PLO Massacres Palestinians in Gaza

Arafat’s Ghetto Enforcers for Zionist Tyranny

NOVEMBER 20—The “Gaza-Jericho first” accord signed last year between Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasir Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin is now sealed with Palestinian blood. On Friday, November 18, in the impoverished wasteland that is Gaza City, police of Arafat’s Palestinian Authority leveled automatic-weapons fire into hundreds of demonstrators, many of them supporters of the Muslim fundamentalist Islamic Jihad and Hamas movements. At least 15 people were killed, including one cop. Another 240 were reported wounded and 300 arrested as running battles continued throughout the day. As news of the massacre spread, protests in the West Bank and Jerusalem were met with a brutal crackdown by Israeli security forces in which four more Palestinians were killed.

From the balconies, outside the Shifa Hospital in Gaza, enraged Palestinians shouted “Abu Ammar (Arafat’s nom de guerre), you have betrayed your people,” and “Arafat must hang for this!” continued on page 14

Yuppie Democrats Paved the Way

Right-Wing, Racist Sweep in Elections

The 1994 elections were marked by a grotesque competition over which candidates would be tougher on welfare mothers, send more black youths to jail and crack down harder on “illegal” immigrants. From Austin, Texas to Albany, New York, pushing the death penalty was the ticket of entry into state houses around the country. In California, the anti-black onslaught was augmented by a hysterical racist crusade targeting all immigrants and Latinos.

The Republican sweep puts a seal on years of bipartisan social reaction rolling back the minimal gains of the 1960s civil rights movement. With Clinton’s yuppie racist “New” Democrats going out of their way to slit the party’s traditional black and labor constituencies, the field was open for a rout by the more openly racist Republican right. The Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years, captured a majority of state houses, and now dominate the once-solid Dixiecrat South. Republican standard-bearer and soon-to-be House Speaker Newt Gingrich summed up the GOP platform: “I believe in replacing welfare. I believe in locking up criminals.” So does Clinton, who vows to “end welfare as we know it” and boasts of his draconian “anti-crime” legislation, which will send tens of thousands more minority youth to prison and vastly expand the scale of capital punishment. As one stockbroker commented, “All Republicans are mean-spirited Democrats” (New York Times, 10 November).

The right wing scored a major electoral victory. Liberal Democrats are in despair. The reformist left is disoriented. But bourgeois elections are at best a distorted reflection of what is going on in society. Although the Christian fundamentalist right aggressively mobilized its voting base, it still represents a rather narrow layer of the American population. As has been the case for a couple of decades now, nearly two-thirds of the electorate didn’t even bother to vote. Especially among the most dispossessed, there is an intuitive understanding that whether a racist Democrat or racist Republican wins, their lives will change little, and certainly not for the better.

Both capitalist parties are dismissive of black people and other minorities, and even trade unionists—written off as “special interests”—and declared outside the pale of what Gingrich calls “normal Americans.” As anti-abortion terrorists take their toll, in an increasing number of states it is virtually impossible for women to find an abortion provider. Workers find it increasingly impossible to survive with even two incomes in the family, while blacks find themselves...
James Frazier Faces January Trial

New York City transit workers and other supporters gathered outside the Brooklyn Criminal Court on October 28 to fight the persecution of black transit worker James Frazier. In October 1993, the cops shot Frazier in the head in front of and later brutally beat him in the hospital while spitting racial epithets. He was charged with gun possession to cover up their racist crimes. The Transit Authority joined the attack, firing Frazier from his job as a track worker while he lay in his hospital bed.

Frazier lost his left eye in the assault. For over a year he has been dragged through the courts on these charges. At the October hearing, the judge ruled against a defense motion to suppress prosecution “evidence”—the gun the cops claim to have found in Frazier’s car. Now he will face trial, with jury selection to begin on January 3. James Frazier must stand alone! All out to demand: Drop the charges! Reinstate Frazier now!

Divisions of Frazier’s union, Transport Workers Union Local 100, have passed motions demanding that the cops be dropped from the court hearing. They know that Frazier is under attack to suppress his public defense. As the Labor Black League is organizing to fill the courtroom in January. The mobilization in the courtroom of unionists and other supporters can be the difference between Frazier spending 15 years in jail or walking out of court a free man. To help defend brother Frazier, call us at (212) 267-1025

Transit workers and other supporters turn out for James Frazier (center) at October 28 Brooklyn court hearing.

OTHER SUPPORTERS

James Frazier has been mobilized in his defense. Members of the TWU and other unions, students and socialists have come out repeatedly to the court. They know that Frazier is being put through this ordeal not because he survived. Blacks and Hispanics, even 11-year-old children, have repeatedly been shot down with impunity by the NYPD. As Mayor Giuliani slashes social services and declares city unions, he beefs up the cops and prisons to enforce racist capitalist “law and order.”

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense has been mobilizing for Frazier’s defense. As the League stated in a leaflet for the October 28 hearing, “James Frazier must not become another nameless, faceless victim of bloody cop terror in this city! His ordeal is a message to the entire labor movement and all victims of racist oppression—and that’s who must rally to his defense, now!” The Labor Black League is organizing to fill the courtroom in January. The mobilization in the courtroom of unionists and other supporters can be the difference between Frazier spending 15 years in jail or walking out of court a free man. To help defend brother Frazier, call us at (212) 267-1025.

Editors: Carla Wilson, Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg

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CHICAGO

No. 611

25 November 1994

WORKERS VANGUARD

No. 611
U.S./UN/NATO Get Out!

U.S. warplanes aboard aircraft carrier Saratoga in Adriatic. U.S./UN/NATO, hands of Balkans!

The nationalistic/communist war which ripped apart the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has also produced ever-decreasing fissions in NATO. All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, and the European community with the starvation blockade of Serbia!

Imperialist Rivalries in the New Balkan Wars

Before World War I, German imperialism exercised dominance over Croatia, Bosnia and Slovenia, which then constituted the southernmost provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire. During World War II, Hitler's Third Reich set up a clerical-fascist puppet state in Croatia, which massacred hundreds of thousands of Sarbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies). Tito's Communist partisans fought all of the forces of genocidal nationalism-the Croatian Ustaša, Serbian national Chetniks and Nazi Wehrmacht—thus laying the basis for the postwar Yugoslav wars, state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

When Titos Yugoslavia was being ravaged by a regressive nationalism, neo-fascist hands seized the opportunity to regain its political overlordship of the western Balkans. In 1991, Helmut Kohl's Grman army marched its European allies into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, thereby unleash- ing the Serbian-Croatian war and leading directly to the three-sided war between Serbia, Croatia and Muslim Bosnia.

