

## Rabin Assassination Shakes Racist Zionist Rulers

Capitalist politicians from around the world flocked to Jerusalem last week to pay tribute to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, gunned down by an ultra-rightist Zionist infuriated by Israel's "peace" pact with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But Yitzhak Rabin was no "man of peace." He was the architect of the "iron fist" policy of "force, might, beatings" aimed at suppressing the heroic Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising) which began in 1987. Rabin was a militarist who devoted his life to the brutal expulsion and repression of the Palestinian Arab masses, spawning and encouraging the very forces who struck him down. In the West Bank town of Hebron, whose population continues to be subjected to army terror and murderous attacks by fascist settlers, an elderly Palestinian remarked: "He was killed by his own kind. He planted the settlers here, and they are the ones who have done this."

Rabin's assassination cast a spotlight on the growing fascist movement in Israel. The confessed killer, Yigal Amir, was a member of Eyal—an offshoot from the fascist Kach movement founded by Brooklyn-born rabbi Meir Kahane—and a student at Bar-Ilan University, a hotbed of right-wing activity. The six others arrested thus far for complicity in the murder were up to their necks in anti-Palestinian terror. Leading right-wing rabbis provided "spiritual guidance" for the assassination, issuing a religious edict justifying Rabin's death as a "traitor" to the Jewish people. Among the Zionist settlers in the Occupied Territories there was open rejoicing—one West Bank settlement displayed a sign proclaiming, "We Are All Yigal Amir."

More mainstream Zionist spokesmen in Israel and the U.S. bemoaned "violence by Jew against Jew." Naturally, they failed to note that only a week before he was killed, Rabin personally ordered the Mossad execution of Islamic Jihad leader Fathi Shiqaqi in Malta. (Nor did the *New York Times* scream for gun control in Israel, as it constantly does in the U.S., since they *want* arms in the hands of the Zionists to keep the disarmed Palestinians "in their place.") And there was hardly a mention of the cold-blooded fascist atrocity 20 months ago, when Kach supporter and army reservist Baruch Goldstein fired into a Muslim prayer service at a mosque in Hebron, killing at least 29 men, women and children. Underscoring its racist view that Arab life is cheap, the Israeli establishment dismissed Goldstein as a "lone crazy." But now that these "crazies" have taken the life of an Israeli leader, the Zionist rulers have changed their tune. As Israeli journalist Ze'ev Chafets noted, Rabin's assassin is "not a deranged outsider. He is a boy next door" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Indeed, Amir is representative of a significant layer of Israeli society. While the right-wing Likud parliamentary opposition led by Binyamin Netanyahu denounced the assassi-

### Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!



Israeli troops attack Palestinian protesters in West Bank. Fascistic settlers act as auxiliary to Zionist state terror in Occupied Territories. AFP

nation, it has echoed many of the same themes as the fascist right and Kach banners have been prominent at Likud rallies against the PLO accord. Much of the Orthodox rabbinical hierarchy, right up to the top echelons, has likewise railed against even the most token concessions to the Palestinians, calling on soldiers to defy government orders to evacuate even a single settler from the Occupied Territories. As a soldier, Amir was in the notoriously anti-Arab Golani Brigade, whose units police the Israeli-occupied "security zone" in southern Lebanon and terrorize Arab Hebron.

Rabin and more liberal Israeli commentators denounced the clerical-fascist movement, which today threatens civil war against its own government, as a foreign import. Racist American Jewish emigrés are certainly prominent in the settler movement, drawn by the blood-thirsty messianic appeal to "redeem the

Holy Land" by killing Arabs. But out-right fascism has been a significant current in Zionism going back to elements of the pro-Mussolini "Revisionists" of the 1920s and '30s, whose alumni include former Israeli prime ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir. In the epoch of imperialist decay, fascism represents the ultimate logic of nationalist chauvinism.

Since the founding of the Zionist state in 1948, there has been a growing polarization between secularism and Orthodox fundamentalism. Today, the fascists, based on the die-hard religious settlers, are trying to seize on the fears of a middle class whose living standards were based on ruthless exploitation of Palestinian labor. But Palestinians are not the only ones on the fascists' "enemies lists." Settler children are taught that "Jewish leftists" are "human devils." And when Professor Moshe Zimmerman, presti-

gious head of German Studies at Hebrew University and an expert on the Holocaust, compared settler youth to the Hitler Youth in Nazi Germany, there was an enraged outcry demanding his firing for "the honor of the Jewish people."

Rabin's "Labor," a thoroughly bourgeois party, has historically been the mainstay of Zionism and the architect of expansionist terror against the Arab people. Indeed, it was these secular "socialists" who founded the semi-theocratic Israeli state and laid the ideological foundations for clerical fascism. Lacking any material basis for nationhood among the dispersed Jewish people of Europe, Zionism's founding fathers appropriated the messianic, tribalist rhetoric of the Old Testament as a historical and ideological anchor for their ersatz nationalism. In his book *The Non-Jewish Jew*, Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher remarked on the "Jewish tragedy that the world has driven the Jew to seek safety in a nation-state in the middle of this century when the nation-state is falling into decay."

Rabin's military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 provided both a material and ideological catalyst for the rise of a mass-based fascist movement. The expansion of Israel beyond the 1947 "Green Line" provoked a revival of "redeem the land" rhetoric aimed at creating a "Greater Israel." Adopting the biblical proscription against the sale or rental of Jewish property to non-Jews, the Zionist regime decreed that only Jews could settle "state land," which now includes the bulk of territory not only in Israel but in the West

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Millions of Workers Strike,  
Army/Cops Wage  
"Anti-Terrorist" War on Immigrants

## France in Turmoil

SEE PAGE 6



# Framed Up and Jailed for 11 Years

## Illinois Death Row Prisoner Wins Freedom

After three trials and ten years on death row, Rolando Cruz survived attempted murder by the state of Illinois.

Cruz was convicted twice, in 1985 and 1990, for the 1983 rape and murder of ten-year-old Jeanine Nicarico in Naperville, Illinois. Both times, the state Supreme Court ordered retrials on procedural grounds. At each trial, the prosecution's case was built around police testimony that Cruz told them he had a "vision" of the crime, which included

details presumably only a participant would know. The cops involved never wrote a report of Cruz's "vision" statement, and no physical evidence linked Cruz to the murder. Furthermore, before his third trial, two witnesses against Cruz had recanted their testimony, saying it had been coerced by cops. Cruz was acquitted on November 3, when a cop admitted on the witness stand that the "vision" story was a lie.

That prosecutors were out for blood

in this case is an understatement. After two overturned verdicts, they pursued the death penalty against a man they knew was innocent. Only months after Cruz's conviction, Brian Dugan, who was convicted of raping and murdering two other people, offered to confess to the Nicarico murder in exchange for immunity from the death penalty. Even after DNA tests excluded Cruz from the girl's rape and pointed directly to Dugan, prosecutors were loath to give up a death penalty conviction, particularly when it meant admitting to a frame-up. Prosecutors still haven't given up on Alejandro Hernandez, who was convicted of the Nicarico murder along with Cruz in 1985 and is awaiting his third trial.

Meanwhile, prosecutors in Will County, Illinois are still gunning for Manuel Salazar, whose 1985 death penalty conviction was overturned by the Illinois Supreme Court last year. Salazar faces a new trial in the 1984 shooting of a Joliet cop. In that incident, the cop had pulled over the car in which Salazar was riding specifically because black and Hispanic youths were in the car together. The cops started brutally beating him. In a struggle over a cop's gun, it went off, killing the policeman. With a shoot-to-kill order out for him, Salazar fled to Mexico, where he was kidnapped and illegally brought back to Illinois for trial.

The deadly frame-up which ensnared Rolando Cruz is no aberration, but standard operating procedure for the racist cops and courts in capitalist America. Darby Tillis spent nine years in an Illinois prison, over four of them on death row, until he was finally able to win his freedom. Speaking at a Partisan Defense Committee rally in Chicago on



Zielenbach/Chicago Tribune  
**Rolando Cruz embracing his aunt after release from prison.**

March 4, Tillis said, "I am one of almost 450 persons in this country who was convicted of a capital crime and later found to be innocent." In January, another Illinois prisoner, James Newsome, was freed after serving 15 years of a life sentence for a murder that he did not commit, and for which prosecutors had evidence implicating someone else.

These are the exceptions. Thousands more, mainly black men, await the executioner on death rows across the country. The struggle for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, a political prisoner who was sentenced to die for being an eloquent fighter against racism and oppression, has come to symbolize the battle against the racist death penalty today. Rolando Cruz's case echoes Jamal's in that the prosecution was anchored on a concocted "confession" and coerced witnesses.

While liberals clamor for a "fair trial" for Mumia, the frame-up, rigged "trial" and peremptory denied appeals of this innocent man demonstrate that there cannot be a fair trial for Jamal in the capitalist courts. We demand freedom for Mumia now! The whole system of capitalist "justice" is an instrument for the repression of the working class and minorities. The power of the working class, taking up the cause of all the oppressed, must be galvanized in a socialist fight to sweep away the whole system of racist capitalist exploitation.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Manuel Salazar! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■



**TROTSKY**

### France: Popular Front vs. Proletarian Revolution

*Demobilized by more than a decade of popular-front class collaboration under the government of former Socialist president François Mitterrand, the French proletariat today faces savage attacks on its living standards and racist terror by cops and fascists against its minority and immigrant component. In the late 1930s, the People's Front government led by the Socialist Party of Léon Blum, and backed by Maurice*



**LENIN**

*Thorez' Stalinist Communist Party as well as the CGT labor federation led by Léon Jouhaux, paved the way for the reaction of the Vichy regime. In drawing the lessons of the People's Front, Leon Trotsky emphasized the need for a break with parliamentary reformism and class collaboration, counterposing the proletarian struggle for power under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party. This is no less true today, as French workers demonstrate their readiness to fight against the right-wing regime's austerity drive.*

The discontent of the betrayed masses is immense. Jouhaux, Blum, and Thorez are constrained to do something in order to avoid losing their credit definitively. In response to the spontaneous movement of the workers, Jouhaux proclaims a "general strike," a protest of "folded arms." Legal, peaceful, completely inoffensive protest! For twenty-four hours only, he explains with a deferential smile in the direction of the bourgeoisie. Order will not be disturbed, the workers will conserve a "dignified" calm, not a hair will tumble from the head of the ruling class. He gives a guarantee, he, Jouhaux. "Don't you know me, Messrs. Bankers, Industrialists, and Generals? Have you forgotten that I saved you at the time of the war of 1914-18?" For their part, Blum and Thorez second the general secretary of the CGT: "Only a peaceful protest, a little protest, sympathetic, patriotic!"...

The general strike is, by its very essence, a revolutionary means of struggle. In a general strike the proletariat assembles itself as a class against its class enemy. The use of the general strike is absolutely incompatible with the politics of the People's Front, which signifies alliance with the bourgeoisie, that is to say, the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The miserable bureaucrats of the Socialist and Communist parties as well as of the trade unions consider the proletariat a simple auxiliary instrument in their behind-the-scenes combinations with the bourgeoisie....

At bottom, Jouhaux, Blum, and Thorez have done everything possible in order to assure the defeat of the strike. They themselves fear the struggle no less than the bourgeoisie; at the same time they are forced to create an alibi for themselves in the eyes of the proletariat. That is the habitual war stratagem of reformists: to prepare the defeat of action by the masses and then accuse the masses of failure or, just as bad, praise themselves with a nonexistent success....

The deception invoked by the People's Front has been able, certainly, to bring about a temporary demoralization in certain layers; but this is balanced by the increase in rebelliousness and impatience in other layers. At the same time the movements of 1936 as well as 1938 have enriched the entire proletariat with invaluable experience and developed thousands of local workers' leaders independent of the official bureaucracy. It is necessary to understand how to find access to these leaders, to link them with one another, to arm them with a revolutionary program.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Decisive Hour" (December 1938)

## WORKERS VANGUARD



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## Tenth Annual PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

This year marks the Partisan Defense Committee's tenth Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners. The Holiday Appeal fund drive maintains the monthly stipends to 17 prisoners throughout the year, in addition to providing money for individual holiday gifts for prisoners and their families. This is a message of solidarity from those on the outside to those victimized for standing up to racist capitalist oppression.

