

Moscow

Mass Protest Against Yeltsin Counterrevolution



Spartacist

Moscow, November 7—Tens of thousands march to Red Square celebrating the October Revolution and denouncing capitalist-restorationists led by the traitors Yeltsin and Gorbachev.

MOSCOW—The imperialist media and the now anti-Communist Soviet television sought to portray Revolution Day, November 7, as the wake after the "death of Communism." They even brought back the Romanov pretender to the tsarist throne. The new "rulers" tried to ban all celebration of the anniversary of the Bolsheviks taking power. The *New York Times* admitted that "more than 10,000 Communist loyalists" marched, but in

Down With "Free Market" Starvation! For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

fact as many as 90,000 came out in Moscow in an angry protest against the counterrevolution headed by Yeltsin and Gorbachev. In Leningrad, Kiev and else-

where thousands more took to the streets. Gathering before the Lenin statue in October Square, there were hundreds of red flags snapping in the stiff winter

wind. In contrast to the regimented formal parades of previous years, this was an outpouring, heavily proletarian in composition, of people who wanted to take a stand for socialism. They chanted "Lenin! Lenin!" and "Down with the bourgeois dictatorship!" They carried hand-painted signs with such slogans as "Privatization: A Dream for Millionaires, for the Workers a

continued on page 9

Louisiana Election Catapulted Fascist Demagogue

KKK Duke Rides Racist Backlash

NOVEMBER 18—The national spotlight was on the Louisiana governor's election where fascist David Duke, running as a Republican, was pitted against former Democratic governor Edwin Edwards, who is widely viewed as a crook. Although Edwards won, with 60 percent of the total due to a massive turnout of blacks at the polls, Duke got 55 percent of the white vote and even more among lower-income whites.

The political establishment in this country, especially the Bush Republicans, heaved a sigh of relief that an American state would not be governed by an "ex"-Kluxman and Nazi. But black people rightly fear that the rise of David Duke will mean an increase in racist attacks, from further cutbacks in welfare to KKK terror. Indeed, on the eve of the election the home of a black parish coordinator for Edwards, Johnny Cox, was burned down; a charred cross was found in the front yard.

Duke crowed that even though he lost this election, "the message goes out loud and clear across the country." Both

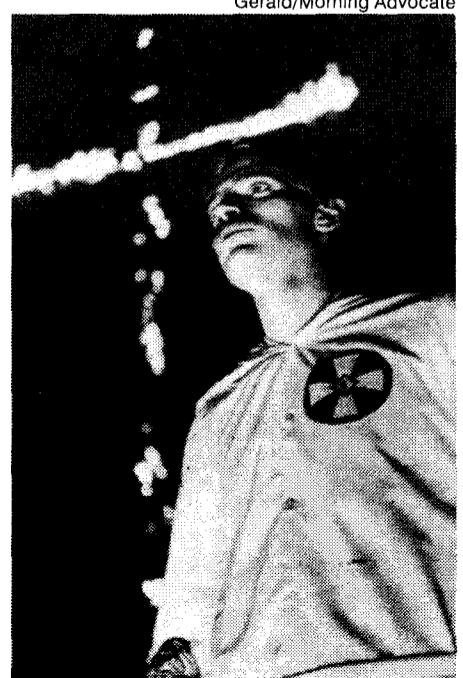
during the campaign and after, he has appeared on virtually every major national TV talk show, from *Good Morning America* to *Nightline*. The candidacy of KKKer Duke represents another step in the backlash against even paying lip service to racial equality, as covert racism is increasingly replaced by the overt variety that is historically the norm in America. A *New York Times* (18 November) editorial stated the obvious, that "Duke's rapid rise in politics makes clear that racism has a large constituency."

This is by no means limited to Louisiana or the South. Duke would be a force in New York's Howard Beach or the Chicago suburb of Cicero. Almost half his campaign funds came from out of state. And in Dubuque, Iowa, black families have been victimized by cross-burnings and racist epithets by fascist punks affiliated with the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," which was founded by Duke a decade ago.

continued on page 3



Young Spartacus



Gerald/Morning Advocate

Taking off his sheets doesn't change Klansman David Duke's fascist program. 1,500 demonstrated against the KKK führer last March in Boston.

Unemployment Up, Bush's Ratings Down

It's Libya-Bashing Time Again

As George Bush's standing in the opinion polls continued to drop this fall with the U.S. economy in the doldrums, we've been wondering what foreign bogeyman he would go after to make up for his vulnerability on the domestic front. Noriega's on trial in Miami, so that leaves him out. Air strikes against Iraqi "nuclear sites"? Thinkable, but it could stir up the Near East hornet's nest right when Washington was pushing its "peace" talks. Cuba is already targeted, and the North Korea "A-bomb threat" is just getting going. But that's serious business for later.

That left the old standby, Libya's Qaddafi, considered the no-risk target of choice. So after a three-year "investigation" into the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 270 people in December 1988, the U.S. suddenly indicted two alleged "Libyan intelligence agents." White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater issued the usual script about "Libyan-inspired terrorism" which typically precedes a bombing run on Tripoli. Asked about military action, Ole Fizzwater refused to "rule out any options."

For a while the media big guns will soften up the target, Pat Buchanan will accuse Bush of being a wimp. And then, probably at prime-time dinner hour when the family is gathered in front of the TV and after Dad and/or Mom cashed their first unemployment benefits extension

check, the imperial president will flash on the screen to announce that fighter planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier on "routine exercises" in the Med had "struck back" in "retaliation" after coming "under attack."

The Democrats will snap to attention for their commander in chief, Americans will briefly glow with renewed "pride" as they did in the Gulf War even as their

stomachs growl, and Bush's ratings will shoot back up in the polls. The Romans used to call it "bread and circuses," to keep the plebes quiet. But in capitalist America today, millions of jobless and homeless and hundreds of thousands thrown off the welfare rolls could be asking, "Where's the bread?"

The Pan Am bombing has always had mystery surrounding it, first of all



Rubble from U.S. terror bombing of Libya in 1986 in failed attempt to murder Qaddafi.

because no one with credibility claimed responsibility for it. U.S. Congressman James Traficant claimed the bomb "was placed on board with the connivance of CIA agents who believed it contained heroin" (*London Guardian*, 4 November 1989) as part of a complicated plot involving Syria and U.S. hostages in Lebanon. The *London Guardian* (23 December 1988) among others has also suggested that "the remaining candidate for the atrocity from the Middle East could, the PLO fear, be Mossad," the Israeli intelligence agency, seeking to discredit Palestinians.

Given the tangle of intrigue, it's possible to find a "link" to whomever the imperialists want to "get" this month. This time, even the lickspittle purveyors of administration disinformation at the *New York Times* (15 November) felt compelled to note that "For more than a year investigators had pursued a theory that the bombing was ordered by Iran and carried out by a Syrian-based terrorist group." But now that those two countries are being courted for Bush's "New World Order," a "timing device" was discovered that supposedly linked it to Libya even though it was made by a Swiss company.