Bosnia Bloodbath Begins Risk in NATO

Having decided to continue a war they cannot win on their own, the central strategy of the Bosnian Muslim regime of Alija Izetbegovic is to provoke Western intervention against the militarily stronger Serbs. A few months ago, the Bosnian Muslims—through the UN contingent, General Michael Rose, accused the Muslim army of trying to "create images of war for the world, to get us to respond with air power." The British general also lashed out at Washington: "If someone wants to fight a war here on moral or political grounds, fine, great, but count us out."

For the time being, the Americans are continuing to count themselves out, too. Instead they've encouraged and abetted the IZhbegovic regime in beefing up its military capacity. Over the past year, the Bosnian Muslim army has doubled in size, and is now equipped with more modern weaponry despite the shamb arms embargo, Paul Beavera, a military analyst for Jane's Defense Weekly in London, described Washington's approach to the Bosnian Muslims' "illegal" importation of arms as "not quite consonant, but almost."

Late last month, the Bosnian army launched an offensive in northwestern Bosnia which at first succeeded in driv­ ing back the Serbs. The Americans' role in this was something more than that of an innocent bystander. According to the London Independent (11 November): "UN military officials in Sarajevo say that the Americans are already helping the Bosnians, and provided American military commanders with aerial photographs of Bosnian Serb troop dispositions around the railway tracks outside of Bihac at about the same time as the Muslims launched their offensive two weeks ago."

But this American help proved not enough. A Serb counterattack has re­taken most of the territory gained by the Bosnian government offensive. In this offensive the Serbs are aided by dissident Muslim forces who were driven out of Bihac last August for refusing allegiance to the Muslim-nationalist regime in Sarajevo.

So the Muslim leaders and military commanders went back to their old tricks of staging provocations in order to appeal to Western public opinion. On November 8, a mortar shell in Sarajevo wounded a Muslim,who then returned fire. Later, the Serbs launched a retaliatory attack on Sarajevo marketplace, used as pretext for NATO air strikes against Serbs.

continued on page 14

Secret UN report says Bosnian government carried out February 5 mortar attack on Sarajevo marketplace, used as pretext for NATO air strikes against Serbs.
For over 7.5 million transport workers, New Year’s Day 1995 will bring little cause for celebration, and every reason to fear being hauled in, tested and fired for what they did the night before. On January 1, federal regulations require the implementation of a massive new drug and alcohol testing program on “safety sensitive” occupations in the transportation industry, handing the bosses potent new weapons for terrorizing workers on the job and invading their private lives.

The intensified drug and alcohol witchhunt is mandated by the Omnibus Transportation Employee Testing Act of 1991, which requires a tenfold increase in the number of random drug and alcohol tests—to upwards of 5 million tests a year—currently imposed on transport workers around the country. The new rules will affect 6.6 million bus and truck drivers, 34,000 pilots, flight attendants and mechanics in the aviation industry, 200,000 mass transit workers, 120,000 pipeline workers, 80,000 rail workers and 120,000 maritime workers. Not surprisingly, almost all supervisory staff are excluded from the new provisions.

The “war on drugs,” which has served as a pretext for massive cop occupations and racist assaults in the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, is also a war on labor. After the death of any transit worker, was crushed to death by an uptown train in upper Manhattan. His body was found wedged between the second and third stories of a building, 60 feet away.

On October 2, Ronald Elliot, a 62-year-old station cleaner with over 14 years on the job, was run over by a train in upper Manhattan. His body was found wedged between the second and third stories of a building. On October 22, a 37-year-old conductor, Darcy Brewster, was smashed to death by an uptown “D” train while working as a flagman.

New York City transit workers protest deaths of coworkers on the job, demand safe working conditions, October 1990. Government’s “war on drugs” means war on labor.

nine days later, Kim Man Tseung, a bus mechanic at the Fresh Pond Depot in Queens, was crushed under a bus when an air bag under its front wheel suddenly collapsed.

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**Government Out of the Unions!**

**New Directions’ $12 Million Union-Busting Suit**

**NYC Transit**

The 35,000 members of New York City’s Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 are potentially among the most powerful workers in the country. They can cripple the financial nerve center of imperialist America, and the ruling class knows it. That’s one reason New York has the hated Taylor Law, which makes public sector strikes illegal from the get-go. The more powerful the union, the more the bosses fear them. TWU would shred the Taylor Law like a scrap of paper, and could spark some significant changes.

A hard-fought, winning strike by the TWU would shatter the Taylor Law like a scrap of paper, and could spark some significant changes.

With matters worse, there is an incumbent bureaucracy’s use of the brutal, racist NYPD and a column of two days’ pay on the union treasury to the tune of $12 million. ND leaders like Naomi Allen and Steve Downs try to sell the lie that the suit wasn’t against the union, just individual officers. This is a cover of fighting the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a socialist element precondition for this is the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a socialist elite that the suits against all the oppressed, which can only be the bosses’ instrument of repression, and the state.”

When there is death on the tracks, the bosses’ court is不已 the question of a strike. When there is death interest in stopping this new drug war. They are in the hip pocket of the Democratic Party, which has run New York City into the ground up-and-underneath—with massive program of public works providing jobs for all. That requires the abolition of the bosses’ court and its replacement by a workers government which will rebuild industry through a socialist planed economy.

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The New Directions (ND) lawsuit against Local 100 cites instances in which a branch official harassed his local union leadership and attending union meetings. The suit is based on a controversy regarding the 1992 contract negotiations, when hundreds of angry transit workers, led by New Directions, marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to protest in front of the settlement offers of the president of the TWU. Hall’s vice president, Herbert James, called out the NYC cops to throw union members out of their own hall.

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**March 1992:** Local 100 cops called on NYC cops to seize Local 100 union hall against union membership. New Directions calls for “Nobodies’ Strike Here!”

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Defend Teamster Jobs! Total Amnesty for All Strikers!

