

Clinton Militarizes the Border

Labor: Defend and Organize Immigrant Workers!

Behind 10-foot-high steel walls topped with barbed wire, under the glare of arc lights and searchlights, hundreds of soldiers and police operate motion detectors and video cameras, night-vision scopes and ground sensors, while Border Patrol agents in white Broncos man highway checkpoints and Black Hawk helicopters whir overhead in search of prey. From San Diego, California on the Pacific to Brownsville, Texas on the Gulf of Mexico, the Clinton White House is turning the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border into a militarized zone bristling with high-tech weaponry, symbolic of the ruling class' hysterical anti-immigrant campaign.

In this election year, President Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno and the Republican Congress have united to beef up the notoriously brutal Border Patrol. In such military-style maneuvers as "Operation Blockade" (El Paso), "Operation Gatekeeper" (San Diego) and "Operation Safeguard" (Nogales, Arizona), the hated *migra* (Immigration and Naturalization Service—INS) last year expelled more than 1.2 million Mexicans at the border. Jails are flooded with thousands of undocumented workers picked up in INS factory raids. The targets of this unprecedented military buildup are impoverished immigrants fleeing the grinding poverty and repression of the U.S.' Latin American neocolonies.

On January 16, the Justice Department put into effect a \$13.5 million three-month operation involving the Border Patrol, the INS and the FBI. Targeting the Arizona and Southern California "sectors" of the border, a big chunk of this new money is to pay local police to assist the Border Patrol. Two hundred Border Patrol officers, 100 FBI and INS investigators and inspectors are being added, along with 350 troops from the Marines, Army and National Guard. Since the military is legally prohibited from carrying out police actions inside the U.S., federal officials say that it is only engaged in "support" activities.

Roberto Martínez, director of the American Friends Service Committee's U.S.-Mexico Border Program, replied in an open letter to Reno: "If this is not militarization of the border, then the 16 mile long steel wall separating San Diego and Tijuana is not a steel wall, and the stadium lights are just a figment of our imagination." He writes, "I have personally taken photographs of National Guard personnel, not only driving Border Patrol vans and Broncos, but detaining and transporting suspected undocumented immigrants on the border." In an interview with WV, Martínez referred to the Clinton/Reno military buildup as "Operation Border Storm."

Following the passage of the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California in

**Down With "English Only" Racism!
Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!**



INS cops round up Latino immigrants in San Rafael, California. Racist U.S. rulers have declared full-scale war on immigrants.

1994, the Republicans have tried to whip up hysteria against "illegal aliens" as an electoral ploy. Competing in the Mexican-bashing frenzy, the Democrats responded by calling on the military to seal the border. The reactionary anti-immigrant furor is a major theme of the '96 presidential race. Clinton proclaimed in his State of the Union address, "This administration has taken a strong stand to stiffen protection on our borders," and announced plans to increase the Border Patrol (already doubled in size since he took office) by another 50 percent.

U.S. Attorney and longtime Clinton crony Alan Bersin, who was recently appointed "border czar" by Reno, plans to open special immigration courts in the Otay Mesa area near San Diego to "make deportations faster and more efficient." Nationally, Clinton's proposed "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act" would authorize the summary deportation of any immigrants who contributed to foreign groups deemed to be "terrorist" (as the Salvadoran FMLN and the South African ANC were until recently), including using "star chamber" trials in which the proceedings, evidence and even the charges are secret. Proposed "welfare reforms" would bar even legal immigrants from receiving food stamps or Medicaid.

A main purpose of this escalating anti-immigrant repression is to intimidate the millions of undocumented workers already in the U.S. This huge population

without any legal rights is prey to abusive employers seeking to drive down wages and bust unions. The *New York Times* (31 January) reported on its front page two related events which give a measure of their desperate situation: one was the fact that 15,000 scabs had been hired to break the recent New York commercial building maintenance workers strike; second was a rush of almost 1,000 undocumented immigrants to the NYC federal building in the middle of the night in freezing temperatures, lured by rumors that the INS was handing out "green card" resident visas. Yet despite the massive barriers they face, low-paid immigrants have become one of the most combative sectors of the working class, leading a number of recent unionization battles.

As decaying American capitalism has produced more than two decades of falling living standards, reactionary forces in the U.S. seek to scapegoat immigrants as the cause of unemployment and low wages. At the same time, the Mexican economy has plunged into its deepest recession in 60 years, shrinking by more than 10 percent in the last quarter of 1995, as the peso dropped nearly 60 percent against the dollar. A couple of years ago, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was being touted as an economic panacea. But as we warned at the time, this neocolonial deal represented the "free-trade rape of Mexico." In the wake of the peso devaluation, a \$50 billion imperialist bailout loan was

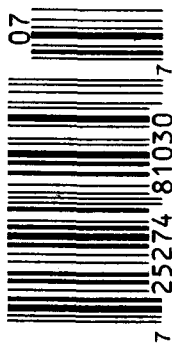
used to get the Zedillo government to impose brutal austerity measures, while giving Washington and Wall Street direct control over Mexico's oil income. As a result of the severe economic measures, over one million jobs were lost, forcing starving families northward.

Fearing the possible effects of a social explosion in Latin America, U.S. rulers have responded to Mexico's growing impoverishment by rushing to barricade the border. U.S. and Latin American workers, in contrast, must reach across the border to wage united class struggle against their common class enemies.

"Low-Intensity Warfare" on the Mexican Border

The chilling commingling of police and military agencies involved in the Clinton administration's anti-immigrant operation signals a new level of police-state repression aimed at all labor and minorities. The government talks and acts like it's waging a full-scale war against immigrants. Referring to the steel border fence being built south of San Diego, White House immigration aide Rahm Emanuel declared, "We have a battle plan to secure Imperial Beach, move to Chula Vista, lock that down and shut the back door to California by securing Arizona" (*Washington Post*, 12 January). Timothy Dunn, author of a forthcoming book on *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border*, terms the border buildup in recent

continued on page 8



Mumia Abu-Jamal Graduates from Goddard College

Congratulations!

On January 21, Mumia Abu-Jamal received his college degree from Goddard College. There was a standing ovation, and cheers of "Free Mumia!" rang out as his son Jamal accepted the Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology on behalf of his father at the graduation ceremony. Mumia was a student at Goddard between 1978 and 1980. He re-applied from death row and was accepted into the college's off-campus program.

The small liberal arts college is located about 15 miles outside of Montpelier, Vermont.

Mumia is on death row in Pennsylvania and presently incarcerated at the SCI Greene maximum security prison outside Pittsburgh. A powerful international campaign of protest won a stay of execution last August 7, ten days before he was to be executed. Jamal is a former Black Panther and award-winning black journalist; his book *Live from Death Row* (Addison-Wesley, 1995) has sold more than 50,000 copies. Mumia worked on his degree as the executioner's blade

hung over his head, and while finishing his book and his extensive other writings.

Mumia's son Jamal told the local Vermont newspaper, the *Times Argus* (22 January), that it was often very difficult for his father to work in prison. "All his books were taken away from him when the death sentence was approaching and he was put in solitary confinement."

Margo MacLeod, a professor of sociology and psychology who was Jamal's adviser at Goddard, noted, "Amid every-

thing that Mumia has endured over the years, the completion of this degree is nothing short of heroic." She said he wrote his final 75-page senior study, titled "The Emergence of a Black Psychology," in longhand because he is not permitted to use a typewriter in prison. MacLeod said the paper examines the racial bias inherent in traditional psychology and the damage this has done to Afro-Americans.

A group of university teachers working in his defense, Academics for Mumia Abu-Jamal, raised over \$1,000 toward his tuition costs. College president Richard Greene said he believes Mumia is the only Goddard student to ever earn a diploma while in prison. Heartfelt congratulations to Mumia! ■



TROTSKY

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

While black separatists like Louis Farrakhan and liberals like the NAACP seek an accommodation with the racist capitalist rulers, full social and economic equality for black people can only be achieved by eliminating the profit system which is at the core of racial oppression. Guided by the internationalist lessons of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, the early American Communist Party fought



LENIN

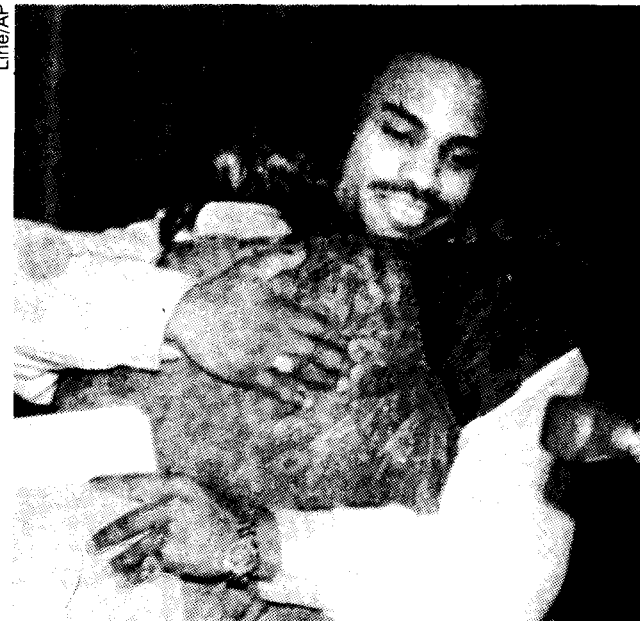
the "colorblind" socialism or outright racism which prevailed in the labor movement. The Communists championed the struggle against black oppression as key to the fight for socialist revolution. Though Stalinist degeneration had already begun to destroy the Communist International from within, a 1925 resolution of the Workers (Communist) Party of the U.S. outlined a revolutionary perspective for black emancipation.

The tremendous transformation among the Negro masses resulting from the world war and after war conditions, with the heavy migration of Negro agricultural laborers and tenant farmers into the cities and industrial districts, has placed the Negro definitely in a new position in relation to the American labor movement. From being a sectional question, the Negro problem became a national question. From being a secondary factor in industrial labor, the Negro moves into the position of a great mass, employed in basic industries, and already in notable strikes in the coal fields, etc., he has shown himself eminently fitted for the front ranks of militant organized labor. The question of the full and unstinting admission of the Negro to the trade unions is placed more sharply than ever before at the door of the trade unions....

The cause of the Negro in the labor movement is essentially a left wing fight, and one which must energetically be championed by the Workers (Communist) Party. Our party must make itself the foremost spokesman for the real abolition of all discriminations against Negroes in trade unions and for the organization of the as yet largely unorganized Negro workers in the same unions with the white workers on the basis of equality of membership, equality of right to employment in all branches of work and equality in pay....

All slogans of equality which are current among the Negro masses, or which can be awakened among them, which express the aspirations for equal rights and equal treatment of Negroes in political and economic life and in public customs, are placed among the demands of the Workers (Communist) Party. Such are the demands for political equality, the right to vote, social equality, abolition of jim-crow laws and also jim-crow customs not written into law, the right to serve on juries, the abolition of segregation in schools and the right of Negro teachers to teach in all schools; equal rights of soldiers and sailors in army and navy without segregation in colored regiments, the right to frequent all places of public resort without segregation (hotels, theatres, restaurants, etc.) and the abolition of all anti-intermarriage laws. In the course of the struggle with such demands we will demonstrate through experience that these aspirations can be realized only as a result of the successful class struggle against capitalism and with the establishment of the rule of the working class in the Soviet form.

—Resolution of Parity Commission (*Daily Worker*, 28 June 1925)



Mumia's son Jamal accepts degree on his father's behalf at Goddard College graduation ceremony.

Black History Month Spartacist Forums

Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism!

PLUS: Update on the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

ATLANTA

Wed., February 21, 3:30 p.m.
University Center
Room 461
Georgia State University
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON

Saturday, February 24, 7 p.m.
College of Liberal Arts, Room 414
Boston University
725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information: (617) 666-9453

BERKELEY

Speaker: Diana Coleman
veteran of civil rights movement
Thursday, February 22, 7 p.m.
Barrows 110, U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK CITY

Friday, February 23, 7 p.m.
PS 234
292 Greenwich Street
(at Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Clinton, Gingrich Unite on "Family Values," Assault Welfare Rights

Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speaker: Amy Rath
Editor, *Women and Revolution*
PLUS: Update on the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal
Saturday, February 17, 2:30 p.m.
Hornbake Library, Non Print Media,
Room R, University of Maryland
For more information: (202) 872-8240

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Carla Wilson

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

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

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

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

The closing date for news in this issue is February 13.

No. 639

16 February 1996

Brazil: Witchhunt Against Trotskyist Union Militants

In response to a vicious anti-communist smear campaign in the bourgeois press in the Brazilian steel center of Volta Redonda, which aims at driving revolutionary militants out of the unions, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) issued the following declaration in Mexico City on February 4.