Benefits will be held in New York, Chicago and Oakland. Hear updates on the fight to free death row political prisoner **Mumia Abu-Jamal**. Jamal's petition to reverse his conviction and death sentence was rejected in September by Philadelphia hanging judge Albert Sabo. Jamal's struggle has won support

from around the world. Join the fight to free Mumia now!

Other stipend recipients include former Black Panther leader **Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)**, framed under the FBI's COINTELPRO vendetta against the BPP for a murder the government knows he could not have committed—the feds' wiretap logs show he was 400 miles away; United Mine Workers striker **Jerry Dale Lowe**, sentenced to nearly eleven years for defending his union; nine members of the Philadelphia **MOVE** organization; **Jaan Laaman** and **Ray Luc Levasseur** of the Ohio 7; prisoner rights leader **Hugo Pinell**; and former Black Panther Party supporters **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice)** and **Ed Poindexter**.

### New York

Friday, December 1  
 5 to 9:30 p.m.

Wetlands  
 161 Hudson St. (at Laight)

For more information:  
 (212) 406-4252

### Chicago

Sunday, December 3  
 2 to 6 p.m.

United Electrical Hall  
 37 S. Ashland

For more information:  
 (312) 663-0719

### Bay Area

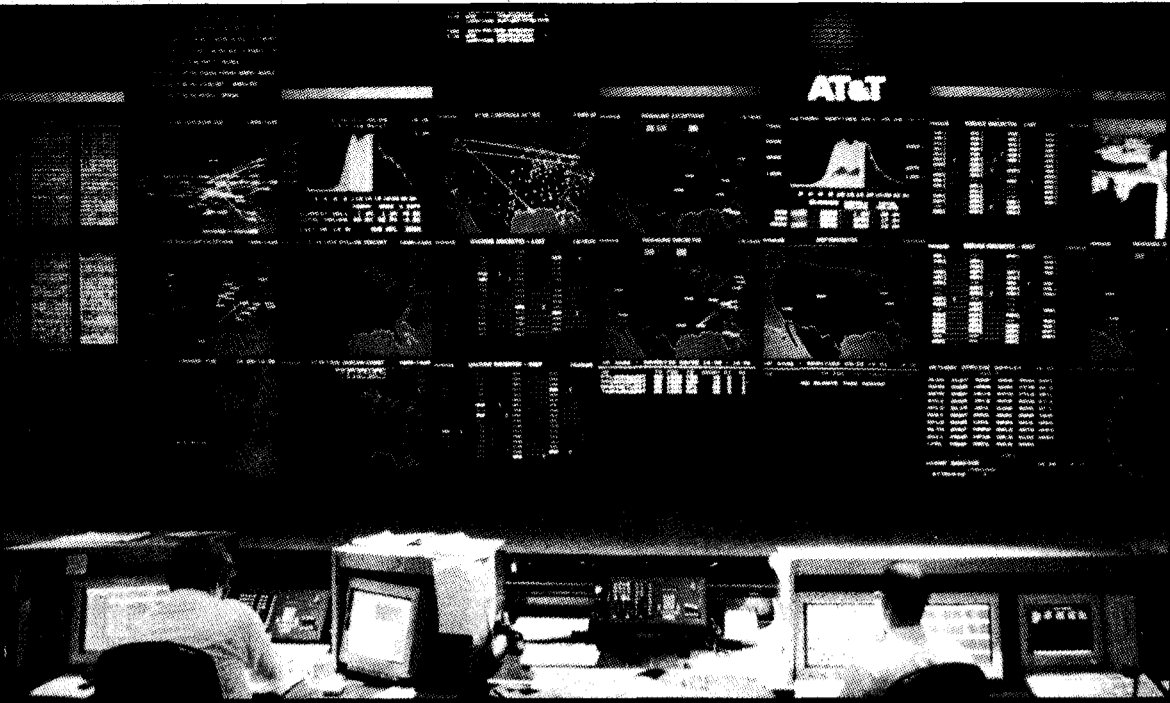
Sunday, December 10  
 1 to 4 p.m.

ILWU Local 6 Hall  
 99 Hegenberger Rd., Oakland

For more information:  
 (510) 839-0852

A \$10 ticket includes a one-year subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

# FBI's "Big Brother" Wiretap Scheme



Der Spiegel

If the FBI has its way, it will soon be tapping telephones at a rate *ten times* greater than a year or two ago—and that's by *their* count. As outlined in the *Federal Register* (16 October), the feds intend to classify every telephone line in the country according to whether it is located in "high-crime" areas (i.e., major cities), where they will monitor as many as one in 100 lines, not-so-high-crime cities and suburbs, and rural areas. Trying to hide the scope of their plans, FBI director Louis Freeh sent a "non-denial denial" letter to the *New York Times* (3 November). But the *Times'* account the day before made it clear that in cities like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, the FBI wants "to intercept tens of thousands of phone calls at once."

The FBI got the green light for its snooping scheme with the passage of the 1994 Digital Telephony Act, which it had been pushing since Clinton took office. In fact, the Democratic White House has steadily increased federal phone surveillance since taking over from the Reagan/Bush Republicans. In Clinton's first year, federal wiretaps rose by one-third—the largest increase in a decade—fueled by a 50 percent rise in court orders against suspected "drug dealers."

Wiretap expansion is just one part of a program to massively increase government intrusion into the lives of the population. Clinton's 1994 "Crime" Act and this year's Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill, passed by the Senate following the criminal right-wing Oklahoma City bombing in April, would together gut a good part of the Bill of Rights while greatly expanding use of the death penalty and making immigrants, legal and illegal, special targets for repression.

Now Congress is due to take up a bill that would set up a "national registry for work" listing citizens and immigrants allowed to work legally, which employers

in high-immigration states would have to call up before hiring anyone. (As one Congressman put it, call 1-800-BIG-BROTHER.) This would be a big step toward creating a national identity card—an apartheid-style passbook system—in the U.S. Meanwhile, the Internal Revenue Service has begun building its "Compliance 2000" database, which aims "to store personal information on every American" by using government, business and private organizations' records—driver's licenses, credit ratings, medical records...anything that uses names or Social Security numbers (*New York Post*, 16 February).

The capitalist state always arrogates to itself the "right" to spy on and do all sorts of "dirty tricks" to "the enemy within": communists, trade unionists, black activists, student radicals. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the heirs of J. Edgar Hoover aren't screaming about "reds under the beds" to justify snooping on us. Instead, the enemy is "terrorism," "crime" (in particular, drugs) and...sex. Not only have the cops started entrapping users of "pornographic" E-mail, but the telephony bill allows them access to cable TV billing records, so that they'll know what pay-per-view movies you're watching in the "privacy" of your own home. The FBI's fellow spooks in the CIA are also redefining their mission in the "post-Soviet" world, reorienting to seizing the trade and business secrets of the U.S.' imperialist competitors.

The CIA's new role was put on display when it was revealed that during trade talks with Japan last spring, U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor received daily briefings from the CIA's Tokyo station and from National Security Agency (NSA) eavesdropping specialists. These agencies initially set up shop in Japan to spy on the USSR, China and North

Korea. But now their main target is Japan itself. Earlier this year, the French government gave Langley a black eye by revealing a sting operation it conducted against CIA agents who for two years had tried to milk an aide to French president Balladur for information on GATT trade talks and other matters. Perhaps in response to such dirty tricks, the Bonn government demanded that Washington cut its CIA station in Germany by half.

## Got Bugs in Your Bytes?

When it comes to wiretapping phones in the computer age, however, the feds have a major problem. It's no longer like the old movies, where G-men crouched in manholes and basements with earpieces plugged into (analog) telephone lines. Today, telephone conversations (as well as data communications) are typically switched through digital circuitry which translates voice patterns into the zeros and ones of computer code, compresses them into packets, and routes them over a complex network. To intercept and make sense of these communications requires sophisticated equipment (and technical expertise) linked to the country's computerized switching networks.

Prior to pushing the telephony bill, the FBI had tried to get AT&T and other telephone companies to "voluntarily" give the feds access to their switching equipment, threatening that otherwise it could not guarantee the security of the networks! In 1992, the FBI began "Operation Root Canal," a secret two-year campaign to win the companies' acceptance. When this didn't work, Clinton/Reno's FBI turned to legislation, gaining the support of Congressional "liberals" and "civil libertarians" like former FBI man Don Edwards of California (see Simson Garfinkel, *PGP: Pretty Good Privacy* [1995]).

Telecommunications executives are challenging the FBI's wiretap proposal, in part because installing snooping devices could cause big-time havoc with digital switching circuits and will significantly degrade network performance. Who wants to see flight control centers go blank because of some flaky FBI software packet thrown into the communications grid? Phone companies are also interested in who will bear the costs "when they ask us to redesign our entire systems and not pay us," as a spokesman for the United States Telephone Association put it.

The Clinton administration has promised \$500 million to pay for necessary changes to the telephone networks, although Congress must approve the allocation. This will not begin to cover the costs of reworking phone networks to fit the feds' dictates. While the FBI was forced to drop its plan to raise the money by increasing phone rates, it is still the population which will be paying for the government's spying on the public, through taxation.

For AT&T and the "baby Bells" to

complain about the state messing with its circuits really takes *chutzpah*. The 1967 movie, *The President's Analyst*, captured the tight relationship between the government and the phone company (although in this comedy it is Ma Bell, not the state, which calls the shots). Many bourgeois opponents of the plan criticize the scale of the announced increase in wiretapping, claiming that the current rate of court-ordered wiretaps is only 850 per year, or one for every 174,000 phone lines.

But this figure vastly underestimates the extent of telephone monitoring. For one thing, the government routinely scans tens of thousands of lines with equipment that searches for certain key words before it records the calls. Then there is the super-secret National Security Agency, which uses satellite "spies in the sky" and electronic listening posts to monitor all overseas phone calls and data transmissions. And that's to say nothing of the cops' routine interception of postal communications.

Today, the government is desperately trying, and often failing, to keep pace with advances in communications technology. One example is the boom in mobile telephones. While anyone with a hand-held scanner can pick up random mobile phone conversations, listening in on a particular target is exponentially more difficult, particularly as more of these calls are transmitted digitally. Also frustrating police is the wide availability of military-grade software encryption

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U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command U.S. Army spies conducting radio surveillance to snoop on private conversations, 1968.

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Just Out!

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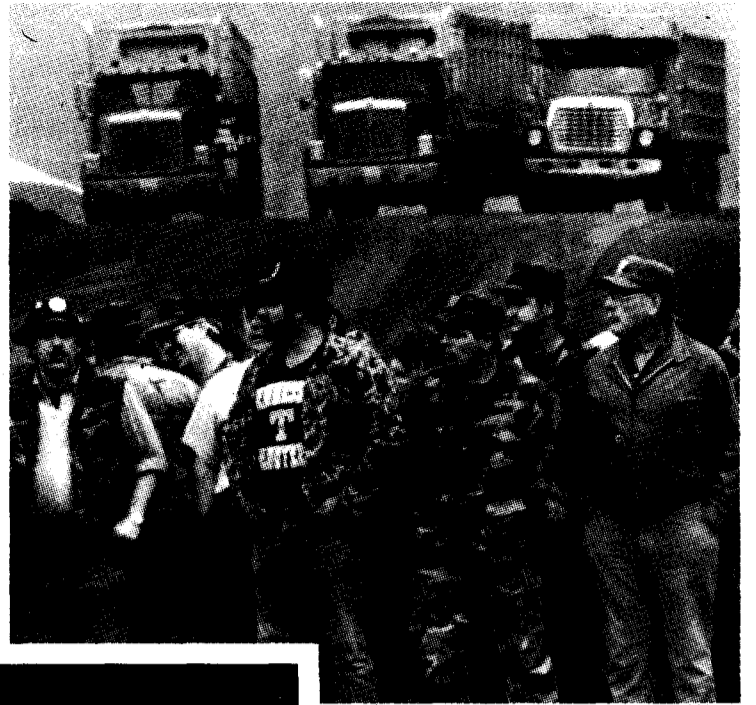
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WV Photo  
Teamsters in Southern California protest cop attack on picket line during 1994 strike.



Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News  
In 1989 Pittston miners strike, mass pickets stopped scab coal outside Moss No. 3 plant.

## Labor: Stop Playing by the Bosses' Rules!

### Feds, Finks and Fake Militants—Recipe for Defeat

#### PART TWO OF TWO

With the changing of the guard at the AFL-CIO last month, newly elected president John Sweeney promised a "new voice for American workers." The "new blood" to be injected into the sclerotic labor federation's top leadership comes from a layer of "reform" bureaucrats who came up in the 1970s and '80s, a period of devastating defeats for the labor movement.