S.F. Press Bosses
Hammer Newspaper Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, November 22—For eleven days, 2,600 newspaper workers at the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner were on strike, fighting a union-busting assault by the Hearst/Thérien/DeYoung media barons. In the early morning of the eleventh day, the top editorial page of the Conference of Newspaper Unions (CNU) sealed a deal with management under the gun of SF mayor Frank Jordan. Admitting the economic package (a paltry 3 percent wage increase) was "modest," the bureaucrats claimed that they had won "Teamster job protections" for the drivers, whom management had targeted for 10:00 layoff.

The newspaper union's Free Press (12 November) proclaimed the "dramatic early morning agreement a "victory for modest." But in the words of the Liberated Free Press (18 November)—which right-wingers prove on strike paper but rather a newsheet about the "rich and famous"—the question on all newspaper workers' minds now is, "Are we going to LOSE the Newspaper Strike of 1994, AFTER we supposedly WON it?"

There is a seething sense of betrayal among the union ranks, particularly the Teamsters, as management spits on even the conditions of the contract that was supposedly sealed. Several newspaper workers have told us that they are sure that the press unions will go back on strike, they are just waiting to get the call from their union leadership. Don't bet on it! While the bureaucrats cried that they were hoodwinked by the bosses, it was they who opened the door for management's union-busting assault.

The ink had barely dried on this sell-out deal when the press bosses' chief negotiator, Richard Jordan, announced that it allowed management to ax hundres of Teamster jobs by simply not calling them back to work. To add insult to injury, 150 of the 635 Teamsters have been called back—maybe for only a day at a time. While the Teamsters' "solidarity" is still on the street, when Teamster Local 921 secretary-treasurer Andy Cirikels went out on strike in SF last week, he was surrounded by scabs and Huffmaster goons and hit in the face by a scab! Plainclothes Huffmaster strikebreakers equipped with cameras continue to patrol the street. When Teamster Local 511 "hot cargo" newsprint.

Management is going after union activists with a vengeance. Two unionists were fired (thirty suspended to suspension pending arbitration) for "insulting" scab managers in the composing room. A "hot cargo" copy of the San Francisco Chronicle/Examiner Teamster strikers picket Pier 27 on October 31, successfully calling on longshoremen to "hot-cargo" scab newspapers.

Bureaucratic Betrayal

The union tops even admit that they knew of the companies' plans to cut jobs after the ratification meetings. Northern California Newspaper Guild president Bill Wallace told the San Jose Mercury-News (17 November) that the companies' chief negotiator "told union officials that the newspaper agency, under the new contract, could eliminate 100 Teamster jobs by simply not calling all striking drivers back to work."

Now management is driving a steeltoe into contract language which they say gives them the right to determine how many workers are called back. At the same time, the bureaucrats' phony "amnesty" agreement—which outrageously excluded any striker convicted of a felony or who had "committed acts with the intent to cause bodily harm or serious property damage"—was a green light for management to set up, fire and harass union militants.

Speaking bitterly of the deal that went down in Frank Jordan's office, one activist told the Liberated Free Press: "Too many decisions were made at the Mayor's Office after it shifted into that milieu. The contract wasn't really our choice. It was a done deal and we weren't in a position to say no. In general we won a defensive battle and we prevented the company from smashing us. In that, we won. But in so many of the things we wanted, we lost. ... But that's what the company had us doing to get us for doing nothing." It is stark testimony to the endless sell-outs of the union tops that workers consider it a victory to emerge from a strike with their unions intact. But even on this score, the SF newspaper workers are now finding out that they lost. To defend the very existence of the unions requires the kind of no-holds-barred class struggle that built them. But that is not going to happen under the current leadership. The newspaper unions' tops are yet again looking to the "graces" of SF mayor Frank Jordan. They never thought of strike, keeping the workforce on the job for over a year without a contract. When the strike finally began, they allowed scabs to cross picket lines at the printing plant on Army Street and preached that the strikebreaking cops and ex-police chief mayor Jordan were on labor's side.

As we wrote in our article, "Mobilize S.F. Labor to Win the Newspaper Strike!" (BV No. 610, 11 November), "This is class war, and for labor to prevail means going up against the press, their mayor, their cops, their strikebreaking thugs, their judges, their anti-labor laws. To do that requires bringing to bear the muscle of Bay Area organized labor in mass picket lines that no scab would dare to cross, to "hot-cargo" refuse to work, and ink headed for the struck newspapers, to stop the printing and distribution of any scab papers."

Copies of Workers Vanguard were eagerly picked up by strikers. The program that we put forward for the newspaper union laid the basis to fight back and win. In particular, the call for mass pickets intersected a felt sentiment among the strikers. Last Friday, a call was put out for strikers—and reportedly other unions as well—to mobilize at the Army Street plant on Saturday at 5 p.m. But picket lines were quickly disbanded in the early morning hours on Saturday—despite the fact that scab newspapers were being produced and the union members had yet to vote on the settlement!

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

What's needed is a mass meeting of the membership of all the newspaper unions. Press workers who went out together and fought in solidarity on the picket lines understand that they were fighting to defend their unions against an assault which they knew began with the betrayal of Teamster driver Ryan. Teamster Kent Wilson did on the picket line trying to shut down the distribution of the scab papers. There are plenty more of such union militants who taught the scabs a lesson or two during the strike. But militancy is not enough. To really fight back and win requires a leadership that is imbued with the understanding that Frank Jordan, the cops, and the crooked are not any "friends of labor"; that knows that real labor solidarity means labor action based on the old Wobbly slogan of solidarity... and it had better not be left to the bureaucrats who are the rat in the back. That's what the bureaucrats are the rat in the back. That's what the bureaucrats are the rat in the back. That's what the bureaucrats are the rat in the back. That's what the bureaucrats are the rat in the back. That's what the bureaucrats are the rat in the back.

During the newspaper strike, a protest march of 600 largely Latino high school students marching against the viciously anti-immigrant Prop. 187 joined the picket lines at 5th and Mission.

This was a real act of solidarity, and it had better not be left to the bureaucrats as well. The real act of solidarity was the real act of solidarity was the real act of solidarity was the real act of solidarity was the real act of solidarity was the real act of solidarity.