At a time when comrades and supporters of Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) are under many-sided organizational and personal attack from forces ranging from centrist opponents and popular-frontists through to direct public organs of the bourgeoisie, the International Communist League strongly affirms our solidarity with these comrades.

Our fraternal comrades of Luta Metalúrgica were the only tendency in Brazil to uphold working-class independence by refusing to vote on principle for any candidates of the class-collaborationist bloc of the Frente Brasil Popular, centered on Lula's Workers Party (PT), in the 1994 elections. That is why LM is hated and feared by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. That is also one of the principles which has drawn LM to the International Communist League, which continues Trotsky's struggle against popular-frontism, from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s, France in the 1970s and '80s and Brazil today.

Likewise, the ICL and LM shared agreement with Trotsky's program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which paved the way for counterrevolution. In the face of the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive in the early 1980s, while most of the opportunist left howled with the imperialist wolves, the ICL proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution in Poland!"

The September 1994 Declaration of Fraternal Relations between the ICL and LM (see *Espartaco* No. 6, Winter 1994-95) expresses our commitment to building an authentic Trotskyist party in Brazil today as a *tribune of the people*, a champion of all the oppressed, of women, homosexuals, indigenous peoples. While the class-collaborationist left buys the lie of supposed "racial democracy" in Brazil, LM and the ICL hold that the fight against racial oppression—including in the unions—is strategic to proletarian revolution. When we call for a revolutionary workers and peasants government, this is not contradicted (as in the case of the opportunists) by support for the PT, which as part of the government of the state of Rondônia shares responsibility for the police/army massacre of scores of peasants last September.

The vicious campaign of provocation under way in the city of Volta Redonda is in direct response to the victory in union elections last November of the *Municípios em Luta* (Municipal Workers in Struggle)

slate, which is allied with Luta Metalúrgica and ran on a program opposing the popular front of class collaboration. Faced with this show of the workers' determination to struggle, an unholy alliance stretching from the bosses' press and company-union officials to opportunist left parties is frantically seeking to drive revolutionaries out of the union.

Already last July, in the elections in the Metal Workers Union in Volta Redonda, a similar rotten coalition was drummed together. The PT-led popular front brought in top leaders, including PT senator Benedita da Silva and C.U.T. union federation leader Vicentinho, to campaign against LM. *Diário do Vale*, notorious as a mouthpiece for the privatized CSN steel company

outfit, evidently a creation of CO, appearing out of nowhere to demand that Cerezo be excluded from union meetings.

To portray this veteran class-struggle militant—fired by the steel bosses for defending the workers' interests, and slandered by Força Sindical and the class-collaborationist left alike—as an "outsider" in Steel City is an abomination propagated by those who are at home in the antechambers of Popular Front mayor Baltazar and Lula's Frente Brasil Popular, if not in the front offices of the CSN itself. Luta Metalúrgica was invited to advise *Municípios em Luta* precisely because LM was the only group which fought for the independence of the working class, refusing to vote

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



bosses, gave prominent coverage to attacks on LM spokesman Alexandre Honorato (Cerezo) both by the CSN-sponsored "union" Força Sindical and by the pseudo-Trotskyist group Causa Operária (CO).

During the municipal workers campaign, this labor-hating press organ tried to whip up a ludicrous scandal over Cerezo painting slogans together with MEL activists. A last-minute candidacy by Força Sindical used *Diário do Vale* as a sounding board in its campaign against the "radicalism" of Luta Metalúrgica. Rejected by the union ranks, the defeated bosses' candidate sought—with the aid of Mayor Baltazar—to prevent the MEL from taking office. When that ploy failed as well, now this newspaper of the bosses is trumpeting vile accusations from a phantom "Servidores em Luta"

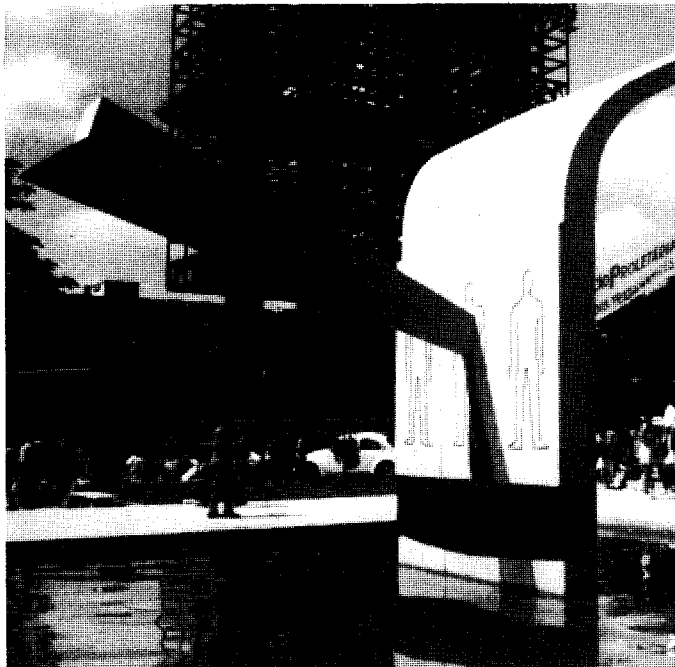
for any candidates of a popular front tying the workers to sectors of the bourgeoisie. For municipal workers in Volta Redonda, the popular front is no abstraction but their immediate enemy, the city government, which is threatening to fire thousands.

Seeing this all-sided onslaught against Luta Metalúrgica, every thinking worker will ask: Who is behind this? Why is this happening? And why now? They will recall that 12,000 steel workers were fired at CSN with the cooperation of Força Sindical and acquiescence by the C.U.T., which did not want to hurt the electoral chances of the Lula popular front, not in 1989 nor in 1995. These mass firings were a continuation of the unrelenting repression by the bourgeoisie and its state against the combative Volta Redonda workers symbolized by the army's murder of three steel workers during the 1988 strike, William, Walmir and Barroso. In 1993, the Popular Front city administration tried to fire 2,800 workers but was defeated. If the bosses and their agents succeed in removing from the unions the most combative elements, it will be a first step to firings, pay cuts and a return to the *pelego* (state-controlled) "unions" of the past.

The history of the class struggle is replete with examples of such orchestrated attempts at defamation and repression of militant workers leaders, often with the connivance of the reformists, in order to destroy the capacity for resistance of the workers movement. In Mexico last year, the government launched its campaign to destroy the powerful and militant SUTAU bus drivers union in the capital, firing all 13,000 workers, by jailing the union's legal adviser, naturally on trumped-up charges of corruption. In France after World War II, when Trotskyists played a leading role in the 1947 Renault auto workers strike, they were denounced as "provocateurs" by the Stalinist Communist Party, then in a popular-front coalition government which was determined to enforce a brutal wage freeze.

In the United States in the 1930s, the Trotskyists won the leadership of the Teamsters (truck drivers) of the city of Minneapolis, leading and winning a local general strike. Their revolutionary politics and class-struggle methods of organizing so frightened the

continued on page 10



Workers defy troops during militant 1988 Volta Redonda steel strike. Three strikers murdered by army were honored by a monument (above), later damaged in bomb attack.

Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call "Restore the Soviet Union"

We print below the second and concluding part of an article translated from the Russian-language *Biulleten Spartakovtsev* (Supplement No. 12, November 1995), published by the International Communist League. Part One appeared in WV No. 638 (2 February).

The Bolshevik Party was proletarian-internationalist to the core—a fact that was reflected in its leadership. Alongside the Russians Lenin and Bukharin there were the Pole Dzerzhinsky, the Bulgarian Rakovsky, the Georgian Stalin, the Armenian Shaumyan, the Jews Sverdlov and Trotsky, and others. The Bolsheviks steadfastly opposed any form of national inequality or privilege, and supported the right of all nations within the tsarist prison house of peoples to self-determination, that is, the right to set up independent states. Support for this democratic right in no way represented support to bourgeois nationalism, but was the means by which to "take the national question off the agenda." As Lenin emphasized, only by implacably opposing the chauvinism of its own bourgeoisie could the proletariat of the oppressor

Capitalist Counterrevolution and the Russian Stalinist "Patriots"

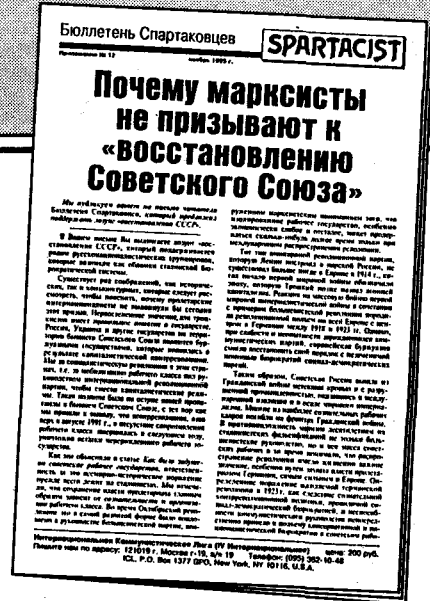
Part Two of Two

determination, contained in such proclamations as the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia," did much to neutralize the dirty work of the Ukrainian nationalists and enabled the Bolsheviks to pose more sharply the need for workers rule. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks did not bow down to the fiction of "self-determination" when it was bandied about by bourgeois nationalists as a cover for counterrevolutionary intrigues.

When Bolshevik forces fought to foster the growth of soviets on Ukrainian soil, the Rada—deeply hostile to the spectre of proletarian rule—made a military bloc with the counterrevolutionary White Guard generals Kornilov and Kaledin, and the French and British governments. A telegram to the Rada from the Bolshevik government sent in

such areas as the Ukraine and Georgia. For the Bolsheviks, the right to self-determination was a democratic right, subordinated to class considerations. In reality, the question of self-determination was inextricable from the life and death issues posed in the Civil War, as was evident in the Ukraine. Independence was a bogus issue. As the British historian E.H. Carr noted, "The choice was not between dependence and independence, but between dependence on Moscow or dependence on the bourgeois governments of the capitalist world."

The Bolshevik leadership did not maintain that the various nations and peoples of the former tsarist empire had to be reorganized within the framework of a single federated Soviet (workers) state. Lenin was open to the prospect of



Biulleten Spartakovtsev Supplement No. 12, published in Moscow in November 1995 by the International Communist League.

sus. In late 1922, Lenin broke with Stalin over Stalin's arrogant treatment of Georgian Communists and his attempt to impose a single Transcaucasian republic against the will of local Communists. As we noted above [in Part One], Trotsky wrongly compromised when Lenin urged that he lead an open and uncompromising political fight against Stalin and in defense of the Georgian Communists—accepting Stalin's confessions of good faith and self-criticism (see "Pierre Broué's Trotsky: Tailored for Perestroika," *Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91). But Christian Rakovsky, then head of the Ukrainian Soviet government and later to become Trotsky's closest co-thinker in the Left Opposition, spoke out sharply at the 12th Party Congress in 1923 against the emerging Russian-centered bureaucratic apparatus: "Our central authorities begin to view the administration of the whole country from the viewpoint of the comfort of their office armchairs. Naturally, it's tiresome to administer twenty republics; how convenient it would be if the whole lot were unified, and you had only to press one button to administer the entire country."

The ugly manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism over the "Georgian affair" foreshadowed the onset of Thermidor in 1923-24. This was a political counterrevolution: although the social gains of the October Revolution, embodied in the collectivized property relations, remained in place, the proletariat was politically expropriated. Party democracy was strangled. This was first and foremost aimed at those who continued to struggle for the goal of world revolution—Trotsky and the Left Opposition. As we noted in our article "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" (*Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989): "After January 1924, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled, and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled had all changed."

Particularly given Stalin's embrace of the nationalist lie of "building socialism in one country," this was necessarily reflected in policy on the national question. Already in the late 1920s, the Stalin faction was dipping into the arsenal of tsarist reaction to use anti-Semitism as a weapon against the Left Opposition. During World War II, Stalin dissolved the Chechen and neighboring Ingush autonomous regions and deported their entire populations to Central Asia. This was also done to the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans and several other peoples. As part of his attempt to whip up Russian nationalism, Stalin revived the Russian Orthodox church and glorified tsarist generals, and then in the aftermath of the war sharply escalated anti-Semitism.



Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party was internationalist to the core: 1920 "Red Banner of Labor" medal inscribed in Byelorussian, Yiddish, Polish. Above: Council of People's Commissars, 1918, with Lenin and Trotsky at rear, included Russians, Jews, Ukrainians and other nationalities.

Planeta Publishers

nation (i.e., the Great Russian proletariat) win the confidence of the oppressed nationalities, transcend national divisions and lay the basis for class unity.