Epitomizing this layer is Richard Trumka of the United Mine Workers (UMW), now vice president of the AFL-CIO. Entering the UMW bureaucracy on the coattails of Arnold Miller's "Miners for Democracy," installed in office by a Labor Department-ordered election in 1972, Trumka perfected the art of keeping his historically militant membership hogtied by bowing to every rule in the bosses' strikebreaking arsenal. With a lawyer's flair, he worked his way up the greasy pole of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy by mouthing support for "civil disobedience" while calling off mine occupations (as at Pittston's Moss No. 3 plant in 1989) and letting strike militants like Jerry Dale Lowe be jailed. After two decades of such government-orchestrated "democracy," the Mine Workers are a shadow of a once-powerful union.

The same ruin fell upon the Steelworkers (USWA). In the late 1970s, steel workers were being hit by waves of plant shutdowns and layoffs rolling across the industry. The USWA lost around one mil-

lion members under a leadership that squelched any signs of labor struggle while shoving givebacks down the throats of steel workers lucky enough to be working. Under these conditions, a reform movement arose in the shape of the Steelworkers Fightback movement led by Chicago USWA bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski. Like Miller and his lawyer Trumka in the UMW, Sadlowski talked of "union democracy," but he had no program to fight the devastation of the union, because he fundamentally accepted the framework of the profit system. In fact, in a notorious *Penthouse* interview that was to cost him the election to the USWA presidency, Sadlowski explicitly *accepted* job losses as a necessary by-product of "modernization."

Some years later, a group of labor reformers took a boat ride along Chicago's Calumet River, viewing the rusting graveyards that had once been major steel plants owned by the Wisconsin, Republic and U.S. Steel corporations. Sadlowski's attorney Thomas Geoghegan wrote of the outing:

"Now, as we sailed past the mills, I thought, 'Thank God we weren't in pow-

er; nobody can blame us.'... Thank God we did not have to preside over the dissolution of the Steelworkers Union."

—Which Side Are You On?  
*Trying to Be for Labor When It's Flat on Its Back* (1991)

In fact, Sadlowski and his legal beagle Geoghegan were hardly innocent of the devastation that rained down on black and Hispanic neighborhoods in South Chicago. After losing the election, Sadlowski took a job as a loyal International staff rep and was subsequently instrumental in getting USWA members at U.S. Steel and the former Republic plant to give up their jobs without a fight.

Today, the "new" AFL-CIO is chock-full of pro-Democratic Party lawyers, hotshot liberal staffers and erstwhile leftists working overtime to whitewash their responsibility for the miserable state of the unions. Most of the left flocked to Sadlowski's 1977 campaign just as they jumped on Miller's bandwagon five years earlier. "Now, there were a lot of radicals in South Chicago," Geoghegan reminisces, "and some of them were real pests, the Spartacist League, etc." Spartacist supporters in the USWA distinguished themselves by fighting for a program of class struggle and *not* supporting Sadlowski. They pointed out that his demagogic calls for "democracy" divorced from a program of *labor's unconditional independence from the capitalist state* would inevitably become an excuse for government intervention. Sadlowski's own career took off in 1974, when he brought the Labor Department into the USWA to run an election for district director, which he won.

Geoghegan says he had always considered it "a breach of solidarity" to sue a union. This is the gut-level opinion of many workers, who think the government has no business interfering in the internal affairs of their unions—labor should clean its own house. Marxists understand that any fake democratic "reforms" imposed by the bosses' state—most often under the guise of fighting "corruption"—only strengthen capitalist control of the labor movement.

But breach of solidarity or no, Geoghegan charged ahead:

"Then one day a Teamster with a pension case came into our office. I thought, 'Well, just one little suit, then I'll stop.' But I couldn't stop. I did another,

and another... My God, they were so suable."

—Which Side Are You On?

This work brought Geoghegan into contact with the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), whom he calls his "heroes." The TDU, which was founded by supporters of the social-democratic reformist International Socialists in the mid-'70s, provided a cover for the government's "anti-corruption" campaign to eviscerate the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). Their formula for "union democracy" was suing the union in the bosses' courts.

Geoghegan recounts the TDU's convergence with U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani in New York, who "had been suing Teamster locals through the 1980s." In 1988, Giuliani filed a lawsuit to put the entire IBT in trusteeship. But the TDU, basing itself on Arnold Miller's "success" in the UMW, had a slightly different idea: "a rank-and-file election, with the government counting the vote." This was a "better idea" from the standpoint of the capitalist union-busters: A handful of outside trustees would face intractable problems trying to control a vast organization like the 1.6 million-strong Teamsters; better to put the union in the hands of loyal agents recruited from *within* the union. The following year the Justice Department adopted the TDU proposal.

Giuliani was elected New York City mayor two years ago based on a racist campaign of unleashing cop terror against minorities and the poor, and demanding draconian cuts in jobs and social services. His TDU allies took a majority of seats on the Teamster executive board in the 1991 government-run election that installed Ron Carey as IBT president. And last year, once again following in Arnold Miller's footsteps, the Carey/TDU leadership foisted on Teamster members a Master Freight Agreement that *gives up the right to strike over grievances*.

#### New Deal Coalition... With the Dixiecrats

The key questions facing those fighting to revive labor and transform the unions into organizations of class struggle are: the capitalist state, the role of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and the black question. And it is precisely those questions that the liberals and reformists are obliged to avoid. Not surprisingly, these issues are hardly addressed in the books reviewed in this article, which chronicle the string of union defeats in the 1970s and '80s.

Geoghegan wrongly claims that the mass unionization drive which created the Congress of Industrial Organizations



Minnesota Historical Society  
Militant Minneapolis strikers, led by Trotskyists, routed scabs and strikebreaking thugs in May 1934 "Battle of Deputies Run." Victorious truckers strike laid the basis for explosive growth of Teamsters and paved the way for rise of CIO industrial unions.

(CIO) in the mid-1930s was key to the ascendancy of the Democratic Party—through the so-called New Deal coalition—in American politics. Yet he complains that today “We can’t even get the Democrats to cut us in on the deal.”

The working class never was “in on the deal.” Roosevelt’s paltry New Deal reforms were enacted not as payback for the CIO’s electoral support, but to head off an extended period of hard class struggle that brought millions of workers into organized labor. And contrary to Geoghegan, it wasn’t any safer to challenge capitalist profits in the mines and factories then than it is today:

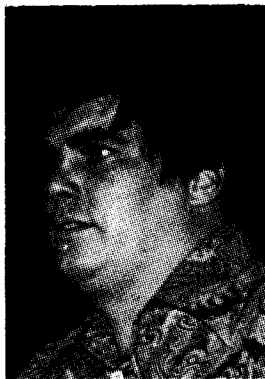
“What followed the signing of the NRA [National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933] was not the recognition of labor’s rights but the most ferocious assault on American labor in its history.... Hundreds of workers were killed, thousands wounded, tens of thousands arrested or otherwise victimized from 1933 to 1938.”

—Art Preis, *Labor’s Giant Step* (1964)

Many of those who today look back with longing to the New Deal portray yesteryear’s Rooseveltian coalition as a “popular front” of liberals, labor and blacks. This was indeed the goal of the Communist Party Stalinists who helped organize the CIO in the 1930s. In fact, the Stalinists saw to it that the working-class groundswell that led to the formation of the CIO was channeled into the dead end of the Democratic Party. But the Democrats didn’t gain mass black support until the early ‘60s. In reality the New Deal coalition put organized labor in an unholy alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but also with the Southern Dixiecrats, to whom Roosevelt gave a free hand to wage naked racist terror *against blacks and unions*. Roosevelt’s vice president from 1933 to 1940 was John Nance Garner, a hardline white-supremacist from Texas, an “open shop” state where the union movement scarcely existed.

In 1946, the CIO announced a grandiose project to organize the South called “Operation Dixie,” sending 400 organizers into the region. Yet conservative union leaders eager to appease the racists relegated black labor activists to the back of the bus. In *The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), Michael Goldfield points out that the task of organizing the South would have run head-on into “Jim Crow” segregation and the special oppression of black workers. Any attempt to confront the racial oppression dividing black and white workers in the heart of the Deep South would have aroused a vicious backlash from the Dixiecrats in the state houses and county seats and their fascist auxiliaries in the Ku Klux Klan, in the process dissolving the New Deal coalition so dear to liberals like Geoghegan. Coming amid the witch-hunt atmosphere of the anti-Soviet Cold War, CIO leaders feared the spectre

**Pro-capitalist union “reformers,” strategists of defeat (from left): Richard Trumka, Ed Sadlowski, Ray Rogers, Ron Carey.**



WV Photos

New Teamster

of black workers joining with communist organizers and scuttled “Operation Dixie” after only two years.

### UAW Tops vs. Black Radicals in Detroit Auto

In the North, meanwhile, black workers, many concentrated in strategic industries like auto and steel, had become an integral component of organized labor—over 1.5 million black union members by the mid-’50s. The demand for labor during World War II and the great wave of black migration it put in motion transformed urban industrial cities like Detroit, where for the first time Chrysler began hiring blacks in significant numbers. But the de facto segregation, police violence and job discrimination these black workers experienced in the North differed only in degree from the Jim Crow regime they had left behind.

The social basis for the New Deal coalition was thus eroded with the large-scale emigration of blacks from the rural South to Northern and also Southern cities during and after World War II. The Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial segregation, based on intimidation of isolated and impoverished rural black sharecroppers, was undermined by urbanization and proletarianization. The mass struggles for black equality in the civil rights movement of the late 1950s-early ‘60s—first in the South, then in the North—exploded the Democratic Party coalition. In the absence of a workers party and given the racist and conservative character of the labor bureaucracy, American electoral politics in the 1960s became centrally defined by the black question. Beginning in the late ‘60s, the Republican Party gained ascendancy as the party of the white backlash.

The black radicalization of the late 1960s-early ‘70s also had a direct impact on the labor movement, especially in the industrial cities of the Midwest, where it encountered hardline racist opposition from the bureaucracy. Coinciding with deep antiwar ferment as well as a string of labor battles by auto workers, postal workers, electrical workers and Teamsters, the rise of black working-class radicalism posed the possibility of mass labor action against racial oppression and imperialist war. By the mid-1960s there were tens of thousands of militant

black workers in Detroit, the heart of the strategic auto industry. The brutal conditions they faced—massive speed-up, deadly unsafe working conditions, racist harassment by a virtually all-white management—as well as the National Guard’s brutal suppression of the 1967 Detroit ghetto upheaval gave rise to the explosive growth of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW). Based on “Revolutionary Union Movements” in the Detroit inner-city plants, particularly at Chrysler, the League quickly attracted militant young black workers.

Today, social democrat Kim Moody and the *Labor Notes* crowd hover around Victor Reuther—who in his earlier days was the UAW’s link to the CIA’s international “labor” operations—as they aspire to return to the “progressive” regime of his brother Walter, who purged the UAW of reds and militants in the post-World War II witchhunts. In the ‘60s and ‘70s it was Reuther, followed by his hand-picked successors Leonard Woodcock and Doug Fraser, who declared war on black militants in the Detroit factories. *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying* (St. Martin’s Press, 1975), by Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin, captures the horror with which the UAW bureaucracy viewed the support the LRBW quickly won in hellholes like Chrysler’s Dodge Main plant. The UAW bureaucracy responded to the volatile wildcat strikes at Chrysler during the summer of 1973. Acting as company cops, Solidarity House mobilized 1,000 goons to keep the plants open for the auto bosses.

In an *Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism* (1988), Moody disappears the Reuther bureaucracy’s malevolence toward the Revolutionary Union Movements and the LRBW, noting only the “perception by Black auto-workers that the UAW did not have their interests at heart” (!) and that the League disappeared as the Reuther regime “artfully sponsored more moderate Black candidates.” In fact, Moody’s organization then, the arch-reformist International Socialists, backed the “more moderate” opportunists and were deeply buried in the skilled-trades-centered United National Caucus, a loyal house “opposition” which literally had *nothing* to offer black workers in the fight against racist oppression.

It was the hostility of the overwhelmingly white, pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy, and the abstention and worse of “oppositions” like the UNC and their “socialist” supporters, that reinforced the nationalist program of the LRBW. The League operated on a nationalist program of dual unionism, a program which led to demands for more black foremen and managers, while writing off the white working class as hopelessly racist and abandoning the fight for leadership against the union bureaucracy (see our article, “Soul Power or Workers Power? The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers,” reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 Revised, “What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism”).