Many of the relatives of those who died on Pan Am Flight 103 aren't buying. Bonnie O'Conner of Long Island, whose brother was killed, said angrily: "Indicting Libyans is only a convenience for George Bush's Mideast peace policy. Does George Bush take us for fools?" (*London Independent*, 15 November). But the bourgeois politicians, Republican and Democrat alike, indeed take the electorate for fools, and the prospect is that more innocent Libyan civilians will tragically pay with their lives in order to boost Bush's electoral chances in 1992. ■



Fascism and Capitalist Decay

The striking showing of Klan leader David Duke in the Louisiana elections comes after a decade of unrelenting attacks on the labor movement, blacks and other oppressed minorities across America. Fascism is a product of capitalist decay, as racist demagogues exploit the growing economic desperation of the middle classes. Writing in the early 1950s, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon maintained that only a revolutionary-led workers movement can defeat fascism once and for all.

American capitalism is not in love with democracy. It's no principle of American capitalism that we must maintain all the democratic forms—free speech, free press, free rights to organize, and all the rest. The only principle the American capitalists have is the exploitation of labor, the extraction of profits, and the enrichment of themselves at the expense of the workers. That's their principle. If they can do it in any easy and smooth and quiet-and-peaceful way under political democracy, OK. That's the cheapest way. But when that doesn't work any longer, our wonderful, democratic capitalists will turn, with the savage fury of the German and Italian capitalists, to the bloody violence of fascism. They will finance and equip a fascist movement, and check it straight up to the labor movement: "What are you going to do about it? There are going to be no more debates with you, it's going to be fight."

It will be a fight to a finish, and it will be fought on all fronts, from election campaigns to strikes and fights with fascist gangsters in the streets.... The irrepressible conflict will lead inexorably to a showdown in the United States of America, which will bear the name: The Struggle for Power.

—James P. Cannon, *America's Road to Socialism* (1953)



LENIN

—Heroic Soviet Spies—

Honor Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi

TOKYO—A memorial was held in Tokyo to honor Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi, who were arrested 50 years ago for spying for the Soviet Union. They were deliberately executed by the Japanese imperial government on 7 November 1944, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

This year's commemoration, attended by some 500 people, was organized by the Ozaki family and attracted older veteran radicals as well as youth. Representatives of the Spartacist Group Japan came to honor the memory of these heroic fighters and martyrs for international communism.

Among those present was Hanako Ishii, who befriended and cared for Sorge in the last period before his arrest. She herself was persecuted by the Japanese authorities, not only because her lover was a spy for the Soviet Union and a Communist but also because he was a foreigner. After the war she arranged to move his body from the prison cemetery to Tama Cemetery.

In 1941 Sorge, Ozaki and their com-

rades warned the Soviet government in detail of the impending Nazi German attack. Yet Stalin deliberately disregarded this and similar warnings from other sources, desperately clinging to his non-aggression pact with Hitler.

As a by-product of glasnost, Soviet sources are now revealing the truth about this period. For example, an article in *Soviet Life* (June 1991) reports that the "superstar of Soviet military intelligence, Richard Sorge, radioed from Tokyo the strategic, operational and tactical plans of the German command" three weeks before Hitler's Operation Barbarossa was launched.

In Japan Ozaki and Sorge are the personification of communist idealism in the defense of the Soviet Union. In 1986 representatives of our international tendency and the founders of the Spartacist Group Japan placed a wreath on the graves with the inscription, in Japanese and English: "In honor of Richard Sorge, hero of the Soviet Union, and Ozaki Hotsumi, who died fighting for the cause of the international proletariat." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg

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

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

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

No. 539

22 November 1991



Photos: Ozaki Hotsumi
Richard Sorge at Hakone, Japan in 1938; Ozaki Hotsumi and his daughter in Shanghai, 1932.



WORKERS VANGUARD

Fascist Duke...

(continued from page 1)

David Duke is not a "former" or "ex" Klansman/Nazi. In the 1960s he was known as the Nazi of Louisiana State University, and in the '70s he was a "grand wizard" in the Klan. Media-hip Duke took off his robes for a three-piece suit, but this in no way changed his fascist politics. When in 1986 Duke visited the Nazis' Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, he said: "This wasn't really a gas chamber, it was just to de-louse people!" Until two years ago, he was selling the Nazi tract "Did Six Million Really Die?" out of his "legislative" office.

But many of the fascists' intended victims clearly saw through the media cloud around Duke. Black Louisianian Albert Joseph remarked: "It is easy for white people to forgive David Duke for being in the...Klan, they were never hung from trees. We cannot forget or forgive.... But it is not just blacks who will suffer. Remember he was a Nazi." In New Orleans Jewish survivors of Nazi Germany were reminded of Hitler's early days by the sea of "mesmerized" white faces at frenzied rallies.

Just as Hitler's rise to power in Germany was fueled by the Great Depression which ravaged the capitalist world in the early 1930s, so Duke's rise to prominence is linked to the depressed state of American capitalism. And no state in the U.S. is as depressed as Louisiana, whose economy was devastated by the collapse of the oil boom a decade ago. In the early '80s oil accounted for 40 percent of the state's revenues; today it is down to 15 percent. Louisiana ranks 49th in per capita income with the largest gap between rich and poor. Life for many black people is pervasive crushing poverty akin to the Caribbean.

The majority of whites are also hurting. Here is the root source of Duke's appeal as he uses blacks as scapegoats for American capitalism's decay. "Welfare parasites should have all the illegitimate children they want," he tells frenzied crowds of supporters. "I just don't think you should have to pay for them." In the absence of a working-class socialist opposition, Duke's racist demagogic finds a ready constituency. He did best among white families earning between \$15,000 and \$30,000, while only a third

Boston, March 28:
Partisan Defense Committee initiated united front that mobilized youth and labor in militant, integrated anti-Duke protest. Down with twin parties of racist American capitalism!

of white families earning more than \$75,000 voted for him.

Edwards' campaign appeal to whites was pitched to yuppies with the message that Duke is "bad for business." Investors would shun the state, and Louisiana would become an international pariah "redlined" or "X-rated." One Edwards ad depicted a neighboring Texan gleeful at the economic benefits to his state if Duke won. New Orleans was warned it could lose the Super Bowl and numerous conventions.

In its own way, the Democrat Edwards' campaign reinforced Duke's demagogic claim to speak for the white "little man" whose interests are disregarded by the ruling political establishment. Edwards' advisers insisted that Duke supporters were "immovable." Supposedly nothing could convince them to abandon the racist demagogue. Certainly, Edwards has nothing to offer them except to continue things as they are, which are intolerable.

Only integrated working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation can cut through the racist false consciousness of Duke's present supporters, isolating and smashing the hard core of fascists. Unionization of the "open shop" South would impel white and black workers to fight together against scabherding cracker sheriffs, company goons and Klansmen. While Duke & Co. aim

to victimize black women on welfare, a workers party would go after the ruling-class criminals, both Republicans and Democrats, who have swindled hundreds of billions of taxpayers' dollars: the S&L con artists, Wall Street operators and Pentagon arms contractors.