Bolshevism and the National Question

Among the first acts of the revolutionary workers government that took power in October 1917 was a renunciation of the Great Russian annexationist policies of both tsarism and Kerensky's Provisional Government. This was a critical factor in achieving victory in the bitter Civil War and extending workers rule beyond the area where it initially held sway, which was mainly limited to the great cities of northern and central Russia. Let's look briefly, for example, at the case of the Ukraine, where successive tsarist governments had instituted forced Russification of the Ukrainian population, including banning Ukrainian literature and newspapers.

The new bourgeois-nationalist government of the Rada [council] sought to poison the Ukrainian masses against the Bolshevik government, which they portrayed as simply another version of Russian "imperialism." But while the bourgeois Kerensky government in Russia had forcibly maintained the subject peoples within the confines of the tsarist empire, the Bolshevik practice was completely different. Their assertion of the right to self-

December 1917: (1) recognized "without reservations everything that pertains to the Ukrainian people's national rights and national independence," while (2) simultaneously declaring war on the Rada "because of its attitude of unexampled betrayal of the revolution and support of the Cadets and the Kaledinites—the bitterest enemies of the national independence of the peoples of Russia, the enemies of Soviet power and of the working and exploited masses."

Over the next three years, as the Civil War raged, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie made a series of blocs with the White Guards and their imperialist allies. After a short interlude of a Ukrainian Soviet government, put in power with the assistance of the Red Army, German military forces swept across the Ukraine and installed a puppet government under the reactionary Cossack hetman [chief] Skoropadsky. With the collapse of German military power, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie turned to General Denikin, in alliance with French military detachments. In the final episode, the Ukrainian nationalist Petliura, notorious for carrying out massacres of the Jewish population, made a bloc with the reactionary Polish leader Pilsudski.

The intervention of the Red Army, as well as indigenous revolutionary proletarian insurgency, was a critical factor in the extension of proletarian rule to

an alliance of Soviet states in the region if the non-Russian workers and peasants so desired. Thus, he wrote in late 1919:

"There are other questions—the fundamental interests of the proletarian dictatorship; the interests of the unity and discipline of the Red Army which is fighting Denikin; the leading role of the proletariat in relation to the peasantry—that are more important; the question whether the Ukraine will be a separate state is far less important. We must not be in the least surprised, or frightened, even by the prospect of the Ukrainian workers and peasants trying out different systems, and in the course of, say, several years, testing by practice union with the R.S.F.S.R., or seceding from the latter and forming an independent Ukrainian S.S.R. or various forms of their close alliance, and so on, and so forth."

—"The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (December 1919)

Later, Lenin insisted over Stalin's opposition on incorporating the right of national self-determination into the founding constitution of the USSR.

"Socialism in One Country"—A Nationalist Lie

Lenin intransigently opposed every manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. His last struggle, undertaken when he was already seriously ill, was over the national question in the Cauca-

However, it would be a mistake to view national relations in the Soviet degenerated workers state as a simple continuation of what existed under the tsarist prison house of peoples. The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy had a *contradictory* impact. The existence of a socialized economy with centralized planning provided the material basis for developing the more backward areas of the Soviet Union. Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936):

"It is true that in the sphere of national policy, as in the sphere of economy, the Soviet bureaucracy still continues to carry out a certain part of the progressive work, although with immoderate overhead expenses. This is especially true of the backward nationalities of the Union, which must of necessity pass through a more or less prolonged period of borrowing, imitation and assimilation of what exists."

One need only look at the high level of education and cultural development, and the advancement of women, that occurred in such areas as Soviet Central Asia, which at the time of the Russian Revolution was a feudal backwater. This is in marked distinction to the way in which imperialism works, where a handful of wealthy capitalist states ruthlessly exploit the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world, leading to the ever greater absolute and relative impoverishment of the "Third World."

The Khrushchev years marked the last period of official "socialist" idealism in the USSR. This was sparked by the victory of the Red Army over Hitler's Nazis—which brought in its wake the elimination of capitalism in what became the deformed workers states of East Europe—followed by the exceptional rate of Soviet economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Sputnik and the cosmonauts dramatically demonstrated that Soviet science and technology had attained world-class levels in key fields. Anti-western colonial revolutions—in particular the Cuban Revolution of 1959-60—vastly enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union in world politics to the detriment of U.S. imperialism.

Khrushchev's declaration in the UN in 1960 that "we will bury you" and his promise that the USSR would attain "full communism" in 20 years expressed the false consciousness of the Kremlin bureaucracy at that time. And such views had a resonance in Soviet society, where wide layers of the populace maintained socialist aspirations, while believing the bureaucracy's lie that a socialist society with full national equality could be constructed in the USSR without overthrowing capitalism in the advanced industrial countries. This "Soviet patriotism" was a *halfway house* between the proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky and traditional bourgeois nationalism. The fact that the Soviet proletariat remained subjectively pro-socialist for many years is a telling indictment of those who prematurely wrote off the Soviet Union as "state capitalist."

But as Trotsky had reasserted in *The Revolution Betrayed*, the creation of a



Lenin denounced Stalin (third from left) and his lieutenant Ordzhonikidze (at right), shown here in 1925, for trampling on the Soviet principle of national equality in 1922 Georgian affair.

socialist society entails a level of economic productivity higher than that of even the most advanced capitalist economies. That requires an internationally planned economy, since the seizure of power by the proletariat in one country could not eliminate the pressure of the world capitalist market. Stalin and his heirs, seeking to justify their treacherous dealings with the imperialist bourgeoisies, claimed that if only foreign military intervention could be averted there was nothing to block the USSR's road to socialism. But as Trotsky bluntly noted in his 1928 work, *The Third International After Lenin*, "It is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy."

As economic growth slumped, the Soviet bureaucrats in the early 1970s pronounced their intent to switch to intensive economic growth through retooling the existing economic plant. The USSR was given a breathing spell from imperialist pressure as a result of U.S. imperialism's protracted, humiliating defeat in Indochina—achieved at the cost of millions of lives of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants—and of the economic boost derived from the world oil price hike. But such conjunctural factors were not to last indefinitely. As Trotsky had warned, intensive economic development could not be effected under central planning in the absence of soviet democracy. As it became obvious that the USSR was not going to overtake the level of economic productivity of Western/Japanese capitalism, the Brezhnev regime tacitly abandoned even "socialism in one country." While continuing to pay lip service to "Marxism-Leninism," the Brezhnev generation had as its real, functional ideology "superpowerism."

But once the Soviet Union is simply viewed as a contending world power, and not in class terms as a workers state, "Soviet patriotism" ultimately reduces itself to the nationalism of the predominant Great Russian nation. Trotsky fought against such a disastrous outcome

in the '20s, including in *The Third International After Lenin*, when he underlined the social-patriotic thrust implicit in "socialism in one country," which necessarily led to the abandonment of the international proletariat. In 1935 Trotsky wrote, "Stalin Has Signed the Death Certificate of the Third International," calling the Seventh Congress later that year the "Liquidation Congress" because of its codification of all-embracing class collaboration through the "people's front against fascism." In 1943, in order to appease his wartime imperialist allies, Stalin formally liquidated the Third International with the stroke of a pen. At the same time, he cast the heroic war of the Soviet peoples against the Nazi invaders in nationalist colors, as a "Great Patriotic War," replete with appeals to the Russian

grated, it tended to split along national lines and make common cause with traditional anti-Communists. In the Russian federation, much of the Gorbachevite intelligentsia became the pro-Western imperialist "democrats." Arrayed against them was a "patriot" wing whose nationalist agitation in the guise of "anti-imperialism" revealed a no less visceral hostility to the interests of the international working class and world communism. Hence, the "red-brown bloc." Among the non-Russian peoples, in the Baltics, the Caucasus and the Ukraine, former CP apparatchiks embraced anti-Soviet—and, at times, anti-Russian—nationalism, fawning over Western imperialism. Gorbachev's perestroika policies greatly intensified national antagonisms, fueling the aspirations of the more advanced republics like the Baltics and Armenia for an even greater slice of the pie. Meanwhile, Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism by withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan and selling out the DDR [East Germany] only further whetted the appetites of bourgeois nationalists here and imperialists abroad. As the floodgates were opened to capitalist counterrevolution, bitter communalism erupted in Nagorno-Karabakh [in the Caucasus] and elsewhere.

In that context, we called "for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit" ("Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" Part Three, WV No. 522, 15 March 1991). We noted that Great Russian chauvinism undermined the defense of the Soviet Union, and we called on the working masses to mobilize to drive the fascists, particularly nativist Russian



Great Russian chauvinist "red-brown" coalition: portraits of Stalin mingle with Orthodox icons.

Orthodox church and the military traditions of the tsarist autocracy.

Nationalism as a Motor Force for Counterrevolution

This Stalinist nationalism flourished in the years that followed. Specifically and significantly, the Brezhnev regime tolerated and to a degree promoted reactionary Russian nationalist groups and currents (e.g., around the journal *Nash Sovremennik*). At the same time, this regime certainly would have suppressed any claiming to be Trotskyists or other independent leftists. The "democrat" Yeltsin paid homage to Pamyat, whom he legitimized in one of his first acts as Moscow CPSU chief in the mid-1980s. The official sponsorship of such scum further corroded the consciousness of workers and military cadre. In "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (Part Two, WV No. 521, 1 March 1991), we quoted a Soviet officer: "The Communist Party made our country a great state—a superpower." We noted that this vision was alien to that of Lenin and Trotsky, who "saw the Russian October as the first act of an international proletarian revolution which would lead to a global communist society through the withering away of the nation-state."

As the Stalinist bureaucracy disinte-

fascists like Pamyat, off the streets. We did not consider the borders or the boundaries of the various entities within the USSR as sacrosanct. We noted that the right of constituent *workers* republics to withdraw from the USSR had been written into the Soviet constitution at Lenin's insistence. But we vigorously combatted capitalist restoration even when it sought to cover itself with the fig leaf of "national independence." In contrast, Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat saluted the fascist Estonian "Forest Brothers," who allied with the Nazis against the Red Army in WW II, while the U.S. Workers League of David North championed the cause of the counterrevolutionary Lithuanian Sajudis, going so far as to denounce U.S. imperialist chief George Bush for not imposing sanctions against the USSR on behalf of Lithuanian independence!

As Trotskyists, we stood for unconditional defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to sweep out the Kremlin gang that was undermining the very existence of the workers state. We fought for a world party that could lead the revolution internationally, before it was too late to save the Soviet Union. In August 1991, we

continued on page 10



Ukrainian miners demonstrate for back pay during recent strike, which included miners throughout Russia and the Ukraine. Trotskyists fight for socialist revolution against new capitalist rulers in Kiev and Moscow.

Ten Immigrants Killed in Lübeck Arson Attack

Germany: Racist Murder and State Cover-Up

HAMBURG—The inferno which consumed a refugee hostel in the Baltic port city of Lübeck in the early hours of January 18 was the latest—and deadliest—in a wave of racist terror attacks against immigrants in Germany over the last five years. Ten people died and some 50 were injured as flames and smoke spread through the crowded hostel, located in a desolate commercial area on the edge of town, trapping many people on the upper floors. The building housed refugees from Africa and the Near East, as well as some Poles. Many of the dead were black Africans, like 25-year-old Zairean Monique Bunga and her three-year-old daughter, who were killed in a desperate attempt to flee the fire by jumping from the building. Now, in an obscene Catch-22 many of the survivors face deportation because they no longer have a place to live.

Immediately after the Lübeck fire, cops picked up three young men, including a skinhead decked out in bomber jacket and Doc Marten boots, who were seen by witnesses getting into a car parked near the hostel just as flames overwhelmed the building. The prospect that this was another Nazi atrocity caused an uproar throughout the country, as people recalled the murderous fascist arson attacks at Rostock, Mölln and Solingen in 1992-93. The Lübeck fire occurred as Israeli president Weizman was on a first-ever visit to Germany, and the day before a commemoration to honor victims of fascism in the Bundestag (parliament). The media worried openly about Germany's image abroad. German president Roman Herzog spoke of the need for greater police powers if the fire was arson, but also questioned whether it might be an "accident."

The three rightists were released within hours, with the alibi that a police patrol car had seen them at a gas station some distance from the hostel just before the fire started. The government and media soon began pushing the line that the fire might indeed have been an accident. But because the fire started at three distinct places on the ground floor of the hostel, they were forced to drop this line after 24 hours. Then, two days after the fire, the cops hauled in a 21-year-old Lebanese survivor of the hostel, Safwan Eid, claiming he had confessed to setting the blaze after an argument with an African man who also lived there.

Despite weeks of imprisonment and interrogation, Safwan Eid continues to proclaim his innocence, as do his neighbors. The man he supposedly argued with denies there was any altercation. An Angolan survivor declared, "No African thinks Safwan is guilty." Eid's distraught father said bitterly, "First our house was burned down, now our son has been arrested." Yet the bourgeois media is churning out the line that the immigrants were killed by one of their own.