What was needed was the intervention of a Trotskyist party with a base in the Detroit auto plants and armed with a program of revolutionary integrationism. Fearing the explosive potential of radical black-led struggles in the plants, the auto bosses went after the “problem” using the next major economic crisis, the deep recession of 1974-76, to get rid of a whole layer of young black workers in Detroit auto factories. Soon after, they shut down the plants altogether, with hardly a peep from the UAW tops.

### Revolutionary Leadership: Red and Black

The American labor bureaucracy which has hogtied the unions for decades is a product of the government’s Cold War against the Soviet Union and the accompanying anti-Communist purge in the unions. Yet the powerful industrial unions were built by leftist militants whose leadership guided many of the 1930s strikes to victory. It was the Trotskyists who led the great Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934, which laid the basis for organizing the long-haul drivers throughout the Midwest and beyond. In 1943, while some union leaders passed paper resolutions against a racist pogrom that consumed Detroit and took 24 black lives, the Trotskyists called on the UAW to mobilize its “veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people.”

Decades later, Spartacist League supporters in auto fought for sit-down strikes to stop the shutdowns and, in 1979, for Chrysler workers to seize and hold the plants when the company pleaded bankruptcy. Such a struggle could have forged the vital links between the factory and the ghetto that are key to the American workers revolution. The UAW tops were instead committed to propping up American capitalism, and rather than fight for their members’ jobs, they handed over multibillion-dollar union givebacks to match the feds’ Chrysler bailout. This helped to set the stage for the bosses’ union-busting crusade that is still raging a decade and a half later.

The big business of union-busting feeds on racism. In *Confessions of a Union Buster* (1993), Martin Jay Levitt describes how he and his associates strove “to awaken within the mostly white supervisor corps a hatred of blacks, fear of violence, contempt for women, mistrust of the poor, and, of course, a loathing for the union that brought together all those despicable elements.” The race and class hatred stirred up by the bosses translates not just into lost NLRB elections but into outright terror attacks. A cross-burning outside

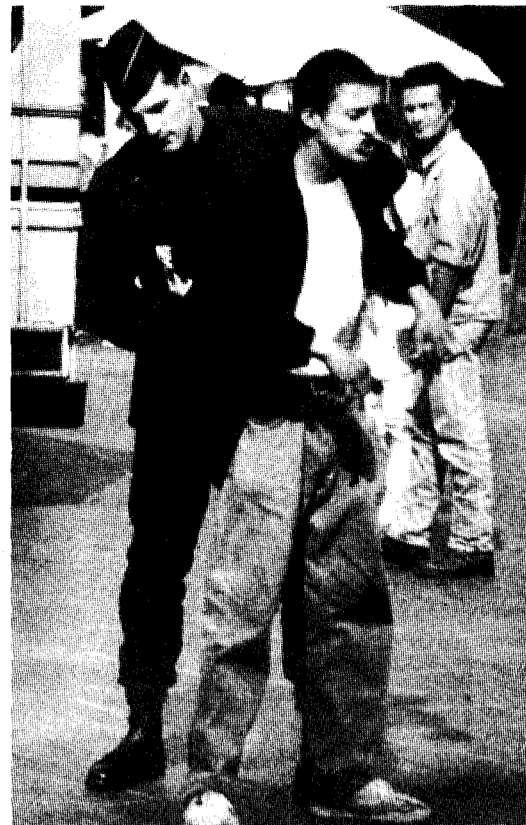
*continued on page 10*

Rosenberg/Detroit Free Press



**Detroit auto wildcats in 1973 showed militancy of largely black workforce and treachery of UAW tops. Left: Chrysler workers Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter carried out by cheering supporters after sit-in shut down Jefferson Avenue plant. Above: UAW vice president Doug Fraser at Mack Avenue stamping plant after he organized 1,000-strong goon squad to quash plant occupation there.**

# Millions of Workers Strike, Army/Cops Wage "Anti-Terrorist" War on Immigrants



Workers shut down Paris, October 10, in protest against threatened wage freeze. Right: Cops and troops target North Africans for racist identity checks. Nicholas Turpin AFP

## France in Turmoil

PARIS—On October 10, France was brought to a standstill by a general strike of public sector workers against the government's plan to freeze their wages next year. Civil servants, teachers, nurses, postal workers, airline crews, railroad and public transportation employees and workers in state-controlled automobile and other industrial plants walked out. It was the most massive display of working-class power in almost a decade. While hundreds of thousands demonstrated in a hundred towns and cities across the country, in Paris an enormous sea of angry workers stretched two and a half miles long.

This show of working-class militancy and power was especially important at a time when Gaullist president Jacques Chirac is seeking to cement a racist consensus, using the terror bombings of last summer as a pretense to launch a campaign of anti-"immigrant" repression unprecedented since the Algerian War of the late 1950s-early '60s. And the test of strength with Chirac has barely begun. When Prime Minister Alain Juppé announced last month his plan to overhaul social welfare measures such as retirement pensions and public health care, the principal trade-union federations immediately responded with a call for a "day of action" on November 14.

From Washington to Bonn, the bourgeoisie is haunted by the fear that Chirac's austerity and dismantling of "welfare state" programs might provoke a working-class explosion like that of May 1968. "Now, the Whirlwind," headlined *Business Week* after Chirac's electoral victory last spring. *Der Spiegel* ominously quoted Chirac, "We are sitting on a social bomb." More recently, the London *Economist* ran a cover photo of the French president, asking, "Is Chirac Waving or Drowning?" and a lead article titled "France Strikes Against Chirac."

In France, references to May 1968 are everywhere. That explosion—the general strike, plant occupations and mass student revolt—brought France to the

brink of revolution. A final showdown was only avoided because the Stalinist-reformist Communist Party (PCF), the dominant force in the workers movement, succeeded in keeping the explosion of working-class power from directly challenging the capitalist system. Chirac, who helped negotiate an end to the 1968 political mass strike which brought down de Gaulle, reportedly lives in fear that history might repeat itself. This was echoed by the social-democratic head of the FO trade-union federation, Marc Blondel, who commented after the October 10 strike that "My greatest fear is a possible new May '68" (*Guardian* [London], 11 October).

Already two years ago, conservative then-prime minister Edouard Balladur raised the spectre of May '68 when he capitulated before the Air France strike. As Simone de Beauvoir once wrote, ever since the Paris Commune of 1871 the French bourgeoisie goes to sleep at night haunted by the nightmare of another Commune. At the same time, the bourgeoisie uses the prospect of a new May '68 to frighten the reformist leaders of the working class into doing their job of holding down and derailing class strug-

gle. But today the PCF is only a shadow of its former self, and the bourgeoisie is worried that its labor lieutenants may no longer be able to contain working-class unrest.

For more than two decades the French bourgeoisie counted on François Mitterrand's "Union of the Left" and its successors, created in the aftermath of May '68, to rein in explosions of working-class anger. The Union of the Left was a "popular front" electoral coalition between the PCF, the Socialist Party (PS) and a coterie of bourgeois politicians, which served to openly tie the mass working-class organizations to the class enemy. But the Union of the Left has died a long-overdue death, universally despised and discredited after a 14-year reign of savage anti-working-class austerity, Cold War anti-Communism and racist attacks against immigrants.

Driven by the lash of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries, the French bourgeoisie is determined to "cut costs" by slashing programs such as public health care, retirement pensions and unemployment benefits. France still has one of the most extensive social welfare programs in Europe, and the French rulers

look with envy at the "Anglo-Saxon" economies where Reagan/Thatcher carried out frontal attacks on whatever remained of "welfare state" social programs. But without the "safety net" of a new class-collaborationist coalition to derail workers' struggles onto the terrain of parliamentary horse trading, the bourgeoisie knows it is playing with fire.

As a result, despite huge conservative majorities in parliament—80 percent of the seats—and at most levels of local government, Chirac has been a study in vacillation and hesitation. After his electoral promise of a tax cut, he infuriated everyone including the *patronat* (bosses) by immediately raising taxes in order to avoid spending cuts. When free-marketeer Alain Madelin openly admitted last August that the government intended to cut civil service pensions, he was unceremoniously dumped as finance minister. Then, despite threats of major spending cuts for 1996, a draft budget for next year was unveiled which postponed the cuts and instead further raised taxes. No sooner had that budget been revealed than the government again reversed itself and announced plans to slash public health spending by early next year.

Why such disarray in the ruling spheres of French capitalism? Economically, the French bourgeoisie is not doing so badly for itself. Inflation is the lowest in the European Union, exports last year reached a record level, and profits rose at practically every major French company. Yet the ruling class is plagued by the realization that, despite the setbacks the workers suffered under Mitterrand's popular front, French workers have not been frontally defeated on the field of class battle—not in '68 when their leaders derailed the movement, nor in the 27 years since.

Chirac rode into office by cynically exploiting the universal loathing of the French population for the Mitterrand regime. He spouted the same kind of demagogic populism that got Mitterrand

**Gaullists back in power, and on the hot seat: Prime Minister Alain Juppé, President Jacques Chirac.**



elected in 1981 and 1988, promising to slash unemployment, cut taxes and reduce the "social fracture" between the "haves and have-nots." Not surprisingly, much of the French population is displeased to discover that their president made a fool of them. In a poll this fall, two-thirds of the people questioned said they were ready to "participate in a movement of social protest." The recent example of Berlusconi in Italy, removed from office by the bourgeoisie last December after his austerity program touched off the biggest general strike in that country in several decades, is a reminder that simply winning an election on a populist platform does not necessarily give a right-wing demagogue the power to implement his real program in the face of determined working-class opposition.

Chirac's support is remarkably superficial by any standards. His 20 percent first-round electoral result was an all-time low for a successful presidential candidate since direct elections began 30 years ago, and his dramatic plunge in opinion polls since the election is unprecedented in the 37-year history of the Gaullist Fifth Republic. And last week Chirac was forced to reshuffle the government to include Gaullist cronies of former prime minister Edouard Balladur.

The one area in which the new regime has been unwavering is in racist attacks against "immigrants" (in France, this refers to anyone of African or North African origin, including those born in France, many of whom are citizens). Chirac's very first policy announcement was to step up the racist measures which had been introduced by Mitterrand—increased cop occupation of immigrant quarters, wholesale deportation of "illegal immigrants" in charter aircraft, and expansion of the network of immigrant "detention centers" (concentration camps). After a series of terrorist bombings last summer, the Chirac government launched a campaign of racist repression called operation "Vigipirate." (The name was chosen to underline the continuity with a campaign with the same code name carried out by Mitterrand during the Gulf War.) Hundreds of thousands have been stopped by police for identity checks while the army was called out to patrol the streets. By calling out the same racist forces that are usually used in neocolonial wars in Africa, the bourgeoisie made it plain that this is a war against immigrants and their families.

This was driven home by the cops' gruesome execution of Khaled Kelkal, the youth of Algerian origin accused of being behind a series of terrorist bombings in France last summer. Kelkal became "Public Enemy No. 1" when police allegedly found his fingerprints last August on an unexploded gas canister placed on the rails of the Paris-Lyon high-speed train. Chirac called him a "savage beast," giving a green light to the killers in uniform. Television cameras, assembled for the occasion, filmed cops gunning down Kelkal at a bus stop. But when they broadcast the footage, they censored the portion of the soundtrack in which one of the gendarmes is heard yelling the order: "Finish him off!" After riddling the wounded youth with another volley, the cops are seen kicking his lifeless body to make sure he is dead. When an army of racist cops descended on the Lyon suburb where Kelkal had lived, the youth revolted, burning cars and clashing with police for several nights.

This sinister affair smells of manipulation and provocation. While the French government claims the bombings were the work of Muslim fundamentalists, Kelkal's friends all insisted to reporters that, while he attended the mosque, he had never been connected with the fundamentalist milieu (and indeed the bombings continued after Kelkal was killed). Furthermore, the government can't seem to get its story straight on who it thinks is responsible. Before focusing on Kelkal, French authorities accused a fun-



AP

Informations Ouvrières



**Militant struggles by workers and students have rocked France. Above: Air France strikers blocked runways in Paris, October 1993, backing down government, bosses and cops. Left: Thousands of students demonstrated in the capital, March 1994, against sub-minimum wage for youth.**

damentalist living in Stockholm—until Swedish police supplied evidence of his innocence. Now Paris is demanding the extradition of a fundamentalist living in London, accusing *him* of responsibility.