Many immigrant workers, who have been part of blood and pieces against death squad dictatorships in their own countries, have led hard-fought battles for unionization in the United States. The bosses will no doubt try to use other, more atomized immigrants to dis-credit the Chronicle and Examiner, as a club against the union, as a club against the union, as a club against the union, as a club against the union, as a club against the union, as a club against the union.
On November 22, protesters rallied at UCLA against the cop attacks and arrests of 26 demonstrators during a sit-in at UCLA's Murphy Hall. The previous sit-in against racist Prop. 187 was attacked by UCLA riot police who dragged several activists out in handcuffs. The Spartacist Youth Club called for a speakout in the wake of the arrests, which included two members of the SYC. The earlier protest against the implementation of anti-immigrant Prop. 187 was initiated by the Human Rights Coalition, which includes MEXCA, Asian Pacific Coalition and other groups. We reprint a leaflet.

On November 17, a multiracial group of 80 demonstrators staged a sit-in at UCLA's Murphy Hall against the implementation of racist Prop. 187. Acting upon Chancellor Young's orders, UCLA police in full riot gear descended on the protesters, handcuffing and arresting 26 including 2 members of a Spartacist Youth Club. Twenty-five of the UCLA 26 will stand trial at the WLA Courthouse on December 19th at 8:30 a.m. on charges of "failure to disperse." One protester is also charged with "trespassing."

This is an outrage! The SYC demands: Drop all charges against the UCLA 26! All opponents of anti-immigrant racism should come to this speakout to put forward their views and protest this political repression!

Before and after the passage of Prop. 187, high school and college student protesters have staged militant demonstrations against this racist anti-immigrant measure which, along with the racist "Three Strikes" Prop. 184, is a threat to all workers and minorities. But to effect real change students must ally with the social power of the labor movement. The multiracial working class produces the wealth of the capitalists and makes this city and country run. It has the social power to beat back the Democrats' and Republicans' racist war on immigrants through class struggle. The SYC is calling on campus and local unions, as well as student protesters from Cal State L.A. (some of whom were arrested in a recent protest) and other campuses to join in this speakout. A campus protest that united L.A. students with militant trade unionists would make a powerful statement.

Pleading with the administration to fight 187 is a dead end. University administrations under capitalism exist to use the solution. What is needed is a fight to oust the current labor leadership and build a class-struggle workers party that will mobilize labor's power in defense of all the oppressed and that will fight for a socialist revolution that can put an end to anti-immigrant racism for good.

• Hands Off Anti-187 Protesters!
• Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!
• Break with the Racist Democrats and Republicans!
• For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!
• For Socialist Revolution from the Yukon to the Yukatan!

25 NOVEMBER 1994

“|I Will Fight for Communist Revolution...”

Attention comrades of the SYC:

We are in complete political agreement on the issues covered in the Young Spartacist section of WV 605. Furthermore, we agree on issues covered in your party line.

These are the primary reasons that I should join: The first is that I am a revolutionary communist and you are a revolutionary communist party. The question that could be posed to me, “Well comrades, there are a lot of self-proclaimed revolutionary communist parties, you could just as easily join them on the same basis that you say you should join us.” But where your party is different is that you are the party of the Russian Revolution. And your party is the only one that is truly in the light of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. And unlike the SWP, your party does not really behind reformist figures and reformist politics. And unlike the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, you have not applauded capitalist counterrevolution in the workers states. On the contrary, the SLJCL gives full military support to all existing workers states, though they are deformed and in need of political restructuring.

I am set on being a professional revolutionary. I will fight for communist revolution until the working class liberates itself. There is not a single thing that is more important to humanity and its future than a revolution that will put the ownership of production in the hands of those who labor for production. Because we both agree that this is true, there seems to be no reason that I should not join. Therefore, I should.

Joaquin (student and worker) Los Angeles

UNCLASSIFIED

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7
poor. Herrnstein and Murray recycle the discredited work of racist eugenicists like Arthur Jensen, who, beginning in 1969, sought "to prove" that blacks are intellectually inferior to whites. Then, in a bizarre twist, they claim that such individual whites and blacks need be affected by the knowledge that "the difference in mean intelligence is genetic instead of environmental." 

Tell that to Rodney King or the millions of others who are unknowingly the targets of an ideology for a government policy that can only be described as "Genocide U.S.A."

Follow the Money to the Third Reich

There is no "race gene." The genetic variation within any given ethnic group is as diverse as between one group and another. As R.C. Lewontin, a noted anthropologist and co-author of Not in Our Genes (Pantheon, 1984) remarked: "If the Holocaust comes and a small tribe deep in the New Guinea forests is the only survivors, almost all the genetic variation now expressed among the innumerable groups of our four billion people will be preserved." Lewontin's 1972 study showed that the genetic variations among human populations could be accounted for by "race," such as every Euro-American or Asian. In other words, race is meaningless as a scientific category—New Gingrich or Jesse Helms may be genetically closer to an Australian aboriginal or a "gangsta rapper" in South-Central L.A. than to each other.

The egalitarian implications of Darwin's theory of evolution and the discredited eugenics of the Third Reich is as diverse as between one group and another. In his definitive debunking of the hereditarian rightists cited in The Bell Curve, Murray likens his project to portraying himself as an All-American corn-fed boy straight out of the town of Newton, Iowa, terrorizing the philosopher whose manly genius his work is to nullify. Murray staged a huge cross-burning in his home-town of Piltown, in the bluffs near the Mississippi River, to symbolize his determination to "be a stone that would balance the weight of the stone." Murray's "stone" is an intellectual tradition that he calls "a fire hydrant in the desert," yet he is willing to let it be burned to ashes in the name of truth.

The Uses and Abuses of IQ Tests

Intelligence is not quantifiable as a single trait, nor can it be measured as a single-quality. "The hard science" of hereditarian rightists like Charles Spearman, who claimed to discover what he dubbed the "g" factor as a measure of intelligence, is as fuzzy as a cotton ball. Mostly what IQ tests measure is...well an individual's "proficiency" and how well they are accustomed to the culture of the test givers. The intellectual competence of immigrants arriving at New York's Ellis Island, for instance, was tested by asking them to fill out a series of blank squares. A Sicilian man, logically enough for someone from his cultural background, drew a crucifix on the roof of the house pictured on his test. Yet the only "correct" answer was a chimney! One can imagine the bewilderment of East European peasants faced with pictures of women in bowling alleys. The idiocies of intelligence testing were humorously captured by the educator and social reformer John Dewey:

"This intelligence-testing business re- minds me of the way they used to weigh hogs in Texas. They would get a long hog and put it on a scale. They would get a long hog on one end of the scale and a long hog on the other end. They'd balance the weight of the hog and they'd put the second hog on the other end of the scale. But then they also had to guess the weight of the stone."