Was this a fascist attack? We have no way of knowing who set the Lübeck fire, but it certainly had the earmarks of recent, documented Nazi firebombings. In any case, the government/media story reeks with the stench of cover-up for racist murder. The London *Independent* (19 January) noted that, "Reports of fires at immigrant homes appear in the German press almost daily." But these fires are routinely dismissed as accidents or blamed on the residents.

Lübeck, like Mölln, is in the state of Schleswig-Holstein. Although Lübeck



Lübeck refugee hostel engulfed in flames after arson attack, January 18. Now German cops and media seek to whitewash racist terror, blame immigrant resident for setting blaze.

has a militant working-class tradition, the rural areas are Nazi-infested, with many "displaced Germans" who yearn to reclaim "their" towns in East Europe for the reunited German Reich. Lübeck was the scene of the first synagogue firebombings in Germany since the Hitler era, first in 1994, and again in May 1995 on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Third Reich's downfall.

Yet barely two weeks after the Lübeck fire, the police announced they were no longer investigating the possibility of a racist arson attack. Meanwhile, Safwan Eid remains in jail, denied visits even by his family on the grounds that they may lead to "suppression of evidence." And what is the "evidence"? According to the cops, Eid confessed to a first-aid worker at the scene. Yet this "confession" was not revealed until *two days* after the fire. In fact, when the fire erupted, Eid was asleep. Awakened by neighbors, he joined in the rescue effort, saving the lives of several occupants by leading them onto the roof, from which he himself was rescued by firemen! Eid's own family was injured in the fire—his father's feet were burned and his sister has been forced to undergo two operations.

The police claim that the fire could not have been set by outsiders because the house door had been locked. But there was a second door, as well as broken and open windows on the ground floor. Moreover, "surviving inhabitants reported that at night masked figures had been fiddling with molotov cocktails in front of the house" (*Tageszeitung*, 19 January). Residents also described evidence of repeated earlier attempts to firebomb the hostel, most recently last December, including containers of gasoline which had been thrown into the building but did not ignite. Only a week before the fire, one family had requested another place to stay because they were worried about their security.

Clearly with their grotesque version of the Lübeck hostel fire as an "inside job," the German Fourth Reich wants to defuse widespread outrage against racist terror while seeking to further segregate and isolate the immigrant population.

Lübeck's Social Democratic (SPD) mayor, Michael Bouteiller, has been vilified by the state and the press for speaking out against the attacks on immigrants. After Bouteiller called for civil disobedience to prevent the surviving asylum seekers from being deported and demanded that they be given public housing apartments among the general population, he was threatened with disciplinary proceedings by the Interior Ministry.

Bouteiller has since received hundreds of death threats denouncing him as a "German-hater," "N----- lover" and "Nestbeschmutzer" (one who dirties his own nest). This racist theme is echoed by the "respectable" bourgeois press, like *Die Zeit* (9 February), which ran a scurrilous article about the Lübeck fire and "Nestbeschmutzung," railing against the "left's yearning" to embrace "the supposed universal guilt of the Germans and the illusion of good foreigners."

In fact, the fascist attacks were *instigated* and *exploited* by a racist consensus in Bonn which runs from Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) to the SPD "opposition" and the reformist East German Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). On the eve of the August 1992 Rostock pogrom, an SPD national conference voted to join with the CDU in gutting the constitutional right to asylum. The May 1993 Solingen firebombing came just three days after that measure was passed in the Bundestag. While claiming to oppose the constitutional change, the eco-nationalist Greens instead demand "quotas" for refugees, while the PDS—which pushes ersatz East German patriotism—expressed "understanding" for the pogromists in Rostock.

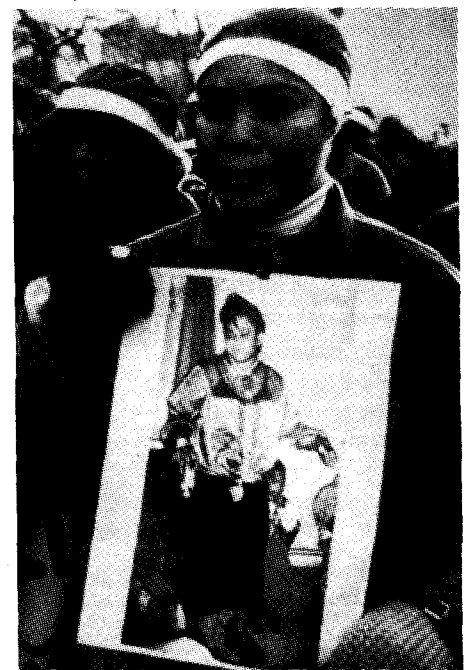
The bulk of the German left looks to the bourgeois state to "ban the fascists." This is not only stupid but dangerous. Between 1992 and 1994 the chief federal prosecutor instituted 13 legal actions against fascists "for building and supporting a criminal or terrorist organization," and 389 *against leftists*—not to mention the banning of the PKK and mass arrests of Kurdish demonstrators.

The capitalist state claims to "oppose"

Nazi terror by...adopting major aspects of the fascists' program of "foreigners out." Immediately after the last mourning ceremony in the Lübeck Cathedral on February 7, the government introduced a new draconian asylum law into parliament, under which asylum seekers are not only forced to live in segregated hostels, but will henceforth receive coupons instead of money and be denied treatment for all but "acute" medical problems.

In contrast to the United States, where citizenship is based on birthplace, Germany—like Israel—determines citizenship on the basis of parentage. This racist *Blutrecht* (blood law) is the logical implication of the nation-state in extreme form. Thus a Russian citizen of distant German ethnic origin (*Volksdeutsch*) living beyond the Urals has an automatic right to German citizenship, as long as they're not Jewish, whereas the child of a Turkish steel worker in the Ruhr, born in Germany and having lived his or her entire life there, will find it next to impossible to become a German citizen.

The Trotskyists of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) fight for united-front worker/immigrant mobilizations to fight racist terror and sweep the fascists away. In fact, Turks and Kurds form a substantial and strategic sector of the industrial working class in West Germany. In the aftermath of the Mölln and Solingen firebombings, there were brief work stoppages and significant sentiment in the plants for workers action. In Lübeck on January 18, some 60 ÖTV public workers union del-



Asylum-seekers protest murderous Lübeck arson attack.

egates went to the site of the fire as a sign of solidarity with the victims (*ÖTV Magazine*, February 1996). But the social-democratic union misleaders are loyal defenders of the Fourth Reich and an obstacle to any independent working-class mobilization.

The question of leadership is key. The SpAD fights to build a Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat which acts as a tribune of all the oppressed. To stop the Nazis and put an end to racist terror once and for all requires a socialist revolution to sweep away the entire capitalist system which repeatedly gives rise to the fascist menace. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash fascist attacks! ■

Young Spartacus

A team of Spartacist supporters went to the picket lines at the City University of New York on January 30 to talk to striking building maintenance workers in Local 32B-32J and to join the lines. That night, a "Student-Worker Strike Support Committee" meeting was planned for the CUNY Graduate Center—a struck facility. We pointed out to strikers on the line that any strike supporters who felt the need to cross picket lines to "talk" weren't friends of the strike. We discussed the necessity of shutting down facilities by drawing in key unions, like the Teamsters who deliver fuel and packages. A number of strikers stressed that they wanted to fight for picket lines that kept buildings from operating instead of standing out in the cold for days in a symbolic appeal to the real estate barons.

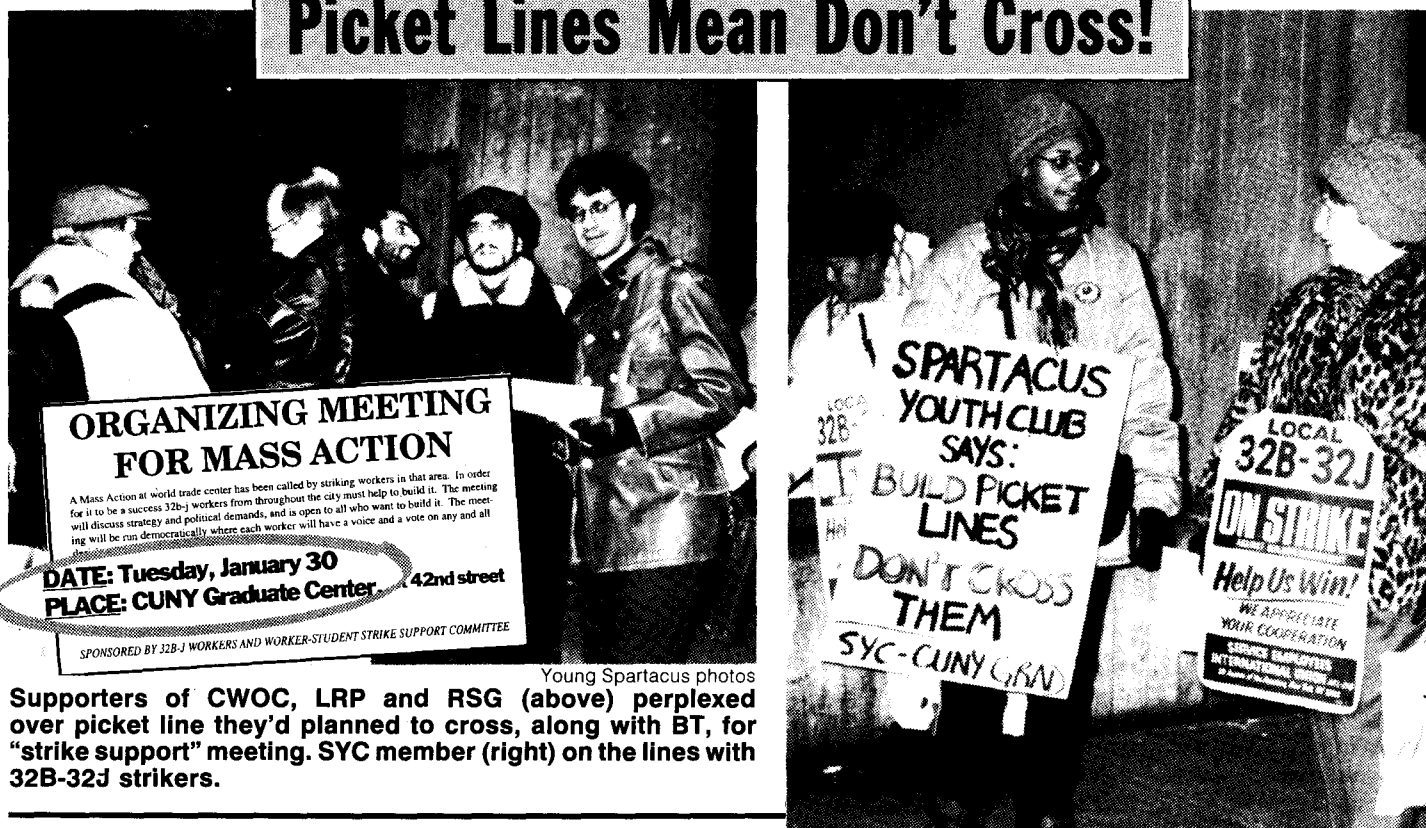
An SYC member who is a student at the Graduate Center carried a sign that went to the point: "Spartacus Youth Club Says: Build Picket Lines, Don't Cross Them." Members of the Revolutionary Socialist Group (RSG)—a tiny study circle based at the College of Staten Island—were the main builders of this "strike support" meeting, along with the Bolshevik Tendency (BT). When a BTer who'd been crossing the pickets at his workplace showed up, some older strikers from East Europe began chanting, "Scab out! Scab, scab!" The BTer scurried away. Several other left groups then arrived, including Labor Militant and the League for a Revolutionary Party. One member of the coalition loudly protested holding the meeting: "I disagree with the Spartacists on many things, but they're right about this one: Picket lines mean don't cross." He began shouting this and some strikers chanted, "Strike! Strike!"

The so-called "strike support committee" began to discuss their dilemma on the sidewalk. Members of the RSG were in a tizzy, screaming that our presence on the picket lines was meant to "sabotage" their meeting. After trying (in vain) to convince picketers to allow them to cross the picket lines, one RSGer said, "We don't want to cross a picket line today" (another day, another tactic?). Meanwhile, two members of the International Socialist Organization ignored the whole question and crossed the lines to enter their office.

One RSGer insisted the idea that "picket lines mean don't cross" is "just a Spart rule." Although not its intent, the idea that fighting to defend picket lines—a tradition upon which the unions were built—is today only upheld by the SL is quite a testament to our organiza-

Scab "Socialists" Caught Out at CUNY

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!