Using racist campaigns against "immigrants" in order to divide and demoralize the workers and head off opposition to its anti-working-class attacks was a hallmark of the Mitterrand popular front. When North African auto workers led the first major strikes against Mitterrand in the early 1980s, the government tarred them as "fundamentalists" manipulated from abroad. The PCF and the CGT union federation fueled the racist climate with their protectionist slogan "Produce French," blaming workers in other countries for unemployment in France. They didn't protest Mitterrand's racist deportations of "illegal immigrants," nor more recently the Bayrou circular expelling girls who wear the Islamic headscarf from public schools, nor the murders of immigrants during the election campaign by fascist thugs of Le Pen's National Front (FN). And virtually the entire left capitulated before Chirac's racist terror campaign, demonstrating against the renewal of nuclear testing this fall while not raising a single word against Vigipirate!

In contrast, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, called a united-front demonstration against the wave of racist state terror—carried out not only in France but also in Tahiti where vicious repression was brought down on the Polynesian people, who had revolted against French colonialism—and France's arrogant and provocative renewal of nuclear testing. The LTF demonstration raised the calls: "Down with the anti-immigrant pogroms and Chirac's racist state of siege!" and "Cops and French troops out of the immigrant quarters and out of Tahiti!" It was held in front of the "Grand Rex" movie theater, one of the places where, on 17 October 1961, hundreds of Algerians were massacred as they demonstrated for independence.

There is certainly no lack of desire among wide sectors of the workers and youth to put a stop to the racist terror. During the election campaign last spring, there were ethnically integrated demonstrations against racist murders carried out by the fascists. There were also repeated demonstrations seeking to stop Le Pen from spewing forth his message of racial hatred. A scandalous call last month by the unions for workplace rallies "against terrorism" flopped. As the



**Ligue Trotskyste calls for worker/immigrant mobilizations in May 1993 Paris protest against government's racist roundups and cop terror.**

Le Bolchévik

LTF has repeatedly pointed out, immigrant workers are a strategic component of the French proletariat.

What was lacking in these mobilizations was a leadership fighting on a program uniting in struggle all the oppressed behind the proletariat, the only class with the interest and social power to sweep away the terror of the cops and fascists. The LTF has consistently raised the slogan of "Full citizenship rights for immigrants." It also demanded: "Open the public service sector to non-French citizens!" As the LTF insisted:

"The workers movement must defend the victims of 'anti-fundamentalist' round-ups against repression by the bourgeois state. It is urgent that massive and combative actions (such as strikes and demonstrations) to stop Vigipirate be mobilized."

—Le Bolchévik No. 135, October-November 1995

## The Inglorious Legacy of the Popular Front

To see the disenchantment and revulsion which is universally felt today toward Mitterrand's reign, it may be hard for many to imagine that the night the Union of the Left won the 1981 vote, hundreds of thousands of Parisians hoping for "change" from 23 years of right-wing rule joyously packed the Place de la Bastille, singing "La vie en rose" (for the symbol of the PS). At the time, the "far left" organizations, which had all jumped on the Mitterrand bandwagon, hailed his victory as a "step forward." But the LTF uniquely called for no vote to this class-collaborationist coalition whose entire reason for being was to bind the working class to the bourgeoisie.

The popular front in power did the bourgeoisie's "dirty work," in the words of Socialist prime minister Laurent Fabius—forcing austerity down the workers' throats while waging racist terror against immigrants. Strikes were undercut, betrayed and smashed with the complicity of the reformist working-class leaders. For example, in the 1991 Renault strike at Cléon, the CGT allowed the cops to take the plant while Prime Minister Edith Cresson ran the strike-breaking operation out of her office in the Hôtel Matignon.

The result of this anti-working-class offensive was a massive shift of income from the working class to the capitalists—which took place despite a fairly high level of class struggle. Here is how *Le Monde* editor Edwy Plenel (in his book, *La part d'ombre* [1992]) described France of the 1980s under Mitterrand: "Never had income from capital increased so fast...while remuneration for labor decreased, since the era of the triumphant financial bourgeoisie at the beginning of the Third Republic"—that is, since the period following the bloody defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871!

The extent of the attacks by the Mitterrand popular front on the working class can be gauged by the considerable weakening of the trade unions over the past two decades. The percent of unionized workers in France has plummeted from 22 percent in 1970 to only 8 percent today, the lowest in Europe. This partly reflects the fact that under Mitterrand unemployment consistently hovered at a level—12 percent—which was the highest since World War II. In addition, temporary employment was enormously encouraged as a way to drive down wages and eliminate benefits, as well as to undercut the unions. Finally, anti-union repression was allowed on a grand scale: according to the CGT, in the six years from 1985 to 1991, 62,000 union committeemen (*délégués*) were fired—a rate of 30 per day! The weakening of the unions has gone so far that the bourgeoisie is worried it might contribute to social instability. The head of the bosses' association recently told French businessmen, "We have everything to lose if the unions become weaker still."

The popular front under Mitterrand also vastly expanded the racist system

*continued on page 8*



Paris Match



L'Humanité

France's bloody colonial war in Algeria. Left: François Mitterrand, then "justice" minister, here visiting French troops, oversaw brutal repression of independence fighters. Right: Algerian protesters in Paris terrorized by police, as cops massacred hundreds on 17 October 1961.

## France...

(continued from page 7)

of ethnically segregated suburbs (*banlieues*) for immigrant workers and their families. Immigrants and their children in these ghettos are increasingly excluded from the possibility of regular employment and subjected to daily cop terror. In the early 1980s, a protest movement by these youth initially sought to link itself to the struggles of the working class, where immigrant workers were in the forefront of major class battles against Mitterrand. A 1984 march in Paris initiated by youth from Les Minuettes, an immigrant suburb near Lyon, took place in solidarity with the strike of largely immigrant auto workers at the Talbot plant near Paris. However, the burgeoning movement was quickly brought under the sway of the social democrats, operating through SOS-Racisme whose leader, Harlem Désir, became a PS honcho.

The LTF intervened in that protest movement, emphasizing that the necessary struggle against racist oppression—against the police roundups, the deportations, the "quotas" in public housing, etc.—must be linked, through a revolutionary party, to a working-class program of transitional demands leading toward socialist revolution and the overthrow of capitalism. In December 1986, when the cops of Mitterrand and his then-prime minister Chirac assassinated Malik Oussékine, a youth of North African origin, a 24-hour strike called by the trade unions laid the basis for a mass demonstration against racist terror. One week later, rail workers rushed into the breach opened by this mobilization—and their strike spelled the end of that Chirac government.

In recent years and months, there have been repeated struggles by students and young workers. A multiethnic struggle of youth in the spring of 1994 successfully fought the government's proposed sub-minimum wage for youth. Significantly, those mobilizations took place

largely outside the control of the PCF and PS but forced the leaders of the main trade-union federations to go along. In spring 1995, student struggles won the withdrawal of a ministerial circular limiting access to junior colleges. And this fall there have been a number of student strikes, of which the most important was in Rouen where students won a substantial increase in budget allocations. With unemployment at an astounding 28 percent for youth aged 20 to 24, many students are training for jobs they know do not exist.

Despite the attacks by the bourgeois state and betrayals by its own leaders, the French working class retains a high level of combativity. Since the late 1980s, as the Mitterrand popular front was grinding down, it was rocked by a series of (mainly defensive) strikes. In a number of these, "coordination" committees were set up in which members of ostensibly Trotskyist groups like the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) played a leadership role. This happened in the strikes by rail workers (1986-87), postal workers (1988), and nurses (1988-89). Leftists also played key roles in the victorious Air France strike in fall 1993 and in the GEC-Alsthom strike last fall.

Under Mitterrand, hundreds of members or former members of "far left" groups, trading on their support to Mitterrand's popular front, were able to ensconce themselves in the middle and lower levels of the trade-union bureaucracy. LCR leader Alain Krivine declared, following Mitterrand's 1981 election, that "we are one of the three working-class components of the majority—the PCF, the PS and the far left." Many "far left" trade unionists were the most prominent organizers of the Socialists' Cold War campaign of "solidarity with Solidarność," the Polish company union for Wall Street and the Vatican which was a spearhead of counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc.

In recent years, a number of pseudo-

Trotskyists have been thrown out of the social-democratic CFDT labor federation and set up their own unions. One such, the SUD postal/phone union, recently got two out of seven union seats in elections for the management council, an explicitly class-collaborationist body. Thus these ex-"68ers" have become part of the bourgeoisie's first line of defense against a new May '68. But some among them may gag at this ignominious role.

During the presidential campaign last spring there was an unprecedented breaking of the traditional electoral "truce" as workers launched an offensive, which the discredited working-class leaders were barely able to control, to defend jobs and wages. The backbone of this struggle was at the government-owned Renault auto factory in Flins, just outside Paris, where immigrant workers led the strike. The Flins strike was sold out as the union bureaucracies worked hard to keep it isolated. The exemplary class solidarity in the strike wave between French and foreign-born workers represented a powerful disavowal of a regime whose hallmark was racist attacks, deportations and segregation. And this fall, strikes have continued among workers in the public sector, repeatedly paralyzing the postal service, halting train service and disrupting air traffic.

Last week, hundreds of angry miners in the northeastern Lorraine region (where the last major French coal mines are scheduled to close) burned the entrance to a sub-prefecture and sacked a local mayor's office. A lightning one-day strike by newspaper printers left Paris newsstands almost bare. Air France cabin crews, faced with the state-controlled company's union-busting demands that they increase productivity 30 percent by next year or lose their jobs, called a three-day strike. Yet the critical lack of an authoritative revolutionary leadership to lead the working class in the necessary struggle for workers power is cruelly obvious.

### Reformists Want a New Popular Front

Years of serving as a component of Mitterrand's popular front meant inexorable decline for the PCF, whose leaders today consider themselves lucky when they get half the votes they got in the heyday of the Union of the Left. But the only policy these worn-out hacks can come up with is...to try to cobble together a new "union of the left."

From the end of World War II to the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the PCF had been the hegemonic workers party in France. But with the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the former USSR at the beginning of the 1990s, the PCF lost much of its strength, and indeed its reason for a separate existence, and is now desperately seeking to offer itself as the core of a classic social-democratic party—in competition with the PS. For even if the PS has established itself electorally as the principal party of the left, it remains above all a vote-collecting machine. In contrast, the PCF retains through the

CGT a direct influence in the working class which is greater than its electoral weight, which it hopes to use as a bargaining chip with the bourgeoisie.

As a result, Chirac has found an ally in the PCF, whose new leader, Robert Hue, this summer declared a policy of "constructive opposition" toward the Chirac regime, a formula which has provoked considerable unease among the party ranks. Hue called on PCF members to join local state-organized "committees for employment." This "battle for employment" recalls on a smaller scale the PCF's "battle for production," in the name of which the Stalinists participated in de Gaulle's tripartite government following World War II and helped to "reconstruct" capitalist France—disarming the Resistance and smashing workers' struggles along the way.

Today, the PCF finds common ground with the Gaullists on the basis of French chauvinism and racism. During the municipal elections, "Republican Front" agreements between the Gaullist right and the "left" were set up in several cities under the pretext of opposing Le Pen's FN. The PCF daily *L'Humanité* published the cops' composite drawings of supposed "terrorists" (helping to whip up racist hysteria against North Africans). And when the cops executed Khaled Kelkal in cold blood, the PCF did not raise a peep of protest. The PCF screams about "insecurity" (a thinly veiled call for anti-immigrant repression) and calls for more racist cops to occupy the immigrant and working-class quarters.

By fully subscribing to Vigipirate, just as it participated in all the racist policies of the Mitterrand governments, the PCF seeks to prove its "responsibility" to the bourgeoisie. It was by sending a bulldozer against a hostel of Malian workers in December 1980 that the PCF earned several ministerial portfolios in Mitterrand's 1981 government. The support of the PCF and PS for Chirac's racist campaigns is ultimately rooted in their reformism which accepts the capitalist system: racial oppression is inherent in capitalism, which thrives on fostering divisions within the working class and needs an industrial reserve army of unemployed workers as a check on workers' wages.