But the only "alternative" to Duke that various liberals and leftists had to offer was veiled calls for votes to the Democrats. A Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism advertisement in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* made an implicit pitch for Edwards' "good ole boy politics" as opposed to Duke's genocide. A Workers World leaflet called for "people to stop Duke at the polls," while adding that "Duke and fascists like him cannot be stopped by elections." The ex-Maoists of the Revolutionary Political Organization, via their African American Liberation League, were part of a "Get Out the Vote Coalition," a bloc of black elected officials, the NAACP and the Urban League which explicitly backed Edwards.

The main obstacle to the kind of working-class struggle that can defeat Duke is the sellout labor bureaucracy and its ties to the politically bankrupt Democratic Party. While the Democrats are now trying to use Duke's membership in the GOP to embarrass the Republicans, in point of fact, in the past Duke (as well as fellow Klansman Tom Metzger) ran as Democrats. Moreover, one of Edwards' main cronies is Jefferson Parish sheriff Harry Lee, the Chinese "good ole boy" who a few years back ordered his deputies to stop and interrogate blacks who entered the heavily white parish. And nationally the Democrats are trying to slough off their "image" as a party of black rights, women's rights, labor and other "special interests."

The Democrats are no friends of labor, women or blacks, but the phony "lesser evil" party of American capitalism. The Republicans worry that Duke may make it harder for Bush to run for re-election on the program of "crime, quotas and Kuwait." Yet both the capitalist parties are running on "respectable" versions of this racist platform, and have been for years. This has been accompanied by the rise of racist attacks on the streets, from anti-busing mobs to cop terror. The Spartacist League has taken the lead in mobilizing labor/black defense against KKK/Nazi provocations, including against appearances by "Klan in a Suit" Duke.

To put a stop to Duke and his ilk requires the building of a revolutionary workers party which would mobilize the social power of labor in the interests of the black poor and all the oppressed and exploited in a struggle against increasingly vicious, decaying American capitalism. ■



Partisan Defense Committee Benefits Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners Come to a Fundraising Party!



"All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class. The greater the cause has been, and the deeper it has been rooted in the needs and sufferings of the masses, the more it has been menaced by the tortures of prison cells."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison," September 1926

We must not forget the class-war prisoners of today—those in prison for standing up to racist capitalist oppression—whose freedom is in the interests of the working class and all the oppressed. In 1986, the Partisan Defense Committee revived an International Labor Defense tradition of sending

Music • Dancing • Food

Saturday, Dec. 7, 10 p.m.

Please call for information:
(404) 659-0251

ATLANTA

Sunday, Dec. 8, 1-4 p.m.

The Firehouse, Fort Mason Ctr.
Marina at Laguna
For information: (510) 839-0852

SAN FRANCISCO

Tickets: \$5 advance, \$8 at door, \$10 contributing

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

Sunday, Dec. 8, 5-10 p.m.

179 Varick St.
For information: (212) 406-4252

NEW YORK

Sunday, Dec. 8, 3-7 p.m.

UE Hall
37 S. Ashland Ave.
For information: (312) 663-0719

CHICAGO

monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and extra gifts for them and their families during the holidays. This year is our sixth holiday appeal to raise funds for the stipend program. We now send stipends to 19 prisoners—former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, Ramona Africa and 12 other members and supporters of MOVE, Panther supporters Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), prison activist Hugo Pinell and Irish Republican Socialist Party supporter Eddie McClelland. Support to these prisoners is not an act of charity but of solidarity by those on the outside with those inside prison walls.

Add your support to the class-war prisoners. Their fight is our fight.

"The Samson Option" and Mordechai Vanunu

After trying out and discarding numerous "reasons" for the U.S.' mass slaughter in Iraq last year, George Bush's speech writers finally hit upon the bogeyman of "madman" Hussein armed with nuclear weapons. Of course, this was a brazen lie—Iraq was years away from nuclear capability. That is in fact what the "UN investigation" last summer showed—despite all the manufactured crisis atmosphere, with U.S.-controlled "investigators" swiping Iraqi personnel files—though it hasn't stopped Bush from using this as an excuse to threaten renewed military action against Baghdad and to continue to starve the Iraqi people.

But there is a gang of certifiable madmen in the Middle East today who are armed with hundreds of nukes: ballistic missile warheads, weapons systems for long-distance fighters, tactical nuclear weapons, neutron bombs, nuclear land mines, miniaturized warheads small enough to fit in a suitcase, and more! It has been known for years that the war-crazed Zionist rulers of Israel had the bomb. This was confirmed in great detail five years ago by courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, who also for the first time revealed the extent of the Zionist nuclear arsenal: at least 200 warheads. For this service to humanity, Vanunu is being held incomunicado in an Israeli prison, sentenced to 18 years for "treason."

A new book, *The Samson Option*—which is not the latest spy thriller from Robert Ludlum, but a history of Israel's nuclear stockpile—has been receiving a lot of attention. The title is a term coined by the author, *New York Times* man Seymour Hersh, to describe the mindset of this group of lunatics hell-bent on their expansionist project of a Greater Israel, who, if they don't get their way, are prepared to blow up the world. It is a reference to the story of the biblical strong man Samson, who lost his hair—and his strength—after screwing around with the *shiksa* Delilah, was captured and blinded by the Philistines, and chained to the pillars of a temple. After praying for one last burst of strength, Samson pulled apart the pillars, collapsing the temple on top of himself and crushing his enemies in the process. Get it?

As right-wing Zionist Norman Podhoretz put it in a 1976 essay (quoted by Hersh), "It used to be said that the Israelis had a Masada complex...but if the Israelis are to be understood in terms of a 'complex' involving suicide rather than surrender and rooted in a relevant precedent of Jewish history, the example of Samson, whose suicide brought about the destruction of his enemies, would be



Vanunu's bombshell in 5 October 1986 London Sunday Times revealed extent of Israeli nuclear arsenal. The courageous nuclear technician flashed message to reporters from police van of his abduction by the Mossad.

more appropriate than Masada, where in committing suicide the Zealots killed only themselves and took no Romans with them." Sort of reminds you of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods), so beloved of Hitler...and familiar to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, whose fascist-terrorist Stern Gang appealed to the Nazi leader in the middle of the Holocaust to get the Third Reich franchise for a "Jewish state" in Palestine in exchange for a "judenrein" Europe!

Target: Moscow

The "bombshell" of Hersh's book is underlined in the final paragraph of his first chapter—the target of the Israeli nuclear arsenal was the Soviet Union:

"Indeed, there were not many, even in the American intelligence community, who understood in 1981 why Israel had collected satellite imagery of the Soviet Union and why Sharon was so insistent on continued access to that intelligence: Israel was itself a nuclear power that was targeting the Soviet Union with its warheads and missiles."