Young Spartacus photos
Supporters of CWOC, LRP and RSG (above) perplexed over picket line they'd planned to cross, along with BT, for "strike support" meeting. SYC member (right) on the lines with 32B-32J strikers.

tion. As for the rest of the left, they tail the labor bureaucracy, which these days has made a mockery of strikes by setting up picket lines that aren't meant to stop anything or anybody, abjectly capitulating to the bosses' anti-strike laws. But even the labor tops, in a last-minute face-saving gesture to their membership, urged people to honor the basic principle in any strike: "Please don't cross our picket lines," a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (4 February) proclaimed. "If you cross a picket line, you hurt the members of your union. You hurt yourself too."

At the Grad Center, the difference in political programs wasn't lost on the strikers. When the "committee" announced grandly that "We've decided to

hold our meeting out here, with you," strikers, to a man, moved to the other side of the plaza. Meanwhile, a few other Midtown strikers had arrived. An older black woman immediately said, "I don't cross picket lines." She turned to a group of black women approaching, saying that "this isn't our meeting, they're talking like scabs over here," and turned them away. The strikers gave the "leftists" a textbook lesson in struggle.

But some people have trouble learning anything. One night at the Grad Center has led to an outpouring of defensive vitriol on the Internet, home of the pseudo-Trotskyist virtual sandbox. One posting from Tom Smith, a CUNY Grad student, whines that the meeting was "held outside, in the cold" because of the Spartacists' "petty moralism" and

insists that the fake leftists weren't scabbing simply because "nobody intended upon going into the building to clean it up." While we're sure these grouplets wouldn't think of lifting a mop, any self-proclaimed socialist should have a gut impulse to honor a picket line: it's a battle line of working-class struggle. Dismissing labor solidarity on the lines as "petty moralism" misses a strategic question even the *New York Times* got. In a February 9 editorial, this bourgeois mouthpiece pointed to what pushed the bosses to negotiate: "The owners faced the prospect of marches in the streets and a rally in Madison Square Garden. Other unions were beginning to honor the picket lines." That's the "strike support" the ruling class fears. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* ■

Harvard Student Jailed for Photographs of Her Son Hands Off Toni Marie Angeli!

BOSTON—In a wanton display of anti-sex hysteria, a Massachusetts jury in January convicted Harvard photography student Toni Marie Angeli of disorderly conduct and malicious destruction of property after she took nude photos of her four-year-old son. Angeli refused to bow to her tormentors, rejecting attempts to make her sign a statement acknowledging wrongdoing. The statement would have brought her a sentence of 18 months' probation, community service and a \$229 fine. She said she preferred to set a positive example for her son. "I can't take part in this punishment or perform acts saying I committed crimes I did not commit. I cannot in good conscience sign it" (*Cambridge Chroni-*

cle, 1 February). Judge Roanne Sragow then vindictively gave Angeli 30 days in jail at the women's state prison in Framingham.

Angeli's photos of her son were taken for a Harvard class. When she went to a local photography lab last November to pick them up, she was snared in a rabid puritanical panic, cruelly persecuted by the state as a "child pornographer." Dirty-minded snoops at Zona Photographic Labs in Cambridge worked themselves into a frenzy over several nude and semi-nude photos of Angeli's son. After contacting the police, a trap was laid and sprung, resulting in a vicious cop assault on the 31-year-old mother.

Cambridge police seized Angeli, told

her she was being investigated on child abuse charges, and threatened to take her son away, who was with her at the time. When Angeli erupted in rage at the threatened kidnapping of her child, she was choked in full view of her son, had her face rammed into a door frame, and was then arrested on assault and battery charges! Although the District Attorney and the Department of Social Services couldn't concoct enough "evidence" from the photos to charge Angeli with a "sex crime," she has since been slandered in local newspapers as a "child abuser." The Partisan Defense Committee issued a protest letter February 5 demanding that all the charges against Angeli be

continued on page 11



Boston Phoenix
Toni Marie Angeli and her son.

Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

years a variant of "low-intensity warfare," noting that the Pentagon is training immigration cops with many of the same "counterinsurgency" techniques used in the U.S.' interventions in Central America.

In 1989 under President George Bush, the Pentagon set up a "Joint Task Force 6," headquartered at Fort Bliss outside El Paso, as part of the so-called "war on drugs." The secretive JTF-6 coordinates a panoply of military "support" activities for the INS, from training Border Patrol agents in tracking techniques to building roads and helipads, providing reconnaissance and air support and supplying equipment. Dunn reports that during 1990-93, JTF-6 carried out 1,260 missions. Currently it is engaged in a major "anti-drug" operation in California's Imperial Valley. Not coincidentally, this is the same area where undocumented immigrants are being forced to cross as the San Diego fence pushes them inland. So the stage is being set for a bloody massacre, in which "illegal" immigrants will be portrayed as "drug traffickers" and mowed down.

The government's racist crackdown has also emboldened fascist vigilantes. Over the past two decades, open fascists have staged a string of anti-immigrant provocations: from David Duke's Klan Border Watch in the 1970s to Tom Metzger's California-based White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) in the '80s to the "American Spring" mobilizations in San Diego in 1992-93 bringing together "white nationalists" like Richard Barrett and Orange County Nazi führer Joe Fields. But mobilizations by fascist would-be auxiliaries are simply running point for the Democratic Clinton administration, which is itself implementing their program.

Meanwhile, right-wingers in the San Diego area have organized xenophobic actions such as the 1990 "Light Up the Border" campaign. Recently, with the steel border fence extending inland from Imperial Beach, border crossers have been forced into the rugged area around Dulzura in east San Diego County, where there were several vigilante attacks last fall. The AFSC's Martínez reports that farmers and ranchers "were pistol-whipping and kidnapping and beating migrants, and then turning them over to the sheriffs and Border Patrol." And along the Texas-Mexico border, more than 100 bodies were pulled out of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo in 1995, with 37 of them showing signs of violence, including gunshot and knife wounds.

But while fascists and other right-wing fanatics are getting in on the act, the overwhelming source of the violence against immigrants is the capitalist state itself. A Human Rights Watch report last April documented numerous beatings, shootings, rapes and deaths at the hands of the notoriously racist Border Patrol. Last December, a Salvadoran woman was attacked and raped by a Border Patrol agent in the San Diego foothills; the same agent shot and killed a 17-year-old immi-



SEIU "Justice for Janitors" demonstrates in downtown Los Angeles in union organizing drive, March 1995. Militant immigrant workers can play leading role in class struggle.

grant in 1990. And increasingly Hispanic American citizens and permanent residents are being hit by the anti-immigrant repression. In the Barrio Logan district in southeast San Diego, police have been seizing Latino residents and turning them over to the Border Patrol.

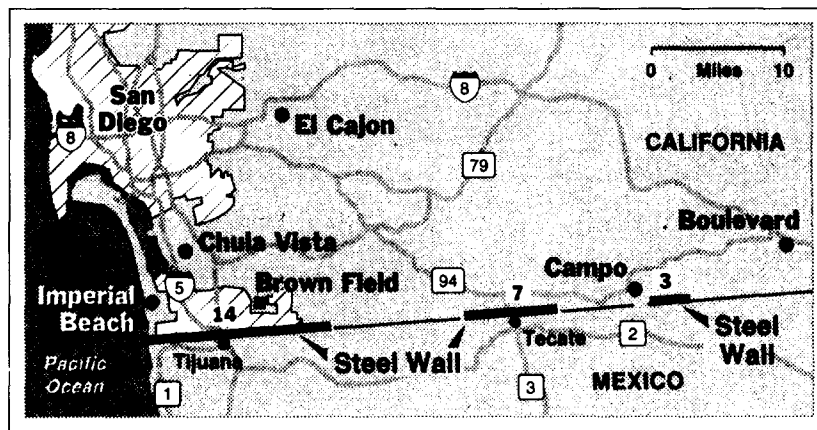
The federal government is increasingly moving toward policies promoted by fascist-connected racist outfits like the "Federation for American Immigration Reform" (FAIR), which last year called for using former military bases as detention centers. Now the Justice Department and Pentagon are updating contingency plans to do just that. In December, a three-day INS field exercise—one of three in recent months—was held near Nogales, Arizona as practice for stopping a "vast flood of illegal immigrants" resulting from a "catastrophe" in Mexico (*New York Times*, 8 December 1995). Border Patrol agents herded "illegals" into cyclone-fence corrals for "emergency processing" and dragged them off to "mass detention centers" where they might be held for 30 days or more or forced to live "semi-permanently" in "tent villages like those established last year in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba." These aren't just "scenarios"—plans are already underway to transfer INS detainees to the brig of the Miramar Naval Air Station in San Diego.

Such paramilitary operations will not be restricted to isolated border areas, but could easily be extended to "anti-drug" operations in the inner cities. Meanwhile, both Republican Gingrich and Democrat Clinton have suggested a national ID card, including Social Security number and immigration status, which would be a major step toward police-state controls. And right-wingers are floating plans to deny the right to citizenship to children born in this country to undocumented immigrants. This would undo the 14th Amendment, which was passed as a result of the Civil War, granting citizenship to former slaves. Thus the immigrant-bashing hysteria is

part of a general racist climate threatening all oppressed minorities.

Bourgeois Immigrant-Bashing

It's no coincidence the Republican National Convention is being held in San Diego this year. California, with 54 electoral votes, is the epicenter of the bipartisan xenophobic plague. Republican



New York Times map

Clinton government has erected 10-foot-high steel wall along Mexican border, bristling with Border Patrol, cops, troops and high-tech surveillance gear.

governor Pete Wilson was the chief advocate of Prop. 187, while Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer are both fervent supporters of border militarization. "English only" has become the battle cry of a racist onslaught which would not only deprive school children of bilingual education but would also victimize non-English-speaking residents in everything from driver's license tests and hospital admissions forms to election ballots. The poisonous content of this was clearly shown when a Texas judge last year forbade a Hispanic mother to speak Spanish to her daughter, calling it "child abuse"! Republican front-runner Bob Dole is calling for English to be the required "official language" of the U.S. Yet already in 1987, Bill Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, signed a bill making the state officially "English only."

During the last years of Cold War II, there was a tremendous surge of immigration, both legal and illegal, to the U.S. Anti-Communist refugees from Southeast Asia and impoverished workers fleeing death squad regimes in Central America came in the hundreds of thousands. Now, following the counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, capitalist economic crisis and rivalries between competing trade blocs have led imperialist rulers in West Europe and North America to crack down on immigration at the same time as they slash social services. They want to drive up profits while securing their borders and economic hinterland in preparation for coming trade wars.

The issue of "immigration" (read: poor, nonwhite immigration) has lately become the obsession of a substantial section of the U.S. bourgeoisie, reflected in a spate of recent books. Particularly since the 1993 World Trade Center bomb-

ing, immigrants have been portrayed as "terrorists" in the media. Blatantly racist tracts have become topics of polite debate, such as *Forbes Magazine* editor Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation* (1995), which blames the U.S. "political elite" for letting in too many "unassimilable" immigrants and producing a "demographic mutation." Brimelow raves: "Just as when you leave Park Avenue and descend into the subway, when you enter the INS waiting rooms you find yourself in an underworld that is not just teeming but is also almost entirely colored." *Alien Nation* is calling for a new nativist movement, such as the xenophobic "Know Nothings" of the mid-19th century, whom Brimelow praises as "solid middle- and upper-middle-class citizens."

It's an ominous sign of the times that the "opposing" pole in this ruling-class debate is represented by *New Republic* editor Michael Lind, whose *The Next American Nation* (1995) calls for zero net immigration in order to reduce competition for jobs and thus raise wages of U.S. workers. Advocating "American nationalism" against "left-wing" "multiculturalism," Lind asserts that "the national language is American English," and this common language and culture are the basis for "Americanism." This Cold War liberal imperialist yearns for the days when the U.S. could dictate terms to its imperialist allies/rivals. Lind's lament against "globalization" and for "civilized social market capitalism"—a favorite theme of social demo-

crats—is a poisonous protectionist recipe for escalating trade war, such as the tariff battles leading up to WW II.

Defense of Immigrants Key to Labor's Cause

The ruling-class anti-immigrant offensive is a direct threat to the labor movement. After years of union-bashing, the bourgeoisie wants to finish the job on the labor movement, pitting worker against worker, internationally and at home, diverting their anger and frustration away from the real enemy, the capitalist class. The only defense against the all-sided capitalist attack is international class struggle.

Yet, AFL-CIO officials have collaborated with the INS in setting up immigrant workers for deportation, just as they pushed for the racist Reagan-era 1986 immigration "reform" act. The INS' Operation SouthPAW (for Protecting American Workers) was set up in response to complaints by Atlanta union tops about undocumented workers working on construction for the 1996 Olympics. More than 4,000 workers were detained in six Southern states and 3,400 deported.