The crisis and sharp decline of the PCF has whetted the opportunist appetites of the "far left." The LCR is intent on building a "broad assembly to the left of the PS" in order to "rebuild, in the future, a left worthy of this name." This simply echoes PCF leader Hue's calls for an "assembly of the entire left of alternatives, as a factor in assembling an entirely renewed left." In the presidential election, the LCR put all its hopes in a bloc with Charles Fiterman, a former PCF minister in Mitterrand's government, and other PCF "dissidents" who hope to negotiate with the ecologists and the PS a prime place in their hoped-for popular front.

Lutte Ouvrière also dreams of playing a pivotal role in a new "broad left party." In the municipal elections LO participated in some areas on common lists with the PCF. One can just imagine LO administering municipalities in alliance

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with the PCF, which is notorious for favoring limitations on the number of immigrants in the municipalities it controls to a "tolerance level." Last year, the LO leadership lined up behind the bourgeoisie's racist campaign to exclude from public education young girls wearing the Islamic headscarf. LO even organized a countermobilization against high-school students who went on strike to defend a student threatened with expulsion.

LO members, as well as much of the rest of the "far left," were exhilarated by LO's vote total of 5.3 percent in the presidential elections, which was not far behind the 8.6 percent who voted for the PCF. However, far from using the elections to win workers to the program of socialist revolution, LO simply offered up the same populist pablum as always. The fact that some 1.6 million people voted for LO as a "protest vote" is an unmistakable sign of the discontent felt by a large part of the working class toward their reformist leaders and reflects a clear impulse to fight back against the bosses' attacks.

### For a May '68 That Goes All the Way!

From the French "Popular Front Against Fascism" in the 1930s to the Chilean Unidad Popular in the 1970s, the popular front, by tying the working class to the bourgeoisie and paralyzing its combativity, has always paved the way for the worst reactionaries. And Mitterrand's regime was no exception. In the climate of racism, anti-Sovietism and economic crisis, the fascists centered around Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front became a significant force. In last June's municipal elections, the FN won the mayoralty in several cities—including Nice, the fourth-largest city in the country. The FN had the highest first-round vote totals in 114 cities and demonstrated the deep inroads it has made among sections of the working class: in certain working-class bastions, including some suburbs of Paris, the FN got first-round totals of 30 to 50 percent.

The fascists' growth was greatly enhanced by Mitterrand's racist anti-immigrant attacks and Cold War anti-Soviet campaign which provided the FN with a mantle of "respectability." It was in this climate of racist consensus that LO spokesman and perennial candidate Arlette Laguiller had a nationally televised debate with a leader of the fascist FN! Today Chirac is trying to attract part of the Front's base by inflaming chauvinist prejudices and launching all-out racist attacks, but the failure of his populist promises could drive increasing sections of the petty bourgeoisie, desperately fearful of growing economic competition, into the arms of the fascists.

The bourgeoisie is presently keeping the fascists in reserve, without a popular front in place to absorb the shock of a working-class explosion. Yet there is a considerable portion of the population which would eagerly respond to a drive to do away with these vermin. During the period leading up to last spring's presidential election, fascist goons went on a rampage, brutally murdering three people of African or North African origin. Such outrages give the lie to those



Workers and students filled stadium in Paris for mass protest during May 1968 general strike. Social democrats and Stalinists sabotaged revolutionary opportunity, channeling working-class discontent into support for parliamentary popular front.

like LO and the British-based Workers Power group, who pretend that the FN is not fascist. There were repeated demonstrations against these atrocities as well as mobilizations against FN election meetings. The situation cries out for a revolutionary leadership capable of mobilizing the multiethnic working class, together with the immigrant community and all potential victims of the fascists, to drive these racist scum off the streets.

The situation in France is moving toward a major confrontation, pitting a combative working class against a bourgeoisie intent on inflicting a major defeat on the workers. Chirac has little room for maneuver since he is getting fierce arm-twisting from the German bourgeoisie, which is using the 1991 Maastricht Treaty for a single European currency as a club to enforce financial and budgetary stability on its more profligate neighbors. In that treaty, France promised to eliminate more than half of its budget deficit by 1997, which would mean massive layoffs and gutting of social services.

With capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc, inter-imperialist rivalries—which were held down during the Cold War in order to maintain the anti-Soviet alliance—have today broken out in force. The sharp resurgence of these rivalries has been a rude awakening for French imperialism. The Cold War division of Germany allowed France to play a role in European and world politics grossly disproportional to its real economic weight, exemplified by the Gaullist regime of the 1960s flaunting its "independence" of Washington. Today French companies find themselves under fierce pressure from U.S. competition in the Near East and even in their former African colonies, while Germany takes

a commanding lead in East Europe.

Consequently, the French bourgeoisie has jettisoned its grandiose pretensions and is seeking to cultivate a "special relationship" as a subordinate partner to the German Fourth Reich. They have seized upon the prospect of a single European currency as a way of "sharing" control over Germany's financial wealth and exerting a modicum of control over Bonn's ambitions (a fantasy which has long been pushed by French social democrats like recently retired European Union head Jacques Delors). When Chirac's resumption of nuclear testing this fall provoked a worldwide barrage of protests, he "offered" France's nuclear capability to Germany in the form of a "European" bomb.

Despite the traditional enmity between France and Germany, there is a long tradition of French rulers looking to Germany as a last resort to bail them out *in extremis*. This goes back to the French

Revolution when King Louis XVI tried to flee to Germany; he was arrested and later beheaded. In 1871, during the Franco-Prussian War, the French bourgeoisie collaborated with the Prussians, who were besieging the capital, to crush the Paris Commune. In 1940, the reactionary regime of Marshal Pétain was brought in to collaborate with Hitler, as French rulers preferred a German occupation of France to the prospect of proletarian revolution. And in May 1968 de Gaulle, confronted by a prerevolutionary situation in France, secretly flew to Germany to ensure support in the event of civil war from the French generals stationed there.

Today, the French bourgeoisie is forced to carry out an all-out offensive against the working class at a time when its own camp is hesitant and when the traditional class-collaborationist mechanisms for enforcing class peace by integrating the working-class leaders into the state apparatus have been used up and not yet renewed. The widespread fears among the bourgeoisie of a new May '68 are far from groundless. But that historic struggle demonstrated graphically that even the most powerful explosions of working-class power can be absorbed by the bourgeoisie as long as they do not lead to a struggle for state power. In 1968 the workers occupied the factories, but the reformist leaders were able eventually to get the strikers to return to work in exchange for a wage increase, which, moreover, was eaten up by inflation.

The lesson of May '68 is the necessity to go forward to socialist revolution and a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie will not fall of its own accord—it must be thrown out. But this requires the forging of a revolutionary party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, with deep roots in the working class. As we wrote last year:

"Given the bourgeoisie's assault on the welfare state, reformist schemes have little credibility. When today the bosses and the reformists talk of 'reform,' they are promising less work for less pay, and for more and more people, no work at all. The need for socialist revolution is placed in front of the European workers movement. For class-conscious workers the question is not just 'will there be another 1968?' but how to achieve a May '68 that goes all the way, to the taking of power. The key is building Trotskyist parties."

—"Workers Struggle Across Europe," WV No. 591, 7 January 1994 ■

## Wiretap...

(continued from page 3)

programs, which allow telephones and computers to electronically scramble communications so that only the intended recipient can decipher them.

The inventor of the most popular of these programs, Phil Zimmermann, has been targeted by federal investigators on the grounds that his "Pretty Good Privacy" (PGP) software violates munitions export laws. And while the Clinton administration has had to drop its "Clipper chip" proposal, which would have given the state a "back door" into personal computers and telephones, it continues to work on an alternative device (see "Government Hands Off Cyberporn!" WV No. 631, 20 October).

The police agencies want to ban any encryption systems that they don't control, but this isn't going to happen in the real world of capitalist business secrets and economic rivalry. Furthermore, there are easy ways to bury encrypted data in commonly used software files containing other data.

What has the FBI and White House freaked is that the state cannot play "Big Brother" at will as high-speed digital phone lines and software like PGP become universally available. After FBI stormtroopers raided 125 homes and offices in September for receiving "pornography" on the Internet through the America Online service, FBI chief Freeh whined that the snoops could not read

some of the information they confiscated because the files had been encrypted. On college campuses, the Internet, which was originally developed as a communications network for the U.S. War ("Defense") Department in the 1960s, has become an organizing tool for protests. Now many universities are wiring dormitories with high-capacity digital telephone lines, while mainframe computers on the campuses form the backbone of the Internet.

The FBI's typically ham-fisted attempts to police electronic communications exemplify the drive of the capitalist state—which exists to repress the struggles of the exploited and oppressed—to insinuate itself more and more into the daily lives of the population. In this case, the immediate needs of the police forces even run counter to the business interests of a section of the ruling class. In vastly increasing government surveillance of the population and the use of the death penalty, in its attacks on fundamental democratic freedoms like the right to possess guns, the U.S. ruling class is proving the truth of Friedrich Engels' description of the capitalist state made over a century ago: "arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it...." Proletarian revolution to sweep away this repressive apparatus will be a giant step toward real human freedom, allowing the collective utilization of the means of production, including the most advanced technology society has to offer. ■

## Corrections

In the article "Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal" (WV No. 631, 20 October), we stated that no one was ever tried for the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till, who was lynched in Mississippi in 1955. In fact, amid a racist furor claiming the murder had been plotted by the NAACP, there was a sham trial of two white racists, Roy Bryant and J.W. Milam, who were acquitted by an all-white jury after an hour's "deliberation." "If we hadn't stopped to drink pop, it wouldn't have taken that long," one juror later said.

The article "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road" (*Young Spartacus* pages in WV No. 630, 6 October) referred to the precursor to the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency, as "a left opposition in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party." The SWP by that time had abandoned Trotskyism for *centrism*, expressed in no small measure in their response to the Castro regime in Cuba (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 2, "The Nature of the Socialist Workers Party—Revolutionary or Centrist?").

# Labor...

(continued from page 5)

an Alabama Perdue chicken plant last June—on the eve of a union recognition vote—underlines that union rights and black freedom can only march forward together.

Aiding the racist anti-labor crusade is a growing corps of professional goon services like Vance International, run by a former Secret Service agent, whose jackbooted and heavily armed thugs have been attacking the picket lines of Detroit newspaper strikers for the past three months. The revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program:

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

The Spartacist League has fought to implement this program with the call for labor/black mobilizations against the Klan and Nazis, whose fascist violence targets the integrated unions. In January 1994, the labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Springfield, Illinois tapped the deep concerns of white, black and Hispanic workers in labor's Midwest "war zone" of strikes and lockouts; pro-capitalist AFL-CIO leaders, however, stridently opposed it as a threat to



Spartacists fought for militant strike action against 1979 mass layoffs in auto that led to devastation of labor/black Detroit.

the racist status quo.

In this deeply racist country, racism is the biggest obstacle to achieving class consciousness. Successful workers struggle requires a strategic commitment to the fight to smash black oppression. The profit system is racist to the core, keeping blacks at the very bottom of the economic ladder where they are ravaged by unemployment. Organized labor must take up the cause of the unemployed, demanding 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay—divide the available work among all those seeking jobs, at the bosses' expense! For a program

of public works, at union-scale wages! The unions must mobilize to break down the barriers of segregation, fighting for quality integrated education and housing for all.

To galvanize labor's potential power requires the absolute independence of the proletariat from the bosses' state. Only by fighting against government intervention in the unions can the basis be laid for genuine trade-union democracy. The fight for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie is critical. The present anemic condition of the trade unions is

the bitter fruit of decades of union misleaders playing by the bosses' rules.

As we noted last issue, "The struggle to defend the working class and minorities must be waged against the entire labor bureaucracy, which is committed to upholding capitalism and tied to the Democratic Party" ("AFL-CIO Convention: Recycling the Sellouts—Labor Traitors vs. Class Struggle," WV No. 632, 3 November). To resuscitate the unions, to organize the unorganized, to fight for the rights of women, minorities and immigrants requires first and foremost a political fight within the labor movement itself to sweep away the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. In the course of the class battles to come, it is necessary to undertake the difficult task of building anew a Marxist wing of the labor movement—a class-struggle opposition in the unions which fights down the line against the class collaboration of the AFL-CIO tops and is committed to the principle that those who labor must rule. This task is inextricably linked to the struggle to forge an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Black workers, long in the forefront of labor's battles, must and will play a leading role in forging the kind of class-struggle workers party that's needed, a party that mobilizes workers and all the oppressed in revolutionary struggle to do away with the racist profit system, replacing the boom-bust system of capitalist anarchy with a rationally planned economy organized through a government based on workers councils. ■

# Israel...

(continued from page 1)

Bank. The Labor Party directly encouraged the construction of settlements by right-wing revanchists as a means of displacing and policing the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, a policy which continues to this day.

