, the New College of California awarded Jamal an honorary Doctor of Law degree, citing his "courageous efforts to expose the brutality, inequity, and racism of the criminal justice system" and "his struggle to challenge the fundamental injustice and inhumanity of the death penalty." In June, the American Booksellers Association awarded *Race for Justice* the first annual "Firecracker Alternative Book" award for the best book in politics. *Race for Justice* reprints the Memorandum in Support for Post-Conviction Relief submitted by Jamal last June to overturn his conviction, and predictably rejected by notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the hearing.

Mumia is fighting for his life in an election year in which both capitalist parties, Clinton's Democrats and Dole's Republicans, are trying to outdo each other in escalating racist and anti-working-class repression. On June 28, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the section of Clinton's 1996 "Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" severely limiting the ability of state prisoners to file *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts—a primary means by which death sentences have

been overturned. The reactionary, racist nature of this ruling is clear from the Supreme Court opinion itself, which harkens back to the intent of the slaveholding framers of the Constitution that *habeas corpus* apply only to federal prisoners. In 1867, as a direct outcome of the Civil War that smashed the Southern slavocracy, these rights were expanded to include all cases of incarceration in violation of the Constitution.

The systematic police and prosecution collusion in framing up Mumia, and many others, shows how the "democratic" capitalist state—the cops, courts and prisons—is an apparatus for repression against working people and minorities. As part of our fight to sweep away this capitalist system of racist repression and injustice, we demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

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

Philadelphia

MOVE Survivors Win Suit Against City

More than eleven years after the murderous bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in May 1985, three civil suits against the city of Philadelphia and two of its officials for the MOVE massacre ended in a victory for the victims of this act of racist state terror. Eleven people, including five children, were incinerated in that fiery holocaust, and a whole neighborhood burned to the ground. Finally, on June 24, a jury awarded Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the massacre, Louise James (who owned the MOVE home and whose son, Frank Africa, was one of the victims) and LaVerne Sims, sister of MOVE founder John Africa, a total of \$1.5 million. Former fire chief William Richmond and police commissioner Gregore Sambor—who were involved in the decision to bomb the house and to then let the fire burn out of control—were each ordered to pay an insultingly paltry \$1 weekly payment for the next eleven years.

As Ramona Africa remarked shortly after the verdict, "This is not about money. This is about taking a stand for all people." Nevertheless, as a prominent black Philadelphia lawyer pointed out, the minimal level of the financial recompense for this unspeakable mass murder of eleven black people "says that the lives of these people weren't worth the going rate." The amount of damages awarded was also an indication that the jury bought the government's lie that MOVE members were partially responsible for their own deaths.

The MOVE massacre was the result of a bloodthirsty conspiracy that ran from the Reagan White House to the City Hall of black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, from the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) to the Philadelphia police. The resulting fire was deliberately allowed to rage for five hours, burning the neighborhood to ash and

leaving hundreds homeless. For the "crime" of surviving this racist vendetta, Ramona Africa served every day of a seven-year jail term on "riot" and "conspiracy" charges, after suffering severe burns in the blaze which killed her family. Unlike much of the left, the Spartacist League protested this heinous massacre at the time, condemning the MOVE bombing as "the signature of the Reagan years" and vowing to sear this atrocity into the memory of the working class. Likewise, we organized urgent protest demonstrations immediately after Clinton and Reno's 1993 Waco holocaust.

Criminal charges have never been and will never be leveled against any of the truly criminal perpetrators of this mass murder, from Reagan to Goode to the various other local, state and federal officials involved. Goode, along with then district attorney and now mayor Ed Rendell, was granted immunity even from this civil suit.



Ramona Africa, sole adult survivor of 1985 MOVE massacre, announcing jury verdict.

As we stated in reporting on the trial in May, "That it required civil suits to bring any of those guilty of the mass murder of MOVE onto the stand is itself an indictment of American bourgeois 'democracy' and its 'justice' system" (WV No. 645, 10 May). It will take an American workers revolution to avenge the massacre of MOVE and destroy the machinery of racist capitalist injustice.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Free Mumia Now!

Jamal Wins First Round Against Prison Gag Order

On June 6, U.S. Magistrate Kenneth Benson ruled in a civil suit brought by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal that prison officials violated Mumia's First Amendment right to free speech by denying him access to reporters. Benson's 67-page "report and recommendation" on the lawsuit in U.S. Federal District Court in Pittsburgh also ruled that Mumia's Sixth Amendment right to counsel had been violated. The latter ruling referred to the fact that prison authorities had copied and turned over the contents of Jamal's legal mail to the offices of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, a staunch proponent of the barbaric death penalty, who signed Mumia's execution order last June. At the same time, Benson's report allows for substantial future curtailment of Mumia's efforts to write and to speak out as the "voice of the voiceless" and undermines his ability to fight for his life and his freedom.

In court, Mumia and his attorneys in this case, Jere Krakoff and Tim O'Brien, showed unequivocally that the Pennsylvania prison system waged a furious campaign to punish and isolate him for fighting against his death sentence. The Corrections Department retaliated against Jamal because his powerful writings expose their racist system of repression. As Mumia told the court, "I wrote not just for myself, but for everyone on death row, thousands now." This is what



WV Photo

Mumia has been doing since the age of 15, when he was targeted by the FBI's infamous Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) because he was an articulate Black Panther Party spokesman. At the time of his arrest in 1981 on the false charge of killing a Philadel-

phia policeman, Mumia was well known as a radio reporter and an outspoken MOVE supporter.