Well, actually, in a 1981 article headlined "Israeli Nuclear Terrorists," we wrote, "Israel has never signed the U.S.-backed Non-Proliferation Treaty—they've got the bomb; they're not going to give it up and certainly are not about to allow international observers to go snooping in the Negev." We added, "the Zionist rulers are not only willing to destroy their own people in a nuclear Masada, but to spark a global holocaust as well" (WV No. 283, 19 June 1981).

And in 1986, following the Vanunu revelations, we headlined our article "What Are They Doing with 200 A-Bombs? Zionist Madmen Target Russia" (WV No. 416, 21 November 1986). Noting that "A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play," we asked: "What's going on here?" And we answered:

"But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: Russia. Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets?"

(They're already in league with the White House in secretly supplying the Iranian ayatollahs with American arms.) Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III."

Hersh notes that Israel not only has the bombs, but also the capacity to deliver them. Back in 1986, we checked out what information was available about Israeli delivery systems, and published a map showing that the Lavi fighter-bomber could reach Moscow.

So "Vanunu knew," as the British *Economist* commented on Hersh's book, but you read it first in *Workers Vanguard*. And we don't just report Vanunu's spectacular revelations, we defend him. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have waged an international campaign calling for Vanunu's freedom. All of humanity owes a debt of gratitude to this heroic man!

"Cap'n Bob"—Dead in the Water

The Samson Option confirms in every respect the information about Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear reactor and plutonium reprocessing center (known as "the Tunnel") revealed by Mordechai Vanunu. Born a Moroccan Jew, he worked at Dimona from 1977 to 1985, and risked his life to expose the danger of the Israeli nuclear time bomb. His story was printed in the London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986), in which he detailed the workings of "the Tunnel," whose two innocuous floors above ground serve to hide a six-level concrete underground bunker. He also gave the *Sunday Times* more than 50 photographs, several of which show full-sized models of Israeli nuclear weapons.

Hersh's book also details how the Mossad—the Israeli CIA—was tipped off to Vanunu's whereabouts in London by none other than the late Robert Maxwell—owner of the *New York Daily News*, capitalist darling of the British Labour Party and publisher of the London tabloid *Daily Mirror*—and by the *Mirror*'s foreign editor Nicholas Davies. (*The Mirror* is a red baiting rag which served as right-wing Labour leader Neil Kinnock's hatchet men in smearing the British coal miners during their year-long strike in 1984-85.) The *Mirror* denounced Vanunu's revelations as "a hoax, or even something more sinister—a plot to discredit Israel." Hersh reveals Maxwell and Davies' close ties to the Israeli Mossad, as well as Davies' not-so-secret life as an international arms dealer. With the help of these scum, the Mossad lured Vanunu to Rome only days after his interview, then drugged him and spirited him back to Israel.

The publication of *The Samson Option* in Britain caused a sensation. After Hersh's accusations against Maxwell and Davies were raised in the House of Commons, these two Mossad finks filed libel actions against Hersh, denying all. With the exception of the iconoclastic *Private Eye*, which regularly lampoons the despicable "Cap'n Bob" Maxwell, the British press was loath to publish any of the arms-dealing allegations, while the *Mirror* (24 October) ran a hysterical denial under the headline "Forgery...the document used to smear our man." Four days later, the *Daily Mirror* announced that Davies had been fired.

Meanwhile, Maxwell sought an injunction to stop distribution of the book (too late—it had already sold out),

continued on page 7



—21 November 1986

WORKERS VANGUARD

What Are They Doing with 200 A-Bombs? Zionist Madmen Target Russia



Five years before Seymour Hersh's selective exposé, Spartacist League revealed Zionists' primary target—the Soviet Union.

Fourth Reich Guards Nazi Provocation

100,000 in Anti-Fascist Vigils on Kristallnacht Anniversary

November 9 is the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and of the grisly 1938 *Kristallnacht*, the night when the Nazis staged their first state pogrom against the Jewish population, the point at which the Third Reich unleashed their drive to the Holocaust. Today, after the capitalist reunification of Germany, resurgent Nazis want to turn this day into a show of anti-communist nationalist terror. And to carry out their blood-thirsty provocation, the fascists could count on the protection of the police forces of the Fourth Reich, while the parliamentary parties prepared the way by launching a racist campaign against "foreigners."

Over the past year, attacks on foreigners have escalated, from 26 reported last January to over 900 in October. A number of these assaults have been fatal.

shouting "Sieg Heil!" It was the urgent duty of the workers movement, and anyone who seriously means it when they say "never again fascism," to stop this monstrous provocation. Outraged workers from throughout the region responded positively to the proposal of the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), linked to the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), for a union-organized mass mobilization to stop the Nazis at the very place they wanted to start their provocation.

After a consultation with several unions, on November 7 the KfsV proposal was taken up by the DGB trade-union federation in Halle, which called for a demonstration right next to the Nazis' announced assembly point. The anti-fascist demo was announced in a DGB press release and publicized by the



Financial Times

400 Nazis, screaming threats against foreign-born workers, march with police protection in Halle, Germany.

Fourth Reich of German imperialism. The Spartakists warned that capitalist reunification would bring mass unemployment, poverty, racist persecution of foreigners and Jews, anti-Communist witchhunting, oppression of women and a wave of fascist terror. The Nazis have been recruiting out of the mass unem-

consequences of reunification, the SPD/DGB social democrats also have knifed countermobilization by the opponents of the Nazis. The Spartakists fought to make a workers' anti-fascist mobilization a reality, distributing thousands of leaflets calling to "Stop the Nazis, Now!" at big plants in the area. And in spite of the treacherous demobilization by the union misleaders, on the anniversary of the Nazi *Kristallnacht* pogrom a hundred trade unionists, students and leftists marched in a contingent with the KfsV and SpAD against the fascist provocation.

In the 1930s, Trotsky called repeatedly for a workers united front to stop the Nazi march to power, but this was sabotaged both by the Social Democrats and Stalinists. As Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program: "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." Today the capitalists don't need the fascists, but they hold them in reserve for hard times.

In a leaflet to workers in the Halle region, the Spartakist Workers Party drew the lessons of November 9, explaining the treachery of the SPD/DGB and pointing to the need for a revolutionary party that joins the struggle against the Nazis to the struggle against the capitalists' massive attacks on their livelihoods; that fights for full citizenship rights for immigrants, for jobs for all at no loss in pay, and for a transitional program leading from the present demands and partial struggles of the workers and oppressed to the necessary working-class fight for power. ■



They reached a crescendo with a week-long pogrom against hostels for immigrant workers and asylum seekers in the mining town of Hoyerswerda, near the Polish border, in late September. The police responded by removing the foreigners and repressing leftists protesting against the racist assault. This only further encouraged the violent rightist skinheads and Nazis, who announced a national mobilization to "celebrate" *Kristallnacht* in the East German industrial city of Halle.

Many Germans were horrified by this hideous spectacle, and to dispel the image of the "ugly German," more than 100,000 people demonstrated on the 9th, from Munich to Berlin, waving balloons and calling for solidarity with the fascists' victims. Yet these vigils were organized by the racist popular front which had prepared the ground for the fascists: the Christian Democrats (CDU) calling to revise the constitutional right to asylum, Social Democrats (SPD) calling for "collection" camps, Greens calling for "quotas" of immigrants, and the PDS (successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the East German deformed workers state) calling for more cops.