In California, the *migra* raids have reached an intensity not seen since the 1970s. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the INS has been waging a months-long crackdown against Latino day laborers gathered on street corners in hope of getting work. And in L.A., after a raid exposed slave labor forced on Thai workers at an El Monte sweatshop, state and federal agencies have been competing in factory raids, detaining hundreds of workers under the guise of cracking down on the hellish sweatshops.

In Chicago, over 500 workers were seized during the INS' "Operation Jobs"

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

\$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) New Renewal.
international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail

\$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
 \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone(____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

639
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

the PCRA hearings Sabo showed "a bias so open and notorious that it became a matter of public scandal":

"Judge Sabo rushed the proceedings in order to debilitate Jamal's efforts to present all of the evidence supporting his constitutional claims. The judge repeatedly and without warrant castigated Jamal's attorneys, routinely issuing threats of contempt, and ultimately incarcerating one and fining another. He quashed defense subpoenas at the behest of the Commonwealth.... Virtually every single defense objection was overruled and every single Commonwealth objection sustained—logic, consistency, and the rules of evidence mattered not at all."

Noting "the court's allegiance to the Fraternal Order of Police," of which Sabo, an undersheriff for 16 years, is a retired member, the brief states: "The court not only permitted but encouraged off-duty FOP members to carry loaded firearms in court, stating the FOP 'are in here for my protection.'" As Weinglass told the press, "If the system were just and fair, Judge Sabo would not be a sitting judge."

The brief lashes into the "confession" supposedly made by Jamal which was a central prop in the state's frame-up. The PCRA testimony of Officer Gary Wakshul exposes this fabrication. Assigned to guard Jamal from the time of his arrest until his hospital treatment for the critical injury inflicted from a gunshot fired by Faulkner, Wakshul reported to homicide detectives shortly afterward that Jamal "made no comments." The story of Jamal's "confession" was not recorded until 64 days later, after a "round table" prep meeting conducted by prosecutor Joseph McGill

with the police officers involved in the case. Wakshul testified that police officers were asked "to raise their hands if they had heard" Jamal confess "and Wakshul responded"—a clear contradiction to his earlier written report.

During the 1982 "trial," Wakshul was said by the prosecution to be on vacation and unavailable for questioning. But in the PCRA hearing, Wakshul testified that in fact he had remained in Philadelphia and "did not go away." He said this was "in compliance to a request to stay while cases were going on." The brief explains that Wakshul's testimony showed "how law enforcement wilfully fabricated testimony about a confession to secure a conviction," and supported defense assertions "that law enforcement coaxed and coerced eyewitnesses and corrupted the physical evidence tests."

The appeal also underscored the important PCRA testimony of William Singletary, who saw a man other than Mumia shoot Faulkner and flee from the scene. The cops who questioned him immediately after the shooting repeatedly tore up his statements that the fleeing man, not Jamal, was the shooter. Hours later, under threats of physical violence, Singletary signed a false statement dictated by one Officer Green which claimed that he had not seen the shooting. Faced with relentless police harassment and suspicious vandalism to the gas station he owned, Singletary fled Philadelphia. His testimony demonstrated how the prosecution had suppressed evidence of Jamal's innocence, which in and of itself should be grounds for voiding a guilty verdict—but not in Sabo's kangaroo court.

The brief also notes that if Jamal had been able to present experts at trial, they would have established that there was

simply no ballistics link between Jamal or his licensed .38 calibre gun and the shooting. Another key component of the appeal is the evidence of extreme incompetence on the part of Jamal's court-appointed attorney in 1982, which infringes on Jamal's Sixth Amendment right to legal representation. The brief also includes testimony of numerous other witnesses who could have demonstrated Jamal's innocence but were hidden from his court-appointed lawyer or intimidated into silence or given prosecutorial favors to change their eyewitness accounts.

As Rachel Wolkenstein said at the press conference, "We are representing an innocent man, someone who has maintained his innocence from the very beginning and has been subjected to a politically motivated and racially biased set of proceedings, both the original trial and the hearing that we had this summer." "Mumia," she continued, "is entitled to his freedom." Backing up evidence that Jamal was politically railroaded to death row was a "friend of the court" brief submitted on February 9 by the Philadelphia chapters of the ACLU, National Conference of Black Lawyers and the NAACP. Describing the basis of the brief, Karl Baker assailed the D.A.'s use during the 1982 sentencing hearing of a statement, written by Jamal 12 years before as a Black Panther spokesman, that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Baker noted the context of that statement: "In the past two years, 28 members of the Black Panther Party had been killed, and, just one month before, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the leaders of a chapter in Chicago, had been murdered...when the police broke in at 4:30 in the morning, firing over 90 shots, and

killed them in their sleep." This is what Mumia meant, Baker added, "when he said, 'We know very well from the deaths of numerous of our members that in America political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' To turn that around and use it against him and say that this is a reason that we should put him to death is the most cynical and manipulative effort on the part of the prosecution. This alone should be grounds to vacate the sentence of death."

Jamal continues to win support in his fight against the racist death penalty. His book, *Live from Death Row*, has been translated into at least five languages and is being published as a paperback. Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the PDC, said: "From the 800 pages of FBI files on Jamal dating from his Black Panther activities, to the 1982 frame-up conviction and sentencing, to the antics in Sabo's courtroom 13 years later, there is no room for illusions in the 'fairness' or 'impartiality' of the racist capitalist 'justice' system. The battle for Mumia's freedom—and to abolish the death penalty—must continue outside as well as inside the courtroom. Above all, this means looking to mobilize the integrated labor movement in defense of Mumia, as part of the struggle against the whole system of racist, anti-labor repression."

* * *

For more information on the campaign to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. Make a contribution today to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

last spring. In November, 89 workers were arrested in raids in New York City's garment district, while 100 more were arrested January 29. And on February 1, *migra* agents raided 37 restaurants in Montgomery County, Maryland just outside Washington, D.C. The INS dubbed the operation "the Big Chill," and one of the raids' purposes was certainly to have a chilling effect on union organizing among immigrant workers.

Last month, the Teamsters union staged reactionary mobilizations against a NAFTA provision allowing Mexican truckers to haul goods throughout the U.S. There is a vast difference between our opposition to NAFTA's goal of nailing down Mexico and all of Latin America as a captive market and private preserve for superexploitation by U.S. capitalists, and the AFL-CIO officialdom's protectionist opposition to it.

In California, where almost a quarter of the population grows up speaking a language other than English, the anti-immigrant campaign came to a head in 1994 with the passage of Prop. 187, whose immediate aim was to deny health care and public education to undocumented immigrants and their children. Criminally, a number of black misleaders bought into the divide-and-rule propaganda about immigrants taking "our" jobs which tried to line up black people behind this racist measure. In the upshot, this helped drive a wedge between the two major oppressed minorities in this country, as an estimated half of California's black voters supported the anti-immigrant ballot proposition.

As we wrote at the time, "While the anti-Latino nature of Prop. 187 is perfectly obvious, it is less clear to many that this measure is part of a broader racist offensive whose main and central target is the black ghetto poor" (WV No. 612, 9 December 1994). Immediately after its passage, Governor Wilson and other backers of Prop. 187 launched a drive for a new ballot referendum to eliminate affirmative action programs.

Today, with the percentage of foreign-born workers in the U.S. population the highest it has been since the 1920s, the integrated labor movement has an

enormous stake in combatting anti-immigrant racism. Many immigrant workers, often with experience in sharp class struggle in countries like El Salvador, have taken the lead in strikes, particularly in the Los Angeles area.

In 1990, Service Employees Local 399's heavily Latino "Justice for Janitors" campaign resisted a brutal LAPD onslaught in organizing the glitzy Century City complex. In 1992, "drywalero" construction workers waged a five-month strike, achieving union recognition. Local rulers, frightened by the multiracial character of the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, have sought to foment tensions between blacks, Latinos and Asians. But Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 11 won a victory at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Beverly Hills when Korean restaurant workers stood with the largely Latino hotel workers against management.

Immigrant workers can play a key role in resuscitating a greatly weakened labor movement. To mobilize this potential will require a fight on an internationalist program to drive out the pro-capitalist union misleaders and to forge a class-struggle leadership. We seek to build a workers party that acts as a tribune of the people, linking the factories to the ghettos and barrios, in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The labor movement in the U.S. must be mobilized in action against the assault on immigrants and to fight for *full citizenship rights* for everyone who has made it to this country. Otherwise, immigrants are vulnerable to constant victimization and deportation. We call as well for a fight by the unions against unemployment through a *shorter workweek with no loss in pay* and a campaign to *organize the unorganized*.

In Mexico's *maquiladora* ("free trade") zone stretching from Tijuana near San Diego to Matamoros near Brownsville, Texas, superexploited Mexican workers, largely young women, have been integrated into the U.S. capitalist economy and have engaged in bitter strikes against the profit-gouging American bosses in the last few years. Soli-

arity strike action by U.S. workers would spell the difference between victory and defeat in these battles, as well as having an electrifying effect on the unions on both sides of the border.

Joint action by workers associations in different countries was one of the original purposes of the First International. Among the resolutions of its first congress in 1866, authored by Karl Marx, was a call to "counteract the intrigues of capitalists always ready, in cases of strikes and lockouts, to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman." At first glance, internationally coordinated union struggle might seem to be something that even any rational social democrat could embrace. But in fact, the social-democratic reformist misleaders of the workers movement are beholden to patriotism, loyal to their respective capitalist fatherlands.

That is why an *internationalist* workers party must be built, on the model of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, who won the most class-conscious elements of the workers of all the nationalities and peoples of the Russian empire

to the cause of proletarian revolution. There have in the past been efforts to organize workers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, spearheaded by forces that broke with the pro-capitalist business unionism of the AFL. The revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW—Wobblies) organized immigrant workers from Lawrence, Massachusetts to Ludlow, Colorado, where largely Mexican workers were cut down in a 1917 massacre as they courageously fought exploitation by John D. Rockefeller.

Today the need for organizing workers across national borders is more urgent than ever, and this is more than ever bound up with the fight to build revolutionary-internationalist workers parties in the U.S. and Mexico, as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. Among immigrant workers are to be found many potential vanguard fighters against racist capitalism in the U.S., who can be a living link to social revolution throughout the Americas. Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Atlanta

Box 397
Decatur, GA 30031
(404) 521-9338

Eugene

Box 3392
Eugene, OR 97403

Oakland

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

Boston

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

Los Angeles

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

San Francisco

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

Chicago

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

New York

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Montréal

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

Vancouver

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

Brazil Witchhunt...

(continued from page 3)

capitalists and their agents in the workers movement that a years-long vendetta of repression was launched against the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters. Police assaulted their picket lines. Agents of a company union were infiltrated to raise charges of theft and "intimidation." Union leaders were accused of embezzlement and larceny for using union funds to aid other groups of workers to organize. Ultimately, 29 Minneapolis Teamster and Trotskyist leaders were indicted (and 18 were imprisoned) on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government and to foment insubordination in the armed forces because of their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist Second World War. This frame-up was egged on by the reformist Stalinists and the national Teamster union leaders.

So the kind of smear charges being used today against Luta Metalúrgica are nothing new. The bourgeoisie and the opportunist left are worried, even if they are unaware of the history, that Volta Redonda could become a new Minneapolis. Some of the accusers, like CO and its "Servidores em Luta" front, try to pass themselves off as defenders of union

democracy. What hypocrisy! There will be no workers democracy if revolutionaries are excluded and the agents of the CSN and the Popular Front government hold sway. More than half a century ago, the internationalist revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote that "trade union democracy...presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." Trotsky continued:

"In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"
(August 1940)

The class independence of the trade unions from the bourgeois state, Trotsky emphasized, can "be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is the leadership of the

Fourth International."

These prophetic words vividly describe the situation in Brazil today. In September 1995, the C.U.T. sabotaged the metal workers strike in the ABC (São Paulo area) industrial zone in order to boost the electoral chances of Lula's Frente Brasil Popular. Having lost again at the polls, Lula has been seeking a corridor coalition with Fernando Henrique Cardoso. And so the PT and C.U.T. stabbed the petroleum workers in the back during their strike last May-June, refusing to mobilize workers action when FHC called in the army to occupy the refineries. Reformist and centrist pseudo-Trotskyists either were submerged in the PT (Democracia Socialista, O Trabalho) or participated directly in the popular front (PSTU), or like Causa Operária tried to disguise their capitulation by calling to vote for Lula and the "worker-peasant candidates" of this class-collaborationist coalition. Still others (LBI) argued that for conjunctural reasons *this* time it was wrong to vote Lula, while upholding a vote to this candidate of the Frente Brasil Popular in 1989. Their fancy footwork cannot hide the fact that they all line up with the bosses politically. The opportunists' newfound (and very temporary) professions of "union democracy" ring hollow when they are in bed with the front men for the CSN and the Popular Front.