The Bell Curve was popularized in America as a means of transferring the notion that intelligence could be improved with opportunity and instruction. Now the comfort of an armchair at the American Enterprise Institute, Murray contem-
to limit, segregate and control perceived "threats" to the white Anglo-Saxon ruling class. Against a back­ground of an increasingly discredited working class, the IQ test also became a method for "typing" the white working class. In 1917-1919, Lewis Terman and Richard Yerkes turned the Binet scale into a mass testing of Army recruits. Against a background of an excessive waves of immigrants. Headlines from coast to coast were screaming, "Can Democracy Survive an Average Age of 137?" an indication of the climate that led directly to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924.

Biological determinism is a bogus theory that without proper placement and training. It has been shown against a backdrop of an anti-fascist conference, supporters of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition had their car burned out in Memphis, 1968: Black sanitation strikers declared, "I Am a Man," protesting racist degradation in face of National Guard repression. By these lights, the ruling class must be inherently criminal—and stupid. The millionaire WASP politicians who inhabit Capitol Hill and the halls of Congress have bilked millions through the savings and loan scandal, gutted Social Security, destroyed schools and hospitals, wrecked the industrial infrastructure of this country through their own corporate greed, and generally robbed from the poor to give to the rich in any way they can. The second proposal for dealing with this: break the power of the ruling class by fighting for a society where those who labor rule.

The Legacy of Slavery

The ideology of racial inferiority and a master race originated in the United States South as the justification for chattel slavery. The Civil War smashed the slave system, and Radical Reconstruction was about the freest and most egalitarian period in American history. But the systematic oppression of black people as a forcibly segregated race—color caste is fundamental to the American capitalist system in every sphere: in housing, education, and even personal relations. Thus the obsession swap places with all the children crammed into crumbling classrooms in the mean cities across America. Of course, there is any merit to the biological determinist argument, there would be no change in IQ test scores, but what has this to say about the ruling class only invests what it can reap back in profit. The determinist theory is refuted by the example of black workers during World War II. When the ruling class needed labor for war millions, millions of blacks migrated from the rural South to the North and West, were taught to read and write in a matter of months and went on to become high-grade shipbuilders and mechanics.

Moreover, the Head Start program was scrapped because "public policy towards the disadvantaged starts from the premise that interventions can make up for genetic or environmental disadvantages, and that premise is overly optimistic." a false but comforting theory for a ruling class that no longer wants to spend money educating poor black children because there are no jobs to train them for—the ruling class only invests what it can reap back in profit. The determinist theory is refuted by the example of black workers during World War II. When the ruling class needed labor for war millions, millions of blacks migrated from the rural South to the North and West, were taught to read and write in a matter of months and went on to become high-grade shipbuilders and mechanics.

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The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution

Spartacist League Debates

Ernest Mandel

United Secretariat spokesman Ernest Mandel (left) and Joseph Seymour of International Communist League debate before 400 people in New York City, November

Some 400 people packed the auditorium of Public School 41 in New York City November 11 for a rare and important debate on revolutionary strategy featuring the International Communist League/US Central Committee, and Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." (USec.) This was the largest gathering here in years of those claiming adherence to Trotsky-ism, which was the continu­ation of the revolutionary international­ism of Lenin's Bolsheviks in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Com­munist International.

Organized by the Spartacist League and co-chaired by representatives of the ICL and the USec, the meeting was organized in the best traditions of work­ers democracy. The main speakers had equal presentation and rebuttal time. Twenty speakers from the floor alternate­ned between supporters of the USec, the ICL and other tendencies present, including the League for a Revolution­ary Party, Bolshevik Tendency, Freedom Socialist Party and anti-Trotskyist Oppo­sition.

From the ICL's inception as the Revo­lutionary Tendency, expelled from the US. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1963, we have insisted on the need for a political fight to finish against the revisionist current authored by Michel Pablo and backed up by Mandel, which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1980's. Reacting impression­istically to the creation of bureaucrati­cally deformed workers states in East Europe and China and the growth of Sta­linist parties in Europe following World War II, Pablo and his followers decided to dump the Trotskyist program. As international secretary of the Fourth International, Pablo directed Trotskyists to liquidate organizationally and pro­grammatically into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, with the aim of pressuring them onto a "roughly revolutionary" course. This perspective denied the very basis for the Fourth International, founded in 1938 as a Leninist leadership to the international proletariat, whose Stalinist and social­democratic misleaders had betrayed workers' struggles on behalf of "demo­cratic" capitalism.

In our struggle to refute an authen­tically Trotskyist Fourth International, we welcomed this opportunity to politi­cally confine Mandel, the foremost exponent of Pablosim today. The centrist Mandel, while making ritual genuflections toward Marxist phrasology, has in his practice moved far to the right. Speaking first in the debate, Mandel in his presentation wrote off any possibility of proletarian revolution in the coming period. "The crisis of mankind, of human civilization," he remarked, "will last for a long time." For Mandel, this is only logical, as he long since abandoned the key tenet of Trotsky's Transitional Program, which declared that "the crisis of the proletarian leadership, hav­ing become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

Mandel objected to our statement that "The present period is marked above all by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Eur­ope" (from "Workers Struggle Across Europe," Workers Vanguard No. 592, January 1994). "This is wrong," he said. "The principal feature of the world sit­uation is the worldwide offensive of cap­ital against labor," ignoring the connec­tion between the anti-labor offensive and the collapse of the bureaucratically de­generated and deformed workers states. In this typical opportunistic fashion, Mandel claimed the key was "the current long depressive wave of capitalism." As al­ways, he writes off the role of the revo­lutionary party and its program.