On the same day, a Mozambican worker in Weimar was critically injured by Nazi gunfire, and 400 Nazi thugs marched through the streets of Halle

radio and newspapers. Metal and rail unionists took a strong stand for this urgently needed step. There was the possibility of a genuine, powerful workers united front which could stop Nazi terror. And it was just this spectre of the organized power of the working class which caused the DGB bureaucrats and the SPD tops to recoil in horror and demobilize their members. Thus they in fact made the Nazi mobilization possible.

At all costs, said the union misleaders, a clash with the fascists must be avoided, throwing up as a smokescreen that they feared a "takeover by left-sectarian parties or groups." And so, instead of organized union contingents, only 2,000-3,000 people came out instead to a popular-front march to the Halle Market, some distance from the Nazis' assembly point, where they stood around helpless as the fascists strutted through the streets under police protection. More than 1,600 police were mobilized along with several units of the federal border police riot cops, who put up roadblocks and militarily occupied the town, sealing off the marketplace. That evening as more Nazis arrived in town there were clashes with leftists, who were bottled up by the cops, and more than 200 arrests.

What happened in Halle was the logical consequence of the capitalist annexation of East Germany (DDR) by the

employment, appealing to lumpenized youth. Our comrades also warned that the SPD was acting as the Trojan horse of *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR by the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz.

Today, just as they throttle any workers' resistance against the devastating

Rivera...

(continued from page 16)

the killers of his close friend, and about the kind of man Rivera was:

"In the past two weeks, I've listened to the defense witnesses and statements from the accused of the total violence committed against Julio Rivera. The sheer hatred demonstrated here is more than a normal member of society is expected to hear. Julio was a kind, sweet, reasonable and generous man. He had an artistic bent which included abstract watercolor, acrylic and oil painting. He also enjoyed music and theater."

Rafael Ruiz-Ayala, of the Latino Gay Men of New York City, says that one thing the Rivera case has done is "put a brown face to gayness in the city of New York. This has created a new awareness."

The murder of Julio Rivera has underlined the enormous increase in gay-bashing in the city in recent years. Matt Foreman, executive director of the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-

Violence Project, reported that there have been 869 crimes against gays reported to the group so far this year, and 425 last year (*Newsday*, 6 November).

The murder comes in the context of mounting racist violence and bigotry in New York City, from the Bensonhurst lynch mob killers of Yusuf Hawkins to the stabbing death of Hasidic Jewish scholar Yankel Rosenbaum this fall. And the lynch mob punks take their cue from the men in blue: Federico Pereira, Mary Mitchell, David Cotto, Michael Stewart, Tomás Vizueta, Maximino Cintrón—these are only a few of the victims of the killer cops.

There is a crying need in New York for mobilization of labor/black/Hispanic defense in the face of the murderous racists and bigots. A revolutionary workers party must champion the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution, which will sweep away the hired state killers and their fascist fringe on the streets. ■

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"

Columbia Clerical Workers Strike Scuttled

Amid widespread anger among union members, a strike of clericals organized by District 65 of the United Auto Workers at Columbia University was deep-sixed by the union bureaucrats only days after it began. About 300-350 strikers packed the November 18 union meeting where, disgruntled workers later said, they were subjected to three hours of "brainwashing" by the bureaucrats which finally led to a vote to work without a contract until January. "They're not the union, we're the union," said one clerical leaving the meeting. Another said: "The members want to stay on strike, the negotiating committee wants to go back to work."

The predominantly female, mostly minority 1,100-member local staged two one-day strikes after their contract expired on October 10. They went out again on Thursday, November 14, when the university, sitting pretty on a \$1.5 billion endowment, offered a paltry 3.7 percent pay increase and demanded give-backs in health care benefits. At a spirited noontime strike rally that day, Local 1199 workers and District 65ers raised the chant "On strike, shut it down!" On Friday, 1199 walked off the job in solidarity with the strike. Professors supporting the strike also moved 400 classes off campus, to Barnard and to West End bars and churches.

Columbia is a chief think tank for the U.S. ruling class, a training ground for the bourgeoisie's future war criminals and strikebreakers, and a notorious racist slumlord, routinely evicting black and Hispanic tenants in Morningside Heights. The same class and race prejudices permeate Columbia's relations with its employees—the average salary



Young Spartacus
Spartacus Youth Club joins 500-strong picket line of striking Columbia clerical workers, November 14.

of minority workers in District 65 is \$1,100 lower than their white coworkers, even though minority workers average more seniority!

The union is seeking greater equity in pay and benefits with other campus workers organized by Local 1199 and TWU Local 241. District 65 also demands guarantees on job reclassification and seniority rights to protect workers from racist discrimination in promotions, layoffs and pay.

Columbia waged a decades-long dirty

war against union organizing drives and now wants to break the wage pattern established by the unions. To defend the interests of the entire workforce at Columbia, there ought to be *one campuswide union*, including lower-level faculty, to break the pattern of setting one sector of the workforce against another with separate contracts and pay scales. Campus cops—whose job is to protect Columbia's property, harass the surrounding Harlem community, police student protest and escort scabs through the

pickets—should be booted out of TWU Local 241.

Unlike past years where at least a core of students took a side with labor and walked picket lines at Columbia, there has been virtually zero student participation at District 65's rallies and on their lines. In part this reflects the class prejudice of Columbia's well-heeled student population who seek to be the future capitalist managers and bosses, and partly it's due to the fact that the union leaders have only sporadically set up picket lines, and even then have let the scabs go through.

Spartacus Youth Club members were well received for our help in manning the picket lines. At rallies SYCers chanted "Victory to 65!" "Shut down Columbia!" and "Picket lines mean don't cross!" SYCers pointed out that students and faculty should, instead of moving their classes away from picket lines, *cancel* classes and walk the lines. After a sharp fight waged by the SYC at a strike support committee meeting on November 6 to win students to honor the lines, the committee issued a leaflet saying "Picket lines: DON'T CROSS—JOIN THEM!"

In opposition, fake "leftists" like the International Socialist Organization and Solidarity actually *defended students' crossing of picket lines!* These scabby socialists cross the class line internationally, cheering Yeltsin's drive to restore capitalism in the USSR, and cross workers' picket lines at home (of course with strike support buttons gleaming).

The SYC fights to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution, and seeks to win students and youth to the struggle for workers revolution here. Join us! ■

Run-In with Farrakhanites in Louisiana

14 November 1991

To the editor:

The ominous rise of David ("Klan in a Suit") Duke to national prominence sends a sharp warning to all his intended victims. Nowhere should this be clearer than in Duke's backyard in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where my comrade and I recently visited Southern University as part of the *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. Our visit began promisingly with a steady stream of students stopping at our literature table. We soon ran into trouble, however, with followers of Louis Farrakhan.