Testimony by prison authorities in Jamal's civil suit was so self-indicting that even Benson, a former Assistant Attorney General who earlier represented

the Department of Corrections, couldn't deny the punitive nature of Mumia's isolation from the press. For a crucial eight months, from February through September 1995, prison authorities cut off press access to Mumia. During that time, his acclaimed book, *Live from Death Row*, was published; the death warrant for Mumia was signed; and the summer-long hearing to overturn Mumia's conviction and death sentence was held.

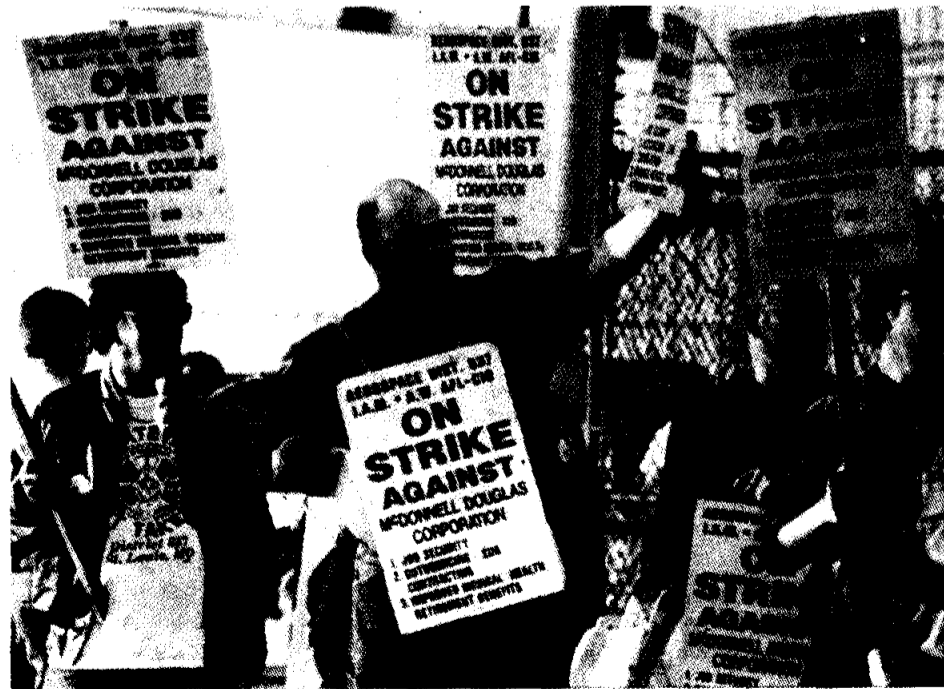
At the center of the cabal of politicians, judges and police who want to stop Mumia from being heard is Pennsylvania state representative Michael McGeehan. A strong ally of the Fraternal Order of Police and of rabid death penalty enforcer and Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham, McGeehan wrote to the Commissioner of Corrections in February 1995 demanding that Mumia be stopped from receiving a \$30,000 advance for his book. Only days after McGeehan's letter, prison superintendent James Price imposed requirements which immediately blocked visits to Mumia for the purpose of discussing his death penalty appeal by his attorney's designated paralegals, Jamila Levi and Jeanette Patton.

McGeehan recently showed himself to be the virulent racist he is by letting loose a barrage of foul, violent slurs against black people in a conversation
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Victory to McDonnell Douglas Strikers!

JULY 1—The strike by 6,700 Machinists at the McDonnell Douglas aerospace giant's plant outside St. Louis, Missouri has now gone on for four weeks. The strikers have confronted a growing army of scabs protected by anti-picketing injunctions and strikebreaking Vance Security rent-a-cops. The moment District 837 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) walked out on June 5, the "Mac" bosses began transferring white-collar scabs into the workshops. McDonnell Douglas is implementing the same battle plan that Caterpillar, Inc. used last year to break the back of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in its Midwestern plants. Key to that defeat was the backstabbing policy of the AFL-CIO tops, who once again are spluttering lots of hot air while preventing the sort of real labor solidarity in struggle that could put this strike on the road to victory.

Bowing to the bosses' laws, the IAM tops have restricted picketing to two or four strikers at each gate. What's needed instead is mass pickets, secondary boycotts, sitdown strikes—a strategy that could win this strike! The McDonnell Douglas workers' fight for job security and better pay against the profit-gorged



Chicago Tribune

Striking Machinists at McDonnell Douglas plant near St. Louis.

aerospace behemoth could become the rallying point for trade unionists, the unemployed and the oppressed black masses throughout the St. Louis metropolitan area, including across the river

in the ghetto of East St. Louis.

Yet, instead of appealing to other workers and the black ghetto masses to join the picket lines, IAM leaders have actually encouraged the scabbing.

Wheeling and dealing in labor solidarity, leaders of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1, representing 260 maintenance electricians in the plant, offered to honor the IAM's picket lines if the Machinists would pledge to honor IBEW picket lines when the electricians walked out. Criminally, the IAM bureaucrats refused, hiding behind contractual "obligations."

Both IBEW and Teamster members are now crossing IAM picket lines, despite widespread disgust among the ranks about the mutual backstabbing by the union tops. Dismissing the mortal threat this poses to the IAM strike, Machinist leaders argue, "Having IBEW members in the shop doesn't help McDonnell Douglas one bit." This opens the floodgates for full-scale strikebreaking by the Mac bosses' scabs. Every unionist worth his salt knows that *picket lines mean don't cross*.

A determined effort to stop the scabbing and ground McDonnell Douglas would strike a chord throughout working-class St. Louis and the whole Midwest. Like the 18-day UAW auto strike against GM, in Dayton, Ohio in March and the 69-day IAM strike against

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