The opportunists traffic in accusations of corruption and scandalmongering in imitation of the social mores of their bourgeois masters, from FHC to Collor. When their popular-front politics are unpopular, they resort to smears to divert attention from the fundamental questions at issue and to discredit those who do defend the workers' interests. In contrast to their unscrupulous maneuvering, for revolutionaries, deeds must match words. When we say that workers democracy is inseparable from complete independence from the capitalist state, this means: cops and courts out of the unions. When we say, with Trotsky, that today "unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution," this means: a fight to the finish against reformism and centrism, obstacles to reforming the Fourth International as world party of socialist revolution.

In the face of the unceasing provocations and attacks by the bourgeoisie, the rules of the Fourth International are: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives." ■

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 5)

pointed to the need for proletarian mobilizations to sweep away Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades. Behind the seeming incompetence of the GKChP ("gang of eight") plotters lay the fact that these bureaucrats *accepted* capitalist restoration, albeit at a slower pace and under the thumb of the Moscow bureaucracy—what we dubbed "perestroika without glasnost." Had the workers mobilized to sweep away Yeltsin & Co., this would have posed a civil war between the proletariat and the active forces of counterrevolution and would have marked the beginning of a proletarian political revolution. Fearing proletarian mobilizations far more than capitalist restoration, not one of the so-called hardline Stalinist "patriot" groups tried to organize resistance to Yeltsin, instead hiding behind the impotent coup plotters.

Even after the defeat in August 1991, we did not write off the Soviet workers state. Our position was determined by the understanding that a new bourgeois state apparatus had not yet been consolidated, and that the working class had not yet been defeated and dispersed. The Soviet proletariat still had the possibility to stop capitalist restoration by means of political revolution. When, in December 1991, Yeltsin & Co. pronounced the Soviet Union "juridically" dead, we countered with the slogan "Reforge the Soviet Union on Leninist principles," underscoring our call for a return to the revolutionary-internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky. However, the proletariat remained politically atomized, reflecting the erosion over many years of the socialist consciousness of the Soviet working class, fundamentally as a result of Stalinist betrayals.

"Soviet Patriotism" and Proletarian Internationalism

Political slogans are appropriate only when they correspond to the concrete circumstances for which they were fashioned. As Trotskyists, our "Soviet patriotism" was based on one fundamental premise: that the Soviet Union was a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated since 1924. As Trotsky himself wrote in *The Third International After Lenin*: "Whenever the power is in the hands of the workers, patriotism

is a revolutionary duty. But this patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism." Trotsky sought to use "Soviet patriotism" as a bridge back to the proletarian internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks. Today, after capitalist counterrevolution, we are dealing with bourgeois states. Necessarily this imposes different tasks on the working class.

To take but one example: in 1979 we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" pointing out that on the Soviet side this was a war for defense of a degenerated workers state against imperialism. Moreover, Soviet troops were fighting on the side of social progress against the reactionary *mujahedin*. We called for extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples, while warning that the Stalinist bureaucracy was perfectly capable of treacherously making a deal with the imperialists. (In the upshot, Gorbachev pulled the troops out even without a quid pro quo from the Western powers.) In contrast, Russia's war in Chechnya is completely reactionary: we call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces, and we point out that the military defense of Chechnya is in the interests of the multinational working class of Russia.

With the consolidation of capitalist counterrevolution and bourgeois Russia's emergence as a regional overlord, to call for "restoring the Soviet Union" simply becomes a fig leaf for support to a Great Russian "strong state." In the context that all of the states in the area are capitalist, this call would appear to many people in the non-Russian republics as a barely camouflaged version of the open demands for their national oppression and domination that regularly emanate today from the Kremlin. And if national inequalities were in the past somewhat muted by virtue of the existence of a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, that is no longer the case. As we have noted, "Without the social base of a genuine bourgeoisie, such as existed in West Germany for the takeover of the DDR (East Germany), aggressive nationalism has been both the driving force for capitalist restoration in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and the product of the counterrevolutionary drive" ("East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution," *WV* Nos. 547 and 548, 20 March and 3 April 1992).

The eruption of national chauvinism is a necessary by-product of capitalist

restoration because, as Marx noted, the bourgeois *nation-state* is based on the dominant position of one nation and the subjugation and oppression of all other nationalities within its borders. The system of capitalist imperialism is based on economic and military rivalry of the large powers, competing with each other to dominate various markets and steal from and eventually exploit colonial and semicolonial peoples. Today bourgeois Russia aspires to the role of a regional imperialist power. Its bloody handiwork is evident enough in the brutal colonial-style war being waged by the Russian bourgeoisie against the Chechen people. Meanwhile, in the Balkans, Russia is seeking to become a "player" in the region like in the days of the tsars, when it acted as the great-power protector of the Serbs, while serving as the soft cops for particularly German imperialism, as it seeks to impose a carve-up of the former Yugoslavia that suits its interests. This goes hand in hand with increased attacks against Caucasians, Jews and other minorities in Russia.

The Old Boundaries Are Not Sacrosanct

Another problem with the slogan of "restoring the Soviet Union" is that it presumes that a future proletarian revolutionary upsurge will duplicate the political and geographical contours of the 1917 October Revolution. But the Soviet Union developed through a series of contingent historic circumstances. There was a certain Russian centrality to the 1917 Revolution, in the sense that decisive insurrectionary battles were fought and won early in such cities as Petrograd and Moscow, and then extended to the periphery over the next three years in the course of the Civil War. While this may recur, to assume that it must necessarily do so implies a misguided and implicitly chauvinist Russian bias.

Where a new revolutionary upsurge will originate and along what paths it will spread simply cannot be predicted. Revolution is a convulsive process, and to attempt to preordain its length and breadth in what is a new period would be foolish. We certainly are not fixated on the old geographical borders, as we seek to make evident in our call for plebiscites that will enable the people of Crimea and Chechnya to determine their own fates. Nor is it possible to foresee the outlines of future federations of workers states, particularly given the fact, as we noted, that the

"break-up of the Soviet Union has revealed a situation of considerable interpenetration of peoples and of economic production units which were inherited from and geared to a (bureaucratically) centralized planned economy." What will the interpenetrated and heavily assimilated Eastern Ukraine population want to do in the aftermath of proletarian revolution—go with Russia, the Western Ukraine, a socialist federation linking them, or some other variant? It's possible that there will be federations with countries that didn't earlier participate in the USSR, for example, a victorious social revolution could embrace both Iran and Azerbaijan. And what sort of federation might be envisaged should the combative Polish proletariat come to power before its eastern neighbors, with a revolutionary wave emanating outward from Warsaw?

The outcome of such questions depends heavily on the course of the class struggle. The central thrust of a new surge of revolutionary proletarian ferment in the area between the Oder and the Urals is not now known to us. To talk of "restoring the USSR" is a nationalist trap. What is necessary is to sweep away the new bourgeois states and replace them with the rule of workers soviets. We know of no other road to this goal but the one pursued by Lenin and the Bolsheviks—a thoroughgoing struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism as part of patient but persistent propaganda aimed at winning the proletariat to the program of international socialist revolution. In short, as we wrote in the June 1993 introduction to the first Russian-language edition of Trotsky's 1928 book, *The Communist International After Lenin*: "It is imperative that the political heirs of the proletariat which made the October Revolution reclaim their true revolutionary birthright." ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

New York City

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

NYC Strike...

(continued from page 12)

buildings since 1948, were more than willing to make concessions. But the bosses smelled blood and went for the union's jugular. The union tops were forced into calling this strike because the strength and survival of Local 32B-32J, and therefore the bureaucracy's opulent salaries, were at stake. But all along Bevona & Co. were preparing to cave in on the fundamental issue of two-tier wages.

The new three-year contract establishes a second tier of newly hired workers who will earn \$118 a week less than the current workforce, and even a *third* tier of "vacation replacement workers," who will be paid only 60 percent of the going rate! Only after two and a half years—if they don't get fired or laid off—will new hires get the higher pay rate. And during their first 24 months on the job, they won't get a dime paid into their pension or annuity funds. The grand total of the givebacks is \$9,500 a year per new employee, only 500 bucks short of the landlords' original target!

And this is only the foot in the door. Every striker knew from the beginning that a two-tier wage system means the bosses have a tremendous financial incentive to lay off or fire existing workers on whatever pretext. Even at the present rate of employee turnover, within 30 months, *one-fifth* of the 32B-32J workforce will be earning cut-rate wages. This threatens the livelihoods and solidarity of this diverse workforce, composed of women and men, blacks, Hispanics and whites, native-born and recent immigrants from Latin America, East Europe and the Caribbean.

Sugar-coating the betrayal are annual wage increases of roughly 2.6 percent over the three years of the contract. Yet last year's inflation rate in NYC was 3 percent. Retirees' monthly pension checks will be boosted by \$150, and the union claims improvements in medical coverage and vacations. Management said they are taking back all strikers, around 100 of whom suffered arrest during the strike, but returning workers have been met with management harassment, speedups and layoffs.

Building maintenance workers are still on strike at 475 Park Avenue South. They are also picketing the Port Authority Bus Terminal, which has hired Laro Maintenance Corp., the same outfit Mayor Giuliani brought in to break the unions at the Fulton Fish Market. Bevona's settlement has left them hanging in the wind.

At a February 4 press conference attended by Mayor Giuliani, AFL-CIO chief Sweeney, NYC Central Labor Council (CLC) president John McLaughlin, and landlord reps from the Realty Advisory Board, the stuffed shirts all got up and congratulated each other.

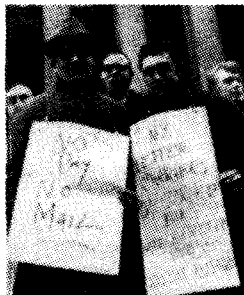
KEEPING TRACK

Strikes: On the Decline

Work stoppages involving 1,000 workers or more.

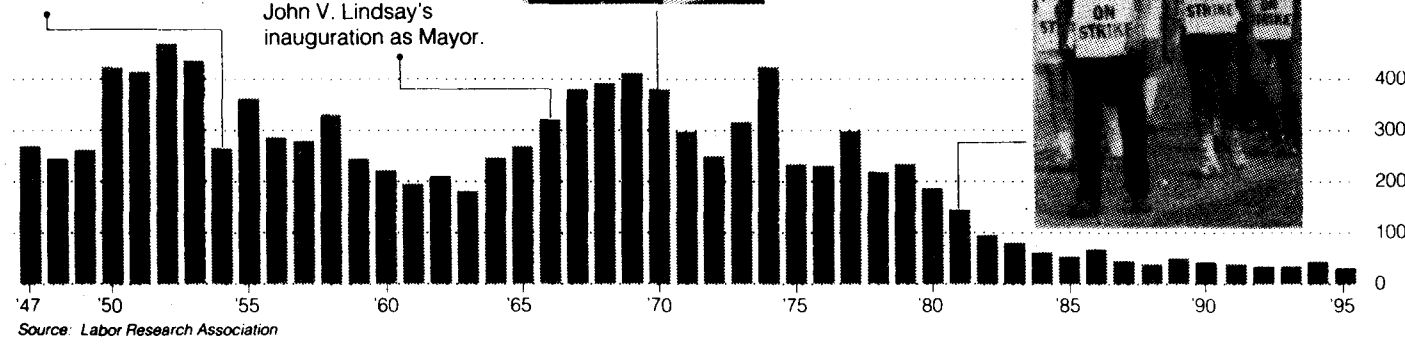
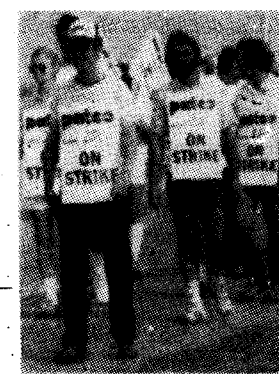
1954 Bitter strike at Kohler, the Wisconsin plumbing fixture manufacturer, begins in April and continues for six years.

1966 In January, strike by 35,000 members of the Transport Workers Union brings New York City subway system to a halt on the day of John V. Lindsay's inauguration as Mayor.



1970 Postal workers in New York begin a wildcat strike (left), that eventually involves 152,100 workers in 15 states. President Nixon calls in Federal troops to move the mail.

1981 12,700 air traffic controllers begin a strike on Aug. 3 after rejecting the Government's final offer. Most defy a back-to-work order and are dismissed by President Reagan on Aug. 5.