A Farrakhan supporter bought a collection of WV articles which exposed this sinister minister as bad news for black people [see "The Sinister Farrakhan," *Workers Vanguard* No. 355, 25 May 1984]. He left quietly but came back an hour later with reinforcements to stage a bigoted provocation and to threaten physical violence. Just days earlier across town at LSU, Louisiana's would-be Führer David Duke held a campaign rally to steamroll his racist drive to the

governor's mansion. Yet even in the face of this deadly menace, Farrakhan supporters had a very different idea of the real enemy. At Southern they mobilized to fight two communists—myself (an Indian immigrant) and a black woman comrade!

Seven Farrakhanites surrounded us, hollering that "socialism never did anything for black people" and pushing faith in the capitalist system with arguments to "serve the community by building black businesses," which is nothing but a scheme for a few black hustlers to make a buck for themselves by exploiting black workers and the ghetto masses. We counterposed the strategy of black workers leading the whole class *against* this capitalist system which is based on systematic racial oppression.

With Malcolm X gear the height of fashion with black youth, the nationalists are trying hard to cash in on a big lie of identifying Farrakhan with Malcolm. And they really went nuts when we pointed out that Farrakhan set the stage for the murder of Malcolm X by repeatedly calling for the death of this

militant fighter for black rights. (See Farrakhan's death threat against Malcolm in *Mohammed Speaks*, 4 December 1964.)

I was told to "get back on the boat," that I could have "nothing to say to black people," while another threatened, "I'm gonna knock your head off." When my comrade stepped to my defense, any pretense to "respect the black woman" fell away as they screamed at her to "shut up" and called her a "traitor" for "taking sides against the black man."

There is a logic to the nationalists' passivity toward Duke and aggression against communists. Farrakhan shares the Klan's program for the total segregation of America—California Kluxer Tom Metzger applauded a talk by Farrakhan there. The rabid anti-Semite Farrakhan hails the ultimate genocidal racist Adolf Hitler as "a great man," but the Hitlerites seek to exterminate every black person along with every Jew!

The hearing black nationalism is getting today is a symptom of the despair

of a whole layer of black youth who have never seen successful social struggle. This pessimism has grown in direct proportion to the rise of Duke and his ilk out of the cesspool of the last decade and a half of social reaction and government rollback of rights won through hard struggle. The Farrakhanites turn justified anger into a program of retreat, pushing the deadly fantasy that black liberation requires segregation, "black capitalism," and poisonous bigotry against Koreans, Jews and other minorities.

Against the do-nothing pessimists who aid the bosses' game of divide and rule, we have pointed the way forward and chalked up some real victories by building mass, integrated, labor-centered mobilizations that have stopped the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis in cities around the country. These actions electrified the youth and working people and set an example that *class struggle* is the road to black freedom. *Black liberation through socialist revolution!*

Comradely,
Mohan Nair

Scab "Socialists" Boycott Union Label

This fall, a young East German comrade of the International Communist League was visiting Chicago where he could see American capitalism up close. He also studied the press of various self-proclaimed socialist organizations in the U.S., and wrote to different groups asking why they had no union label. Why would an organization which claims to fight for the working class print their newspaper in a non-union shop? Using union labor ought to be, and used to be, ABC for any professed socialist.

The responses (or lack thereof) revealed a lot about the principles and politics of the U.S. "left." Of a dozen different groups that our comrade contacted, only three answered why they used a non-union printer. Of the rest, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and the Socialist Workers Party sent form letters extolling their papers while ignoring the comrade's question. The Workers League, the Marxist-Leninist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, among others, didn't respond (no surprise in the case of the WL, which raked in millions of petrodollars from bourgeois Arab regimes to fund their Potemkin-village "daily newspaper").

We print below excerpts from the letters of Spark, Progressive Labor Party and the Marxist International Movement "explaining" why they use non-union labor.

Spark begins by referring to the fine print in their "who we are" box—about the only place you'll ever find the word "socialism" in this paper. And they certainly have nothing to do with the Russian Revolution. These super workerists, for whom the pinnacle of class struggle is the fight for better vending machines in factory lunchrooms, will junk union labor at the drop of a dime. But if some labor faker is selling out a strike with appeals for an impotent consumer boycott, *Spark* "supports" this diversion

from the battle to *shut down production*.

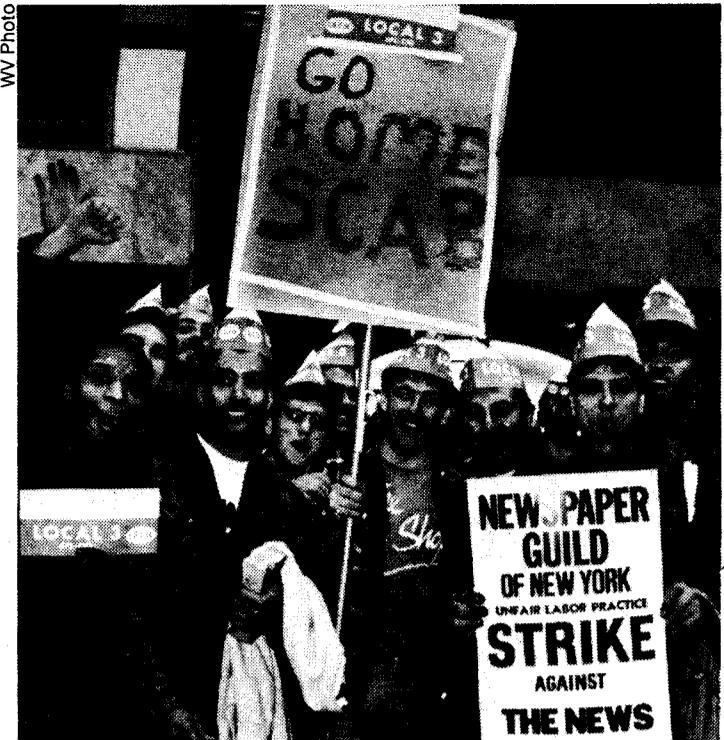
The Maoist International Movement and Progressive Labor Party simply wash their hands of the labor movement—since unions are led by sellouts they must be hopelessly reactionary. But what MIM and PL reveal is their own incapacity to politically *fight* the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, as well as a deep, anti-Marxist pessimism about the possibilities for class struggle in the United States.

In the imperialist epoch, the age of decaying capitalism, successful "business unionism" or reformism is impossible. The labor bureaucrats from the AFL-CIO's Kirkland to the miserable UAW Solidarity House gang who sit on company boards of directors serve as the "labor lieutenants of capital." They line up workers for imperialist slaughter, as in the Persian Gulf, and strangle key strikes at home like the PATCO air controllers and Hormel meatpackers.

PL's talk of organizing drives by its INCAR front is eyewash—when they treat the unions as a "joke" and talk of "fascist union misleadership," what's meant is they don't defend the only mass organizations of the working class against the bosses. These "communists" often can't tell the difference between David Duke and a sellout bureaucrat—no wonder they've called the Soviet Union capitalist for decades.