Having taken proletarian revolution off the agenda, Mandel lapsed into pure reformism: "The strategic goal should become the one of avoiding, at all costs, a nuclear war, and suppressing all nucle­ar power stations." This remark reveals more than the "greening" of Ernest Mandel. Here he echoes the revisionist "Marxist" Karl Kautsky, whose pacific claim that imperialist war can be stopped short of the working class coming to power was powerfully refuted by Lenin. In his presentation, comrade Seymour noted that Mandel's USec, formed in 1963 as a bloc between Pablo's tend­ency and the rightward-moving SWP, "has always been and only aspires to be a pressure group on various reformists, petty-bourgeois radical and bourgeois nationalist currents. In fact, over the dec­ades Mandel has tried literally everything except building a proletarian vanguard party." In the present period, the United Secretariat "has liquidated itself into and seeks to build up international Social Democracy, which now includes the many ex-Stalinist parties."

"They long to be comrades with the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, who are now joined by the heirs to the murderers of Trotsky," Sey­mour continued. "Well, we of the Inter­national Communist League have taken a different road." He quoted from the Transitional Program, founding docu­ment of the Fourth International: "The Fourth International declares uncomprom­ised war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam and Anarchosyndicalist Internationals, as on their present leaders." "We aim," he sum­marized, "to reforge a Fourth Interna­tional that will politically destroy once and for all the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Trotsky."

Program is Key

For Trotskyists, the key to the debate topic, "The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today," is what program can lead the working class to power. Yet one of the main themes of Mandel and his supporters was ridiculing the ICL's insistance on building a programmatically firm party. In listing an "inextrica­ble knot of contradictions" supposedly besetting the Spartacists, Mandel in­cluded our "obession with cor­rectness." One of his jabs echoed the old canard: if you're so smart, why aren't you rich? If Stalinism has more than half a century of revolutions and counterrevolutions, real Trotskyists claim to be the only ones to rep­resent, is reduced to a couple of hundred people in the whole world. A political movement that is the working class of any coun­try, this would prove the basic case. The conclusion of the revolutionary international­ism of Lenin's Bolshevism in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Com­munist International.

In his presentation, comrade Seymour cited the revisionist "general" Irwin Woll, re­sighted from the USec once he was elected to the German Bundestag on the question of the PDS—the party that sold out the East German deformed workers state in 1990: "We have many MPs in Brazil. We have dozens of municipal and regional councillors." What they clearly have is an appetite for the "big time" of reformist parliamentary politics.

Mandel did finally touch on some of the programmatic issues in dispute. He portrayed our defense of the deformed workers states against capitalist counter­revolution as "pro-Stalinist," denounc­ing in particular our support to Polish general Jaruzelski's counterrevolution against Lech Walesa's Solidarność when it attempted to seize power in December 1981.

He closed by noting "a victory of truly historical dimensions": the "complete political rehabilitation" of Trotsky and his followers by the Soviet military and the newspaper Izvestia in 1990. The ICL argued at the time that Trotsky is in no need of a certificate of good conduct from the heirs of his Stalinist assass­ins, who were, moreover, at that very moment paving the way for Yeltsin's return.

Comrade Seymour focused on key strategic issues for communists today: the popular front—a coalition tying the workers party to the reformist and "the Russian question," i.e., the Marxist analysis and program on the degenerated and deformed workers states, Trotsky fought for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist restora­tion and for workers political revolution
to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On these and other questions, Seymour remarked, "Mandel has prostituted the moral authority of Trotskyism". The USec was founded on the basis of political support to Castro's Stalinist regime in Cuba and championing the petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrilla warfare exemplified by Che Guevara. The Spartacists fought the bourgeois strategy of guerrilla war against Yankee imperialism, we upheld the need for a Leninist vanguard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party, while the guard party..."

When the fate of the deformed and degenerated workers states hung in the balance in Germany in 1989-90, Seymour continued, the ICL mobilized all the forces at its disposal, intervening with a program for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—a red Germany of workers councils. We stood unconditionally against the imperialist annexation of the East German deformed workers state, the DDR. And we initiated the call for the January 1990 united-front demonstration that brought out 250,000 against the fascist defacing of the Treptow Soviet war memorial in East Berlin and in defense of the DDR.

In contrast, the United Secretariat was totally paralyzed. An ICL speaker sub sequently noted from the floor USec right-winger Matti's description of their two lines on German reunification: "One section wanted to drink champagne; the other section wanted to have Alka-Seltzer," she remarked. "But nobody wanted to have a revolutionary intervention into that nascent political revolution."

Having supported counterrevolutionary forces from Walea to the capitalist restorationist rabbles on Yeltsin's barri cades in front of the Moscow White House in August 1991, the USec now denies that capitalism has been restored in these countries. Their criteria is the social-democratic rationale that most industry is still nationalized. After noting that the USec refused to defend the Soviet Union over the Falklands and sóloated for the withdrawal of Soviet troops fighting CJA-backed, woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists, an ICL speaker remarked in the discussion, "Strangely enough, the USec defends the Soviet Union when it doesn't exist as a workers state. Think about that."

Most recently, in the former Yugoslavia, the USec has lined up with "democratic" imperialism through the "International Workers Aid to Bosnia" campaign. Marxists regard this fratricidal civil war as reactionary on all sides, while calling for defense of the Serbs against imperialist attack. However, Seymour noted, the USec's International viewpoint "boasts that its supporters have run convoys of trucks into Bosnia protected by the UN imperialist forces. One report even lauds 'the genuine efforts of many of the UN staff and soldiers who helped us.' So here you have not only direct support to a bourgeois-nationalist regime, but direct appeals for military action by its imperialist sponsors."

Trotskyism vs. USec Opportunism

At the debate, displays contrasted the Trotskyist program of the International Com munist League (ICL) with the centrist politics of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec). At the debate, displays contrasted the Trotskyist program of the International Communist League (ICL) with the centrist politics of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec).

- **Poland (above):** ICL called for no political support to these class-collaborationist coalitions which shackled workers, paving the way for rightist reaction.
- **Afghanistan (below, right):** USec capitulated to imperialist furor, demanding, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan." The ICL called for no political support to these class-collaborationist coalitions which shackled workers, paving the way for rightist reaction.
- **Antarctica:** ICL proclaimed "Solidarity with Solidarnosc," describing this anti-Communist movement backed by CIA and Vatican as "one of the highest forms of pro-imperialist activity and self-organization which the world has seen since the Russian revolution." Spartacists declared, "Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution!" warning that victory for Walea & Co. would spell misery for workers, women.