Bevona effusively thanked Giuliani for "the push from the mayor," and exuded sympathy for the "problems" of the cut-throat real estate and management companies. But while the top echelon of union officialdom were putting on their "labor statesmen" act, the fact is that *this strike could have been won* if every union in town had honored the elementary labor principle that *picket lines mean don't cross!*

In our last issue, we reported on how the CLC and a slew of self-described "strike supporters" regularly crossed picket lines. Hiding behind the bosses' laws, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's first loyalty is to the capitalist profit system—to the point of presiding over the gutting of the unions. The last-minute tactic of honoring picket lines for one day at a handful of buildings was just grandstanding, along with the full-page ad Local 32B-32J took out in the *Sunday Times* calling on "Members of All Unions" to "Please Don't Cross Our Picket Lines." The ad stated some home truths:

"The old truism 'an injury to one is an injury to all' was born in times of turmoil and every union is facing times of turmoil again.... It didn't matter what union was involved, when a picket line went up, no union member crossed."

Like a man who discovers religion on his deathbed, Bevona finally called on the labor movement to respect picket lines, in an ad that appeared *the same day the lines were being taken down!*

The bureaucrats know that unleashing the pent-up anger and militancy of the workers would spell doom for their own role as cops of the labor movement. Instead, they run to the bosses' politicians, courts and labor boards to intervene. Bevona brought in Secretary of Labor Robert Reich—notorious for his remark that "the jury is still out" on whether there is any place for unions in the modern capitalist economy—to reopen negotiations with the realtors on January 31. With Reich playing the "honest broker," Bevona called on Giu-

liani to have his former labor commish, Randy Levine, ram through the two-tier settlement.

Bevona claims there's no "permanent two-tier wage system," just a "wage progression system." Whatever he wants to call it, it's on this basis that management will start firing and laying off veteran building workers, pitting workers against each other and demanding sweat and blood from every new hire. Every difference in wage breeds divisions in the workforce, weakens the unions and undermines workers' solidarity. In demanding *equal pay for equal work*, class-conscious unionists advance the entire workers movement by defending the most vulnerable—recent immigrants, women, oppressed minorities, youth—who have historically been the staunchest defenders and builders of the unions.

The commercial building workers strike occurred in a period of widespread labor unrest in New York City. While the social-democratic union brass who run the city unions make sweetheart deals with Giuliani at the expense of the poor, the close to 300,000 city workers and teachers are seething over two years of wage freezes (in exchange for bogus job security "guarantees") while the City Hall crowd gives themselves whopping raises larger than the annual salaries of most city workers. After the UFT voted down the Feldman-Giuliani deal, AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers (who are facing mass layoffs) overwhelmingly rejected the contract negotiated by District Council 37 leader Stanley Hill. Other DC37 and CWA

(Communications Workers) city worker locals voted heavily against this sell-out. Only by gerrymandering a couple of large locals (amid charges of fraud) was Hill able to declare the contract approved.

With rampaging racist cop terror, the knifing of welfare and every conceivable social service, mass layoffs, subway fare increases, and city workers massively opposed to Giuliani's cutbacks, the building workers strike was an opportunity for labor to use its power to shut the city down and throw back the anti-labor offensive! But the union leaders are so locked into the capitalist parties (CLC chief McLaughlin is a Democratic state assemblyman, for instance) that their "action" consisted of lobbying their Democratic Party cronies on the City Council. The unions need a leadership that is prepared to defy the bosses and their government, to organize the independent power of labor, building a workers party on a revolutionary program to sweep away the entire capitalist system.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for union-run hiring halls and aggressive recruitment—at company expense—of minorities and youth! Organize the unorganized! Jobs for all—spread out the available work by demanding 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! And as for the realtors' laments about low occupancy rates, the homeless should seize Trump Tower and all those empty Midtown offices—with full union support! ■

Hands Off Angeli...

(continued from page 7)

dropped and urging her immediate release from prison.

Playing on the anger evoked by the truly horrible crime of violence against children, "child abuse" has over the past two decades become the rallying cry of the reactionary "family values" crusaders. Along with organized religion, the ruling class looks to the family as a key enforcer of social conservatism and bourgeois "morality," which chains the population to the oppressive capitalist system. From California's infamous McMartin Preschool case in 1983 to the recent and vicious hysteria in Wenatchee, Washington, scores of innocent people have been victimized in the bourgeoisie's attempts at social control through a "family values" witchhunt in the name of "saving the children." Lurid tales of satanic ritual abuse have been used to whip up an anti-sex frenzy.

Through intimidation, censorship and outright terror, the aim of this kind of witchhunting is to mold a compliant population that will blindly submit to the imperialists' domestic repression and foreign wars. While the bourgeoisie press retails monstrous lies, describing "pred-

ators" in the schools and day-care facilities, we see the real child abusers in the halls of Congress and in the White House. In Massachusetts, the day before state authorities attacked Angeli, capitalist politicians enacted a new draconian welfare law that threatens hundreds of teenage mothers on welfare (and, obviously, their kids) with homelessness. Ruling-class hypocrisy about "protecting children" knows no bounds. We will not forget: it was purportedly to "save children from abuse" that under Bill Clinton and Janet Reno the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms incinerated more than two dozen children, along with more than 60 men and women near Waco, Texas a few years ago.

Violence against children and the oppression of women are part of the fabric of this society. It is the capitalist rulers who constitute a "clear and present danger" to children. Toni Marie Angeli and all the victims of these anti-sex witchhunts are meant to be examples to the working class that the racist, sexist rulers of America will stop at nothing in their quest for social conformity—exploitation comes easier if the exploited march in step. As revolutionary communists, we in the Spartacus Youth Club oppose all attempts by the capitalist state to victimize the innocent in order to sink their claws deeper into the population. We have our own message: Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! ■

Spartacus Youth Clubs Class Series

EUGENE

Alternate Saturdays, 4 p.m. Next classes, February 17: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*; March 2: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; University of Oregon, Chapman Hall, Room 203
For more information: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, February 17: *Principles of Communism*; March 2: *The State and Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, February 24: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question*; March 9: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question*; Spartacist League Public Office, 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th St.)
For more information: (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, February 20: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question*; UC Santa Cruz, Student Center, M.C. Williams Lounge
For more information: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next classes, February 26: *U.S./Canada/NATO Out of the Balkans!*; March 11: *The Family and Women's Oppression*; International Student Centre, University of Toronto, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, February 29: *The Revolution Betrayed—The Syphilis of Stalinism*; March 14: *Forge an Internationalist, Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

Appeal Filed in State Supreme Court

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

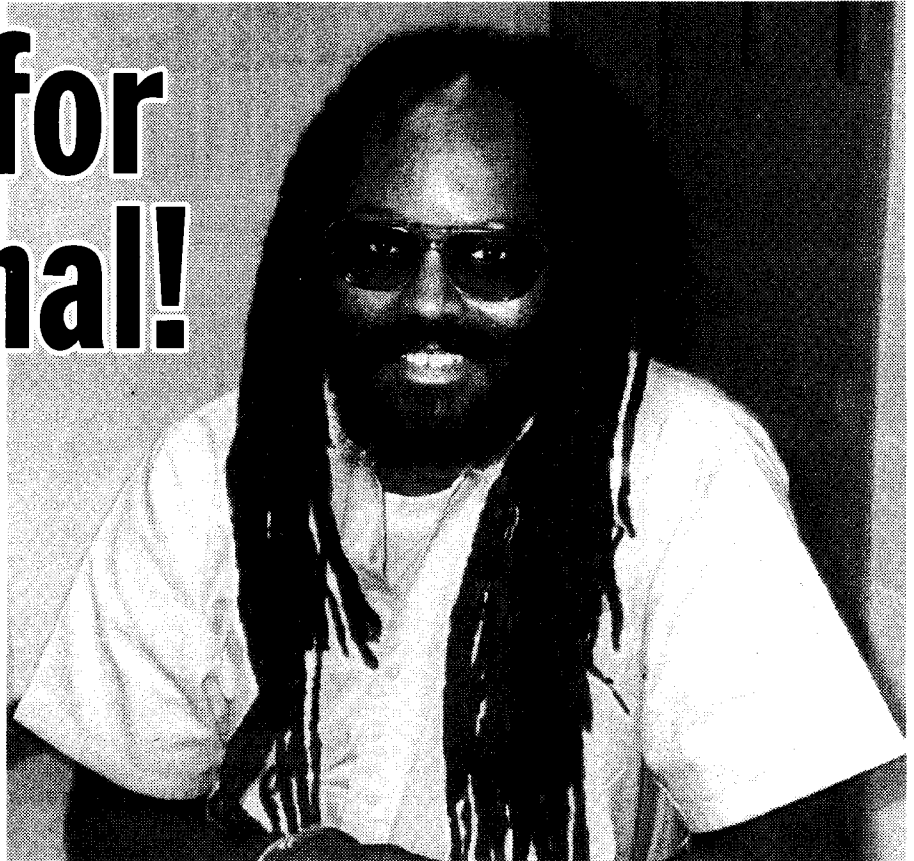
On February 9, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal filed an appeal on his behalf in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in Philadelphia. The 119-page legal brief documents 26 constitutional and procedural errors in challenging Judge Sabo's 15 September 1995 ruling against Jamal's petition for a new trial under the state's Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA).

A former Black Panther Party leader, MOVE supporter, award-winning journalist and outspoken advocate for the oppressed, Jamal was wrongly convicted and sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in a frame-up trial presided over by Judge Albert Sabo, a notorious "hanging judge" who has sentenced more people to death—32, all but two of whom were racial minorities—than any other sitting judge in the U.S.

The PCRA hearings began in Sabo's

court on July 26, only three weeks before Jamal's scheduled execution date of August 17. On August 7, Sabo granted a stay of execution, the result of mounting publicity and an international outcry of protest. For millions of minorities, youth and working people around the world, Mumia's case has come to symbolize the barbaric death penalty. The fight to save Jamal and to abolish legal lynching is part of the struggle for black equality in America. In fighting for Jamal's freedom, the Partisan Defense Committee has stressed the need for mass mobilizations of blacks, Hispanics and all the intended victims of capitalist repression, centrally seeking to unlock the social power of the integrated labor movement.

In a news conference following the filing of the appeal, Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, stated that "these papers indicate Mumia never had a trial in any real sense of the word.... The conclusion is irresistible:



WV Photo

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at Greene maximum security state prison in western Pennsylvania.

that Mumia Abu-Jamal needs a new trial." Also speaking at the press conference were Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Mumia's co-counsel as well as counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, Karl Baker of the American Civil

Liberties Union (ACLU), Pam Africa of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Mumia's son Jamal.

As the appeal brief states, throughout *continued on page 9*

"Two Tier" Sellout of NYC Building Workers Strike

After four weeks of enduring frigid cold, cops and scabs on picket lines, over 30,000 building maintenance workers were sent back to work on Monday, February 4 by officials of Service Employees (SEIU) Local 32B-32J. Union bureaucrats, from local president Gus Bevona to AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, proclaimed victory for "both" sides of the strike: the janitors, porters, elevator operators and repairmen who the union claims to represent and New York City's wealthy real estate barons. This strike by Sweeney's home local was seen as a test of the new union federation chief's vow to invigorate the labor movement. But as picket lines went down, the details emerged of the contract sellout which slashed wages for new hires by 20 percent. Any way you cut it, this is a two-tier system—management's main goal from the start.

And the membership isn't even allowed to vote on it. "The settlement we got was what was on the table at the beginning," said an angry janitor at a Midtown building, one of over 1,000 skyscrapers and office buildings affected by the walkout. "They sold the strike out just when the technicians and engineers were coming out and the strike could have some effect." For an entire month,

the union tops kept the picket lines as leaky as a sieve: despite the efforts of some unionists, particularly UPS, and even non-union FedEx drivers, deliveries of packages, fuel and supplies continued, as did trash pickups. Meanwhile, union tradesmen worked behind strike lines and an estimated 15,000 scabs replaced the striking building workers.

"Even management officials have wondered aloud about Mr. Bevona's strategy, saying it appears to maximize pain not for management, but for the strikers, perhaps in the hope that their pain will embarrass the building owners into a settlement," wrote the *New York Times* (3 February). On February 2, electricians, plumbers, operating engineers and painters finally honored picket lines for one day at six Manhattan buildings, pointing to how a real victory could have been won. Instead, the strike was called off a day and a half later.

What ignited the strike was the push by some of the wealthiest NYC real estate corporations, including Olympia & York, Helmsley-Spear, Tishman-Speyer and others, to slash starting wages of building maintenance workers nearly in half. The union brass at Local 32B-32J, who hadn't called a strike of commercial

continued on page 11

Local 32B-32J president Gus Bevona (near right) cuts deal with union-hating mayor Giuliani and real estate barons after refusing to mobilize labor power to win bitter four-week strike.



WV Photos