In the language of fascists everywhere, Amir justified killing Rabin because "He had no national honor." But Rabin was hardly a leftist. Confronted by right-wing hecklers during his 1988 election campaign, Rabin boasted: "I've kicked out more Arabs than anyone you can name." As a young army officer in the 1948 "War of Independence," Rabin personally directed "Operation Dani"—one of the bloodiest massacres in the Zionist campaign to carve out *Lebensraum* (living space) for a "Jewish state" through the "cleansing" of Arab population centers. On 12 July 1948 Rabin ordered: "The inhabitants of Lydda must be expelled quickly without attention to age." Even by Israeli accounts, some 250 people were killed and many more wounded in a slaughter—other estimates range as high as 1,700 dead. Hundreds more died as up to 100,000 Palestinians from Lydda and the neighboring town of Ramle were forced on a long trek through the desert, stripped of their valuables by Israeli soldiers as they fled.

The bourgeois press has painted Rabin as a soldier who learned the ways of

peace, and portrays the new acting prime minister, Shimon Peres, as a "dove." Peres is a dyed-in-the-wool Zionist chauvinist who oversaw the construction of Israel's massive nuclear arsenal. And the 1993 Israel-PLO "peace" accord engineered by Rabin and Peres has meant that Arafat's PLO is being used by the Zionists to police the Palestinian masses in a string of ghettos in the Occupied Territories. The upshot of the vaunted interim accord ("Oslo 2") signed two months ago is that the PLO will gain "sovereignty" over all of 3 percent of the West Bank, with another 27 percent to be administered by the PLO under the bayonets of the Israeli army. Fully 70 percent of the West Bank will remain under total Israeli control. And now the turnout of international leaders, including from the Near East, at Rabin's funeral has served to legitimize the Zionists' claim to "Greater Jerusalem" as Israel's capital.

Meanwhile, Arafat's cops have proven themselves the equal of their Zionist puppet masters in torture and terror. Where the Israeli army found itself in a stalemate with the militant youth of the *Intifada*, the PLO has by and large succeeded in demoralizing and suppressing any resistance. Largely as a result of draconian repression, the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas, who capitalized on Arafat's capitulation to proclaim themselves the sole true opponents of the Zionist occupiers, have been significantly weakened. Surveys have shown a sharp drop in popular support for Hamas, from 40 percent two years ago to 11 percent today. And radical nationalists like Habash's PFLP and Hawatmeh's DFLP are scarcely heard of these days.

At the same time, Rabin's deal with the PLO succeeded in eviscerating what passed for a left in Israeli society. The "left" Zionist Meretz/"Peace Now" bloc is a loyal component of the Labor government. Indeed, as the bourgeois press has harped on, Rabin's last act was to speak at a "Peace Now" demonstration. The Communist Party-led Hadash parliamentary group, whose base of support is among Israeli Arabs, vowed earlier this year to "do everything it can not to jeopardize Rabin." The small fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League, after years of tailing "radical" Palestinian nationalism, extended "crit-

ical" support to Rabin's anti-Palestinian "peace" accords.

A revolutionary leadership would champion the national rights of the Palestinian people from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. What is needed is a class polarization, seeking to break Israeli workers from the stranglehold of Zionism which, as Trotsky warned, is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. For the fundamentalist fascists who would turn Israel into an Old Testament theocracy are a danger not only to the Palestinian masses but to the

Hebrew-speaking working people. The International Communist League recognizes the right of self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. But where there are two peoples inhabiting the same territory, there can be no just and democratic resolution of their competing national claims short of a socialist revolution which sweeps away the Zionist capitalist state as part of the fight for a socialist federation of the Near East. Key to this is the forging of Trotskyist parties as part of a reborn Fourth International. ■

## Spartacist Events

### BERKELEY

#### Spartacist League Forum

Saturday, November 18, 7 p.m.: *Farrakhan's Million Man March—A Reactionary Dead End; No to Sexism, Nationalism! For Revolutionary Integrationism! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!* UC Berkeley, 126 Barrows Hall  
For more information: (510) 839-0851

### BOSTON

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, November 18: *Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution*; December 2: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party*; Boston University, CLA (College of Liberal Arts) Room 418, 725 Commonwealth Avenue  
For more information: (617) 666-9453

### CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 30: *Marxism vs. Feminism: Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Illini Union, Room 211  
For more information: (312) 663-0715

### LOS ANGELES

#### Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Monday, November 20, 12:00 noon: *Capitalism Means Racist State Terror!—Battle for Mumia Abu-Jamal's Freedom!* UCLA, Ackerman 3508  
For more information: (213) 380-8239

### NEW YORK CITY

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Next classes, *Black and Red: Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution; The Fight for a Revolutionary Party*; call for dates and

times; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)  
For more information: (212) 267-1025

### SAN FRANCISCO

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, November 25: *Marx's View of Economics*; December 2: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*; call for location  
For more information: (415) 777-9367

### SANTA CRUZ

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, November 21: *Marx's View of Economics*; November 28: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*; UC Santa Cruz, Student Center, M.C. Williams Lounge  
For more information: (510) 839-0851

### Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

### TORONTO

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 27: *The Bolshevik Revolution*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)  
For more information: (416) 593-4138

### VANCOUVER

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, November 23: *Capitalism, Socialism and Communism*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)  
For more information: (604) 687-0353

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Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

### Chicago

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Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

### New York City

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41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

# S.F. Elections...

(continued from page 12)

American Latinos has made San Francisco a "majority minority" city. Its demographic composition has changed, but its political character hasn't. In this parochial, nasty, racist yuppie town, those with black and brown skins aren't welcome.

Currently SF has the highest rate of juvenile felony convictions per capita of any county in California, filling the jails with mostly black and Latino youth. The capitalists are *cutting* the public housing stock, which will throw more poor and black people into the streets. Low-income residents in Bayview/Hunters Point, the largest black neighborhood in the city, have vociferously complained for years about being poisoned with toxic dumping. And recently, the San Francisco Public Health Department found that "African American women under age 50 in Bayview/Hunters Point had a rate of breast cancer twice that of women in the Bay Area as a whole" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 September). A new youth curfew targets minority youth for police harassment (although a more draconian version Jordan had placed on the November 7 ballot was voted down).

The city cops are kill-crazy and their main object is terrorizing poor black and Hispanic neighborhoods to keep San Francisco "safe" for the yuppies and the wealthy. On September 6, black 28-year-old William Hankston was shot in the back of the head at pointblank range by a black cop named Jessie Washington. The SFPD had targeted the mainly black neighborhood of Ingleside where Hankston was killed for a "war on drugs," that is, *war on blacks*. William Hankston Sr. was right when he said his son's murder was "an outright assassination."

Hankston's murder followed the brutal beating death of 35-year-old Aaron Williams at the hands of the SFPD this past June. On November 1 the police killed again, this time blowing away an unarmed white man in the poor Tenderloin district for allegedly fleeing arrest on a parole violation. This summer, cops staged mass arrests of hundreds of protesters who marched on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, framed-up black journalist on Pennsylvania's death row. And last January they brutally broke up an AIDS benefit, beating guests while spewing anti-gay slurs.

Jordan is campaigning for re-election with stepped-up repression. "Matrix II," a vicious new edition of his notorious campaign against the homeless, has police sweeping the homeless out of city parks. He has also launched a racist, union-busting campaign against the Muni transit workers of TWU Local 250A, a 60 percent black union and a

key bulwark of integrated San Francisco labor. Scapegoating Muni drivers for the bosses' financial starvation of public transit, the capitalist papers blare headlines about "rich," "goof-off" city workers "stealing" money—while drivers have to endure buses which constantly break down and hostility from yuppies, as well as assaults by lumpens and racist cops. We remember Greg Wiggins, the black bus driver crippled by a beating from SF's "finest" in 1988. Now Jordan is threatening to "privatize" 20 percent of Muni, a direct attack on all city unions.

While Brown garners support from minorities, workers and the poor, he is

of Correspondence called for a vote to the "progressive" candidates in the first round and are now openly plumping for Brown. Brown's November 7 election-night rally was held in the Local 10 hiring hall. It is a truly disgusting spectacle for the union tops, most of whose unions are heavily integrated, to be embracing a big-time Democratic Party liberal who boasts that he will crack down on the same neighborhoods their members are likely to live in.

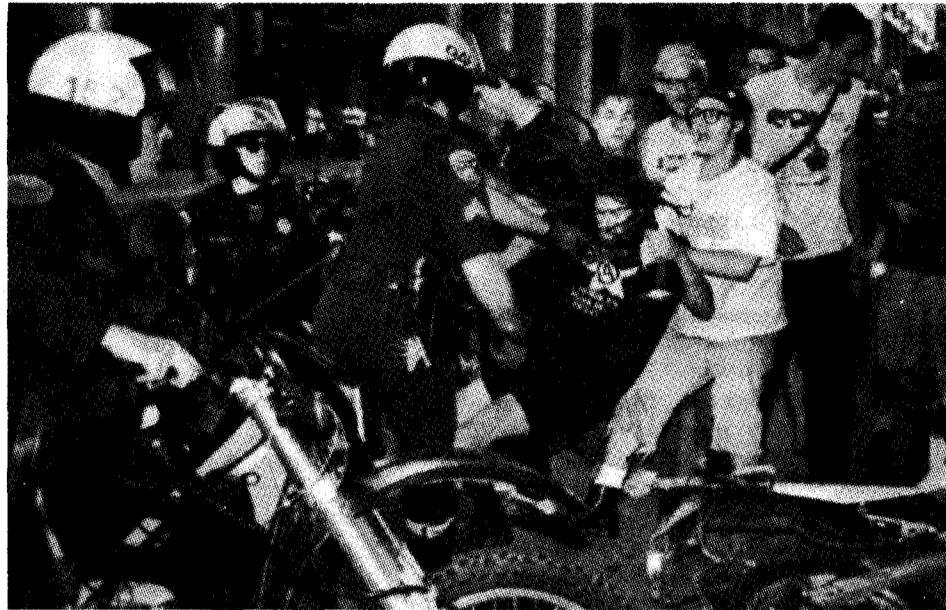
After the Hankston killing, the Ingleside neighborhood erupted in two nights of angry protest, met with brutal police mobilizations. City officials and black

But the conservative union bureaucrats fear this kind of political mobilization as much as the corporate and financial establishment does. Instead, desperate to keep workers tied to the Democratic Party, the trade-union bureaucracy mobilized on the streets to...elect the cops' favored candidate! Of course, SF Labor Council head Walter Johnson & Co. are the same bureaucrats fawned over by reformist fake leftists, from Socialist Organizer and Socialist Action to Labor Militant, for talking about a "labor party"—which for the labor tops is nothing but a cynical scheme to pressure the Democrats.

And for what? For 14 years as speaker of the assembly, the second most powerful office in the state, Willie Brown was one of the leading architects of cutback state budgets and devastated social services coming out of Sacramento—his partnership with a series of reactionary Republican governors was a California edition of Clinton/Gingrich reaction in D.C. What this "friend of labor" has in store for San Francisco workers was shown in 1993 when Brown intervened to stop a threatened strike by the Los Angeles teachers union, helping force a 10 percent wage cut down the union's throat. This was a real service for the ruling class, which worried that a militant labor struggle could galvanize the anger of the oppressed in L.A. following the 1992 upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

Remember Wilson Goode, the black Democratic mayor of Philadelphia who ordered the dropping of the bomb on the back-to-nature group MOVE, incinerating eleven black people, including five children. And Tom Bradley, the black ex-police chief and mayor of Los Angeles who oversaw the LAPD's unbridled terrorization of blacks, Latinos and militant trade unionists to keep L.A. an open shop town. We don't need black front men for racist capitalist rule. The Democrats are no "lesser evil." Both the Democratic and Republican parties have together carried out devastating attacks on the working people of this country, turning it into an increasingly immiserated, right-wing, weird and racist society.