**Popular Front (below):** Displays show ISec's zigzags over support to Allende's popu lar front in Chile, and its embrace of Mitterrand's Union of the Left in France. The ICL called for no political support to these class-collaborationist coalitions which shackled workers, paving the way for rightist reaction.

In contrast, we said: "Stop Solidarnosc's Counterrevolution!" Seymour quoted from a 1981 Workers Vanguard article that portrayed the likely outcome of Solidarnosc's coming to power: "Foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale... Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off... Certainly the mass of disabled workers in Solidarnosc do not want this. But, the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarnosc's foray of 'Western-style democracy."

"NY Post, No. 299, 25 September 1981"

"What honest and objective person would today deny that what we predicted would happen in 1981... has in fact happened," he asked.

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Debate... (continued from page 11)

BIDOM and Solidarity said, “I would suggest that the Spartacists’ main point of pride, their steadfastness and unwavering on the program, is in fact the clearest indictment of their main point of pride, their steadfastness and clearest indictment of their withstanding whatever activity was going on because it didn’t promote a complete revolution—a convenient way of denouncing the leadership of the Spartacists and which speakers to the definition of the distinction between the program of the united front and that of the Trotskyist Party. A Freedom Socialist Party speaker echoed this theme. But she added concerning the Spartacists’ main point of pride, their steadfastness and clearest indictment of their irony, they conveniently don’t mention is that they satisfied with an organization that is accommodating, their latest position. But the BT doesn’t make the point. They say, “He sought to curb the worst excesses of the masses.”

The Spartacist tendency has a highly critical assessment of the Lambert group over Algeria. A June 1982 public cultural event on Algeria by the French Lambertistes, who supported the fundamentalist FIS. The Lambertistes denounced our slogan, “full support to the bourgeois army of Cuauhtemoc and the Algerian FLN regime.” They summed up, “Lambert became the lawyer, the spokesman for Messali Hadj’s line. He continued to be active in the period. During the floor discussion at the debate, an ICL speaker answered Mandel: “As he knows, we have nothing whatever to do with Lambert’s support to Messali Haddad la Tendency’s” current in the working-class party leading the struggle against the imperialist forces in the world. They pointedly, “They are ever-somewhat referring to none of us, but to the ICL’s record of its own origins available, and the many international discussion and that of the Cuban workers state to the call for a mass workers movement to be set up.” But the BT answers that our ‘conference Tendency was framed up and executed by the Lambertists, section of the ICL, dem­ nated in detail how the Lambertists fronted for Messali Hadj right up to the point where he openly landed in the colonialist camp. An LTF spokesman summed up, “Lambert became the lawyer, the spokesman for Messali Hadj’s line. He continued to be active in the period.”

Our comrades noted that the U.S. supported the bourgeois army of Cuauhtemoc and, and that the Algerian U.S. group alternates between supporting the bourgeois army of Cuauhtemoc and standing with the Islamic fundamentalist FIS. Another ICL speaker exposed the U.S. role in popular fronts in Mexico, where the PRT supported the bourgeois populist party of Cuauhtemoc Cádiz, and Brasil. When a leftist tendency opposed the formation of a popular front by U.S. Brasíl’s Brazilian Workers Party (PT) in 1989, a leader of the U.S.’ Social Democrat’s” (1) current in the PT, João Machado, was sent in to purge them. Out of these militants came the Luta Metalúrgica group, which recently established fraternal relations with the Internal Trotskyist Front in Brazil.

An interesting view into the U.S., was provided by a supporter of the Interna- tional Trotskyist Opposition, who spoke as a neutral, even though the TIO did
The collapse of Stalinism has shaken up the world. Old friends have lost their moorings—sometimes in a rather spectacular way. A case in point is the French Youth Communist League/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (GR/JCR), led by one Raymond Debord. For political reasons, he now is all over the political map. To stifle exposure of their gyrations, they have increasingly taken to strong-arm tactics against our comrades.

Debord's JCR emerged from the French section of the International Secretariat of the Committee for a Workers International (PCI/BIP). In a leaflet distributed the next day, the LTF immediately issued a leaflet at the University of Tolbiac where by her home—a highly inflammatory charge which is absolutely untrue—you choose to simply deny your comrades' October 11 attack on our sales team at the University of Tolbiac (attached), denouncing the cowardly unprovoked attack in which our comrades Pierre was hit from behind without warning and knocked to the ground by Debord's number one goon, Gréard.

Your comrades' violent assault was intended to stop us from distributing a leaflet in defense of Maghrebian women soldiers now serving in the civil defense in the working class. Gérard's shocked staff, who had no idea Debord was involved in the organising of a racist fascist突击队 to the Socialist League, were at the Capitalist State. In the short run, you may imagine that you have succeeded in your mission; neither we nor you can predict what this unstable posture is likely to come up with next in the way of atrocities, political or otherwise.

Our tendency has a long and proud record of being the defense of workers democracy. One of our earliest campaigns in this vein was our defense of the British SWP (no friends of ours or of workers democracy) when they faced fascist attacks in Toronto, and we are now protecting the repressive South Korean regime's arrest of Ch'i's. Our principle anti-sectarian defense of the rights of all leftist, minority and labor organisations extends equally to the GR/JCR and the ICL/FI. Perhaps our policy is incomprehensible to you, Raymond Debord, but it probably interprets it as a sign of weakness. Let you and him be in no doubt: every action shall be as vigorous in defense of ourselves as we are in defense of others.

Against gangsterism, in defense of political debate, and in defense of the Committee for a Workers International, the PCI/BIP

Spartacist League, New York City

Phone: (212) 267-1025
Palestinians... (continued from page 1)

Some voices even taunted “Bring back Rabin!” at the arch of the Zionists’ “Iron Fist” policy which claimed more than 1,000 Palestinian lives since the heroic Intifada uprising began in 1987. Indeed, in terms of dead and wounded, Arafat’s Gaza massacre rivaled the worst of the bloody atrocities committed by Israeli troops and their fascist settler auxiliaries in their years-long effort to “pacify” the Occupied Territories.

In the aftermath, both the PLO and Hamas/Jihad have appealed for calm and suggested that the violence was provoked by “outside elements” (such as Israeli security forces). At this point and from all sides, it is not clear who is responsible for the claims. Certainly the horrific bloodshed plays into the hands of hardline Zionist terrorists.