MIM simply writes off the entire labor movement as a white labor aristocracy, natural allies of imperialism. Not only do they equate white workers with the imperialist-bribed labor bureaucracy, the MIM is willfully blind to the fact that blacks and Hispanics are represented in disproportionately high numbers in unions in this country; in fact they are the backbone of countless unions and strike struggles—precisely because they're under the heaviest attack by the racist bosses.

Scab
"socialists"
should have
tried out their
arguments
against the
union print shop
on Daily News
strike pickets
last winter.



The Spartacist tendency has always printed in union shops as an expression of our commitment to forging a revolutionary party of the working class, whose gains we defend, from the trade unions to the Soviet Union, despite and against the sellout leaders who undermine them and the fake-lefts who spit on them.

Yes, Virginia, union shops are more expensive. And there's a reason why.

* * *

Challenge, Progressive Labor Party

"We no longer print the paper at a union shop because the shop that used to print our material, which was union, closed as a union shop. And as is the case all over, the right-wing nature of the union leadership makes the union movement a cruel joke."

"We are not opposed to unions—in fact, INCAR has several union organizing drives on at this moment. The traditional right lead [sic] unions deserve no allegiance."

Spark

"As you can tell from the box on page 2, we are a revolutionary communist organization.... Obviously we don't

think socialism or communism are dead, since neither socialism or communism were established in the Soviet Union.

"The reason we don't have a union bug is where it is printed there is no union shop nearby that can print it at a price we can afford. We don't think individual boycotts, say of non-union companies, provide a solution for workers. During a real struggle, say the Chicago Tribune strike here, or the New York Daily News, we of course support the boycott as a part of the struggle."

MIM Notes, Maoist International Movement

"To address your question about the labor movement and the union label. MIM does not support the labor movement in the United States because it believes that the white working class in this country primarily constitutes a labor aristocracy (as was first defined by Lenin).

"Their economic position is such that they do not have an interest in seeing changes made to the Amerikan imperialist system beyond those reforms that afford them a higher salary [sic]. This is demonstrated through study of their material status and the history of the labor movement." ■

The Samson Option...

(continued from page 4)

and the Labour Party called on Maxwell to "appoint an independent tribunal" to investigate himself! Yet on November 5, Maxwell's naked body was found floating in the ocean off the Canary Islands. His family says it's murder—and the Mossad's not talking. But they gave him a "hero's funeral" in Jerusalem. Meanwhile, Hersh promises to reveal more about the press baron's murky past.

Nuclear Nuts in Tel Aviv... and Washington

Hersh's book, which mostly consists of interviews with "intelligence officials" and "Israeli government sources," fills in a lot of the blanks about Dimona and the Israeli nuclear capability. Of course, from the very beginning the U.S. "intelligence community" knew what the Israelis were up to. When digging began for the reactor in 1958, U.S. satellite reconnaissance revealed what could only be a nuclear installation. By 1962, Dimona had "gone critical"—sustained a nuclear chain reaction—but the secretive Israeli government maintained to their U.S. paymasters that the huge 70 megawatt reactor was only a little re-

search reactor, and even built a fake control room for U.S. inspections.

Not that the Americans were interested in making a fuss about the Israeli bomb. Nor did they complain when France secretly flew in four tons of heavy water in 1960, or when Israel hijacked 24 tons of uranium aboard the *Sheersburg A* in 1968, or even when over 200 pounds of enriched uranium disappeared from the Pennsylvania NUMEC nuclear-fuel processing plant the same year. Interestingly, Hersh devotes a whole chapter of his book to "debunking" this widely acknowledged diversion of weapons-grade uranium to Israel. Hersh comes to the defense of NUMEC founder Zalman Shapiro, who he claims was "hounded" for "his Jewishness and the fact that one of the major investors in NUMEC shared his support for Israel." Several pages later, however, we read that Shapiro was "especially devoted to Ernst David Bergmann, who was head of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission."

Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, who documented this incident extensively in their book *Dangerous Liaisons*, published earlier this year, describe the Israeli-U.S. military axis in depth, including the Zionist state's role in training death squads throughout Latin America and Africa, and the deep ties between the Israeli and South African military establishments. In the racist apartheid state,

Israel found a natural ally, and one with a wealth of useful mineral resources. In the 1960s, South Africa began providing Israel with huge "yellow-cake" uranium shipments. There followed various joint projects including the Jericho medium-range missile, Shavit rocket and Ofek spy satellite. In 1979 the two countries conducted joint neutron bomb tests in the south Indian Ocean.

Liberal journalist Hersh's stock in trade is "exposés" which are in the interests of at least a section of the U.S. ruling class, like *The Target Is Destroyed* (1986) on the shootdown of the KAL 007 spy plane, which abounds in detailed information from unnamed American intelligence sources (see "Seymour Hersh Joins Reagan's Cover-Up—The Spectre of KAL 007," WV No. 415, 7 November 1986). In *The Samson Option*, Hersh flaunts his high-placed sources in both U.S. and Israeli intelligence "communities," who seem to share a concern that Shamir, or even worse, Sharon, having his finger on the nuclear trigger could derail the U.S.-Israeli relationship.

Hersh is tuning in to an undercurrent of resentment within the U.S. ruling class toward its bellicose ally in the Middle East. This resentment was exacerbated by the 1985 Jonathan Pollard spy scandal. For decades the U.S. has shelled out billions to fund and arm the Israelis, and the Zionists responded by

planting their own spies in the Pentagon! (Not that the CIA doesn't do this regularly to American allies.) With the Soviet Union crumbling, Washington has less need for Israel as a regional gendarme and a spearhead of anti-Sovietism, and is worried about its nuclear-armed Israeli "allies" slipping the leash.

For their part, the Israelis are not averse to having it known that they are nuclear-armed bullies, and that their bombs are not intended for parades. During the 1973 Yom Kippur War, when Egypt and Syria were destroying the Israeli army, Israel went on nuclear alert twice, threatening the "Samson Option" to blackmail the U.S. into sending massive amounts of conventional weapons, which they did. And during the Persian Gulf War, when Iraq landed Scud missiles on Israel in desperate retaliation for the U.S. assault, the Zionists again went on nuclear alert, until the U.S. rushed in Patriot missiles.

As we noted at the time of Vanunu's spectacular revelations, "The Zionists are dangerous madmen who are fully capable of pushing the button. But their big brothers in Washington are also war-crazy." Israel may have over 200 nuclear weapons, but it's an open secret that the decaying U.S. empire has over 25,000! It will take world proletarian revolution to disarm these nuclear nuts and sweep them all into the dustbin of history. ■

Revolution Day Moscow 1991



Spartacist Photos

International Communist League raises the red banner of Trotsky's Fourth International in Moscow Revolution Day demonstration. Long live Red October!

Defeat Yeltsin-Gorbachev-Bush Counterrevolution!

Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Support!