It really will take a revolution in this country just to fulfill basic human rights, such as not being murdered for the color of your skin, and the right to eat and to have shelter. What working people desperately need is a *multiracial workers party* capable of fighting against these all-sided attacks on working people and minorities, and leading a political struggle inside the unions against the treacherous, pro-Democratic Party union misleaders that stand as the major obstacle to necessary social struggle. For the political independence of the labor movement from the capitalist parties! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■



SF cops assault "Food Not Bombs" protesters as part of Mayor Frank Jordan's racist campaign to drive the homeless off the streets and out of the parks.

a well-heeled wheeler-dealer who boasts of his connections with the rich and powerful, like his friend Walter Shorenstein, the downtown magnate. By making the central pitch in his campaign pro-police "law and order," calling Jordan "soft on crime," Brown is both pursuing financial district support and competing for a piece of Jordan's white racist base. He actively pursued and got the endorsement of both the Police Officers and the Deputy Sheriffs Associations—promising them not only more money and more cops, but also increased immunity by endorsing a plan favored by the POA to allow "officers who face discipline" to appeal to "an outside arbitrator who would have final say" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 26 September).

Most of the unions in town, from the ILWU Local 10 longshore union, Muni drivers, Hospital Workers Local 250 and SEIU Local 2 (the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union) to the SF Labor Council, have not only endorsed Brown but are going all out to get him elected. So has the arch-reformist Communist Party, which called him "pro-labor" and praised his campaign's "breadth and response to community concerns" (*People's Weekly World*, 28 October). Meanwhile, the ex-CPers of the Committees

misleaders alike launched a vigorous campaign to keep a lid on social tinder ready to explode. But no whitewash investigation will do anything to stop police terror—a point made ominously clear when over 200 cops, in a show of bonapartist police power, rallied in support of killer cop Washington at the POA headquarters. And as the Hankston case shows, it's not a matter of a killer cop's skin color. The job of *all* cops, as the armed fist of the capitalist state, is to defend the interests of the capitalist class, which rests on the exploitation of working people and the racist oppression of blacks.

Last August, a one-day strike by the longshoremen's union shut down the entire West Coast in a rare display of union power (see *WV* No. 627, 25 August). If the Muni drivers and ILWU had had a similar response to the Hankston murder and shut the city down, it would have been a powerful blow in defense of the unions and oppressed. Instead of angry but powerless black youth facing phalanxes of riot cops alone, thousands of black, white, Hispanic and Asian workers with the power to stop the flow of profits could have sent the racist cops a message impossible to disregard.

# Pittsburgh...

(continued from page 12)

office testified that Gammage had multiple cuts and bruises on his face, buttocks, knee, wrist and finger; internal injuries including multiple bruises on his back, neck and upper chest; and hemorrhages in his larynx and eyes caused by pressure on his neck, causing his brain to swell. After identifying Gammage's body, Ray Seals remarked, "When I looked at him, I had to do a double take so I could tell who he was [because of] the swelling" (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 14 October). The cops contrived stories about how Gammage was supposedly out of control, although each one of them singly was bigger than Gammage. As usual, they claimed Gammage was going wild on drugs. But autopsy toxicology reports showed there was not a trace of any drugs in his system and only a minimal amount of alcohol.

The nightmare cop lynching of Jonny

Gammage adds Pittsburgh to the growing list of American cities which have recently come under the media spotlight for police brutality. An NAACP review of civilian complaints against the Pittsburgh police last year showed that out of 400 complaints, *not one* was sustained. On April 28, 30-year-old Anthony Starks of Rockville, Maryland, was killed after Pittsburgh cops rained kicks to his stomach and nightstick blows to the head. Gammage's killing occurred as a Pittsburgh court was hearing a challenge by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal against prison officials who have victimized him for his writings exposing the system of racist "justice" and cop terror.

The cops are the armed front-line guardians of the racist capitalist order. America's Mark Fuhrmans aren't just some "bad apples" or out-of-control "rogue cops." They're the norm in police departments around the country. Justice for all the countless black men and women who are daily entrapped by lying prosecutors in court and thrown into

prisons to sweat out their young lives, and vengeance for those simply gunned down or beaten to death on the streets by the cops, will come through a revo-

lutionary struggle for workers power which will put an end to the entire criminal system of racist capitalist repression and its murderers in blue. ■

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## S.F. Labor Tops Back Black Front Man for Capitalist Rule



SF Democratic mayoral candidate and former state assembly speaker Willie Brown hobnobbing with racist Republican governor Wilson.

SAN FRANCISCO—For the past four years Democratic mayor Frank Jordan has made it his mission to drive the “undesirables” out of town or at least out of sight. Though nobody much likes him, the ex-police chief has garnered support from the white racist vote and downtown big money for his efforts to “clean up the streets” by persecuting the city’s 10,000 or more homeless people and unleashing the police on black neighborhoods and demonstrators. Now he is being challenged for mayor by black Democratic Party power broker Willie Brown, former speaker of the California state assembly. But Brown’s entire campaign is centered on trying to outdo the ex-cop mayor in being “tough on crime”—a code word for cracking down on the poor, and

primarily blacks—while appealing to blacks, other minorities, workers and others to vote for him as the “progressive”!

In the first round of the mayoral election on November 7, Brown came out on top with 36 percent to Jordan’s 33 percent, while Roberta Achtenberg, the openly gay, yuppie former member of the board of supervisors, who quit a Clinton administration job to run for mayor, ran third with 28 percent. The district breakdown, as published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (9 November), ran along the city’s race and class fault lines: black neighborhoods like Ingleside and Hunters Point and integrated working-class districts went to Brown; Jordan stayed solid in the white ethnic enclaves of the Sunset and upscale districts like the Ma-

rina and Pacific Heights; Achtenberg pulled in the gay/white liberal vote from the Castro and Mission districts. Brown is counting on pulling most of Achtenberg’s base to win the December 12 runoff against Jordan (she endorsed Brown in the second round of voting).

Despite its reputation as a liberal city, this town in fact has historically been dominated by an arrogant, rich white upper crust and the ethnic white middle-class neighborhoods. They have always made it uncomfortable for blacks to live here, and the black population has never climbed above 9 percent. In contrast, the city of Oakland across the Bay is 43 percent black. In the last two decades an influx of Asians, mainly Chinese, and a smaller number of mainly Central

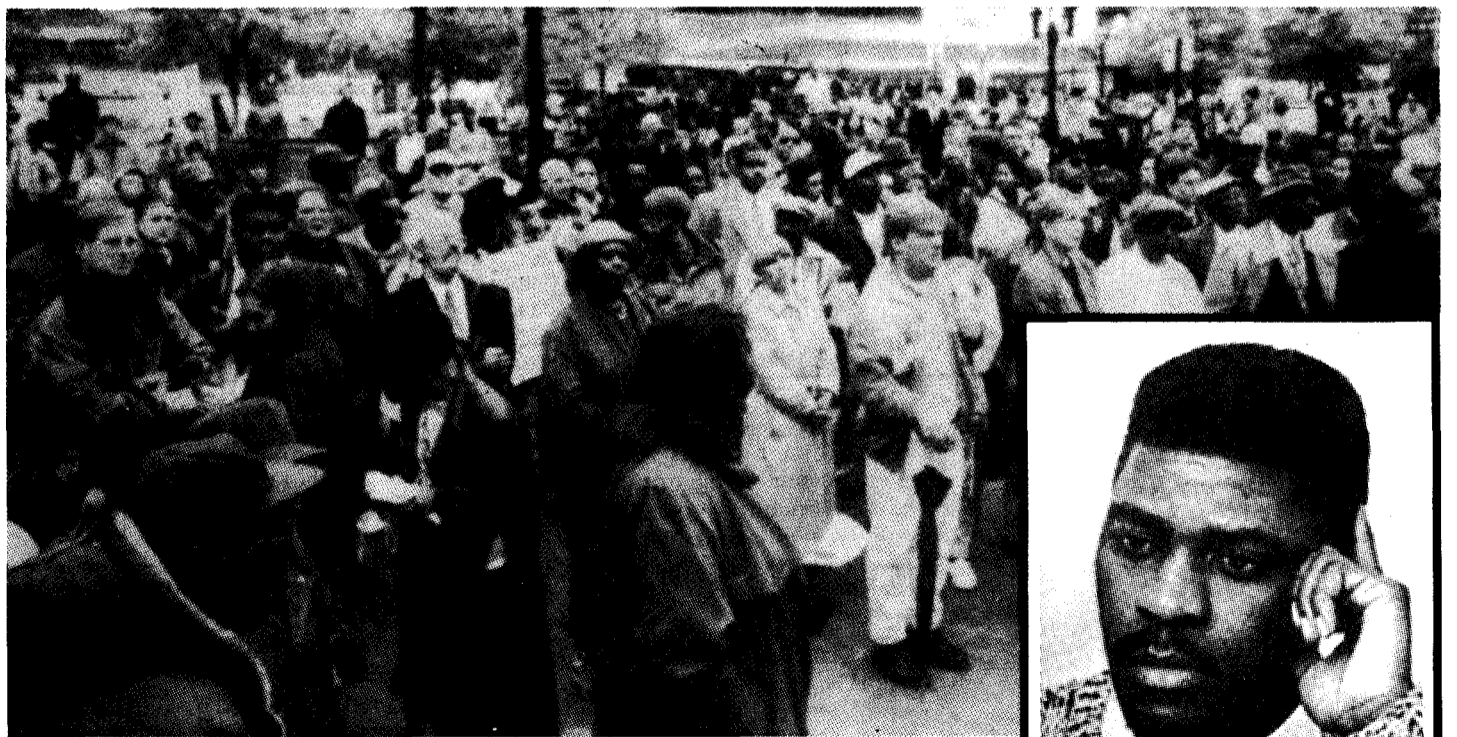
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## Pittsburgh: Outrage Over Racist Cop Murder

At 1:46 a.m. on October 12, a black man driving a Jaguar alone through the predominantly white Brentwood area on the outskirts of Pittsburgh was stopped by cops, supposedly for a traffic violation. Seventeen minutes later, an ambulance was summoned to the scene, and around 4 a.m. Jonny Gammage was pronounced dead, victim of a savage beating by a gang of five police thugs. Unlike Rodney King, whose brutal beating was videotaped and seared into the memory of the nation, no one had a camera at this scene. But there were witnesses and Gammage did have outspoken friends and family, including a cousin, Ray Seals, who is a defensive lineman on the Pittsburgh Steelers football team.

This hideous murder has put the issue of racist cop terror front and center in Pittsburgh. Hundreds have demonstrated in protest against Gammage’s killing. Reporters were stunned at how the anger has cut across race lines. One poll showed that fewer whites than blacks defended the cops’ actions. Here the impact of the O.J. Simpson trial is clearly seen. As a letter to the local black newspaper acridly noted, “In lieu of not being able to get their hands on O.J. Simpson, the Brentwood police borrowed a page from Mark Fuhrman’s book and ‘lynched’ Jonny Gammage” (*New Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 November). On November 3, a coroner’s jury unanimously recommended that the suburban cops who killed Jonny Gammage be charged with homicide, a first for a coroner’s jury in Allegheny County.

But three days later, Pittsburgh district attorney Robert Colville announced his refusal to bring first or second degree



Pittsburgh, November 3: Hundreds gather outside inquest for Jonny Gammage, lynched by racist cops.

homicide charges against the killer cops, and that he was “considering” involuntary manslaughter charges on the grounds that the cops hadn’t intended to kill Gammage. This is despite the admission during the inquest by Officer John Vojtas that he had sneered, “I hope you die,” as Gammage lay fighting for his life. Outraged demonstrators again protested on November 12 and 13.

Jonny Gammage was 31 years old, a graduate of Buffalo State University. He had been a partner in a small business

in Syracuse, his home town, as well as a social caseworker. When he died, Gammage was managing a business Seals started, Athletic Promotions Inc., which produced black and gold Steelers’ T-shirts with the inscription, “60-Minute Men.” Gammage gave out Thanksgiving baskets to poor people in Pittsburgh last year on behalf of the company.

Gammage was driving Seals’ car when he was set upon by the cops. “He was a black man in America, driving a nice car at late hours, and there was an

assumption,” said one person attending an NAACP dinner in Pittsburgh. And that’s all it took for the racist cops to target the 5-foot, 7-inch man. Eyewitness testimony at the three-day inquest brought out the horror of the last minutes of Gammage’s life. The cops threw him to the ground, tied his legs and handcuffed him. They drove their knees into his back, pinning Gammage and choking off his air supply until he died.

Dr. Abdulrezak Shakir of the coroner’s

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