It is a direct consequence of the PLO’s betrayal of Palestinian struggle that the worst atrocities seem to intensify as the struggle of the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip is being transformed. The Israeli government has been driven from their homes in an orgy of violence.

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Debate... (continued from page 12)

agent of the counterrevolution.

Now, Ernest Mandel, I publicly chal- lenge you to substantiate, or as we say in French, “ouvrir la boîte.” Shut or shut up! Find anything where we said that socialism can be built without a spectacular and often tumultuous class struggle.

The united front is an instrument of the bourgeoisie. This special issue of English­ Speaking Spartacist is devoted to publishing the results of the Ninth National Conference held this summer.

S.F. Strike... (continued from page 6)

citizen rights and bring them into the labor movement!

There are those who claim to offer a militant alternative to the labor bureaucracies. In the newspaper union, one Fred Ferguson publishes the Workers Vanguard. During the ratification meeting of his paper this summer, Ferguson was one of those who tried to cross would regret it.

paper unions. SFNA top dog James Hale sneers, “We have never given Arafat’s bourgeois­ type of leadership that was widely dis­ tributed on the picket lines: “every major worker’s struggle becomes a political fight against the system.” Yet this is the view of the Israeli government and workers like the ones who tried to cross would regret it.

The National Women’s Coalition against Racism has been organizing militant strikes. But that is alien to the so-called Yugoslavia, the former German­ occupied territory. What we have been explaining the reasons for our position is that the Working people of the world under a revolutionary leadership.

Spartacist (English Edition) No. 51 Autumn 1994

This special issue of English­ language Spartacist is devoted to publishing the main resolution adopted by the Ninth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. held this summer.

$1.00 (48 pages)

Spartacist is sent to all Workers Vanguard subscribers.

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Workers Vanguard

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more and more under siege, and Latinos and Asians are targeted by the anti-immigrant hysteria. While social inequality continues to increase, it has produced a lot of explosive social tinder at the base of society.

The situation is in the multi-racial upheaval against cop terror in Los Angeles in 1992, and the recent massive, integrate, sometimes deadly protests and walkouts against the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California. There’s also been an increasing challenge from both the left and right, including the nationwide Teamsters strike, Flint-UAW walkout and the ongoing rebellion in the Billings, Montana copper mines. But misleaders of blacks and the labor movement, politically beholden to the Democratic Party, have furnished a greater portion of American workers into the face of the reactionary wave.

From Midwest union struggles to the fight against racist cop terror, the absence of fighting leadership is painfully obvious. What the black, Hispanic and working people of this country need is a class-struggle workers party defending the cause of all the oppressed in the fight to end racist capitalism through a socialist revolution.

Republican “Contract with America”—Know-Nothing Social Reaction

Following the elections, prospective Senate Judiciary Committee leader Orrin Hatch wasted no time in denouncing as “anti-American” the Campaign for Fiscal Responsibility policies of Clinton’s right-wing coalition. Diehard segregationist Strom Thurmond and other Dixiecrats cast their ballots for the Republicans, and the origins of the party’s integrationist heritage include his association with the Fascist World Anti-Communist League, in which Thurmond was a member. The Republican agenda is that Newt Gingrich’s Republican landslide, while corporate Democrats by a heavy margin of late.

“New Democrats,” the Republican addresses to the American people after being framed by the feds a few years ago, is about the only black city mayor left in the country today.

The bourgeoisie has no need of a mass fascist party, but a reflection of the working class, and as Murray Kempton remarked: “We are the vanguard of the workers of the world.”

Today, black people are a quarter of the American people. The struggle is not just black people against the racists. It is an all people’s struggle. But only months after conservative Republican landslide, while the Democratic Party has been politically much harder to slash. The Workers World Party—our Party—has stood up to the challenge, and in particular buying your own home—is nearly impossible. A revolutionary workers party is necessary, and the way to resist. A revolutionary workers party is necessary, and as Murray Kempton remarked: “We are the vanguard of the workers of the world.”

But the pro-Democratic Party union tops are the labor lieutenants of capital, working with the government to defend the unions against the capitalist onslaught. In the present climate of hate and union-busting—which has been the norm of American capitalism—the reactionaries, the gigalo-politicians and the bourgeoisie politics to the right. But among those who are most directly under attack are the blacks—and they—there will be many who will seek to resist. A revolutionary workers party must be forged through intervention in the convulsive social struggles that will erupt in this country and internationally.

Elections... (continued from page 1)

Teamsters in Southern California overruled pre-strike decision to picket line during April 1994 strike.
Pseudo-Science in the Service of Racism

The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.

From the Egyptian pharaohs to the British monarchy to the South ern slaveholders to the German elite, throughout history the masters of every society of grotesque inequality have concocted ideologies to justify their rule. Today, as America sinks into an arctic chill of reaction against labor unions, immigrants, black people, and even sex, two ultraright ideologues resurrect an argument for the defense of ruling-class privilege. They want to eliminate all social programs for minorities and the poor and make us all suffer.

regiment the "underclass" with "democratic" police-state crusades. Theories of biological determinism and the myth of the genetically superior intellect of one race or class vs. another always resurface in periods of rising reaction. Thus The Bell Curve by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray was an instant phenomenon; the "science" for a ruling class which promises a ruling. class which promises the bankruptcy of the welfare state tactics "along Latin Amer­ican lines." The bankruptcy of the American economy through corpo­rate greed, decades of union-busting and a return from social welfare to social Darwinism has created not a "bell curve," but a "U" curve with the "haves" at one end, the "have nots" at the other, and little in the middle. So, it's time for a "new" ideology and The Bell Curve to it.

A Sampling of Bell Curve "Scholarship"

• On welfare: "Going on welfare really is a dumb idea, and that is why we have to lower in cognitive ability end up there."

• On wealth: "People in different jobs have different IQs for example, have higher IQs on the average than bus drivers. Whatever the reason for the link between social welfare to social Darwinism has created not a "bell curve," but a "U" curve with the "haves" at one end, the "have nots" at the other, and little in the middle. So, it's time for a "new" ideology and The Bell Curve to it.

The Bell Curve has spurred a media campaign legitimizing "debate" of racist myth that blacks are genetically inferior.