The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have recently printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We have reprinted the first Russian-language *Bulleten Spartakovtsev*, "What Is Trotskyism" (pictured at left), of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the Soviet Union. As sales of thousands of copies of the special supplement and the Spartacist bulletin on Revolution Day show, pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting

for Trotskyist literature. But economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist nucleus needed to lead the Soviet working people in struggle against counterrevolution.

Make donations payable/send to:
Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116. Earmark:
"Lenin-Trotsky Fund" (or simply
"L-T Fund").

New York

Lenin-Trotsky Fund
Comrades,

I was proud to have contributed to the Lenin-Luxemburg-Liebknecht Fund and cannot imagine a more important cause at this moment than the work of our comrades in the home of the great October Revolution! Please accept this enclosed check as a first installment.

Forward to the victory of
the Fourth International,
Peter F.

MOSCOW...

(continued from page 1)

Graveyard," "Yeltsin: Russians Will Never Be Slaves—Your Rapacious Reforms Will Not Work," and "Down with the CIA's Perestroika!" They repeatedly sang the *Internationale* and other revolutionary songs from the early days of the Soviet Republic under Lenin and Trotsky.

As tens of thousands marched to Red Square, they voiced a deep working-class hatred toward the agents of Wall Street and Frankfurt who have come to the fore following the botched Kremlin coup in August. The older generation of CPers intermingled with the youth. The mood was angry and sharply contrasted with last year's November 7 parade, presided over by Gorbachev, where the main slogan was "The Success of Perestroika Lies in Civil Concord." Among the signs this year was one showing the double-headed tsarist eagle with one head being Yeltsin and the other Gorbachev. Another wrote under Gorbachev's portrait, "You ruined the country, hell waits for you."

Initially, Moscow mayor Gavril Popov—a leading figure in the capitalist counterrevolution—announced a ban on any Revolution Day demonstration within the city's ring road, which includes Red Square. But when it became clear that the protests would take place in defiance of his authority, Popov rescinded the ban the night before. This is symptomatic of how politically weak are the forces pushing for capitalist restoration. In our first statement after the August coup and



Spartacist

Trotskyists protest Moscow mayor Popov's threats to close Lenin Museum. ICL sign (left) reads: "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky. Defend the Lenin Museum!"

was not narrowly economic in character, nor, given the occasion, could it be. Above all, it expressed visceral working-class hostility to capitalist restoration and the destruction of the Soviet Union by Western imperialism and its Russian agents. One sign said: "What Adolf did not do, Michael has done." When a British journalist asked, why call Gorbachev "Michael," the bearer of the slogan replied: "We call him Michael because he's a westerner now" (*Financial Times* [London], 8 November).

Gorbachev is not a Westernizer in the sense of seeking to modernize Soviet

Moreover, the demonstration was extremely receptive to Trotskyist literature. In Moscow, supporters of the ICL sold 4,750 copies of our Russian-language supplement, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!", and 600 copies of our Russian-language Spartacist bulletin, "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!"

At the same time there were instances of vicious reactionary attitudes, particularly anti-Semitism, at the Revolution Day demonstration. Pamyat salesmen were peddling their filth. The Stalinist organizers of the rally appealed to Great Russian chauvinism. Our comrades were baited alternately as "Trotskyites" and "Jews." We shot back that the filth they spewed was the White Guard politics of Yeltsin which are at war with the revolutionary politics of Lenin and Red October. The cutting edge of the struggle to combat Russian chauvinism is to mobilize the workers movement against every manifestation of anti-Semitism. At one point about 20 Stalinists attempted to physically exclude our contingent, shouting "Trotskyists out of the demonstration," "Get out of our country," etc. But we were able to effectively rally the crowd to defend us. One worker came out of the crowd to stand with us against this rabble, and stayed to sell with us all day. A student from Moscow State University came to our contingent and said he's been looking for Trotskyism all his life. As the crowd paraded toward Red Square, a comrade reported:

"While we marched we chanted, 'Long live the October Revolution!' 'Long live the Soviet Union!' 'Down with Yeltsin/Gorbachev/Bush's Russian-nationalist counterrevolution! For proletarian internationalism!' One of our contacts chanted 'Long live the world communist movement—Workers of the world unite!' These were all met by loud 'Hurrah! Hurrah!'"

Along the march, a supporter of the ICL was interviewed by *Pravda*. In its next issue it reported on its front page

that "an Australian woman representative of the International Communist League," asked why she had come, responded: "The October Revolution was directed to the whole world. What is happening with you these days is a blow to communists in all countries."

In other Soviet cities similar, though smaller, Revolution Day demonstrations were held. In Leningrad, several thousand militants, including a number of sailors in uniform, gathered next to the historic battleship *Aurora*, which played a key role in the Bolsheviks' seizure in 1917 of the Winter Palace, site of Kerensky's provisional government. One speaker declared: "Our duty is to not allow the restoration of capitalism in our country! We will not be lackeys of American imperialism!" Over 300 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to the Revolution Day demonstrators in Leningrad. A hundred copies of ICL literature were sold at the Kiev demonstration by members of the Union of Socialist Students of the Ukraine. An additional 800 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to Revolution Day demonstrators in other provincial centers.

The most dramatic confrontation took place in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. Some 5,000 demonstrators, organized by, among others, the Union of Toilers of the Ukraine, marched from an outlying cemetery to a statue of Lenin in the central city. En route they were blocked by a sizable number of Ukrainian nationalists and fascists in fighting uniforms. But the column broke through the blockade and continued on while the rightists harassed the march from the sides. As they reached the Lenin statue, the column again had to pierce a nationalist/fascist blockade in order to lay flowers commemorating the founder of the Soviet workers state. As the demonstration dispersed and thinned, they were attacked by the nationalists and several demonstrators suffered serious injuries.

The principal organizers of the November 7 demonstrations were drawn from a rump of the so-called "patriotic" wing of the Stalinist movement: the Moscow Workers Council, the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and a broader umbrella group, "Toiling Moscow." The Moscow Workers Council's Viktor Anpilov postures as a hard opponent of Yeltsin, but simply wants to turn the clock back to before 1987, with a "perestroika" (restructuring) of the CPSU. These Stalinists played on working-class opposition to Gorbachev and Yeltsin's privatization before the August coup, but when the decisive moment came, they uncritically subordinated themselves to the bankrupt and ineffectual "Gang of Eight" and failed to mobilize any of their working-class base to go after the Yeltsinite spearhead of counterrevolution.

Now in opposition, they are appealing to narrow economic concerns linked to Russian nationalism. Thus an early

continued on page 10



Russian counterrevolutionaries bring back the (would-be) tsar: Romanov pretender to the throne, Grand Duke Vladimir, and Orthodox Patriarch Aleksy II in ceremony to rename Leningrad "St. Petersburg."

countercoup, we noted: "But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, the outcome is not yet definitively decided" (WV No. 533, 30 August). We added that the Soviet proletariat "has not been heard from." But on November 7, it began to raise its voice.

The numbers pouring into the streets far exceeded the organizers' expectations. Revolution Day tapped into the economic desperation of Moscow's working people. The week before, Yeltsin announced that all price controls would soon be ended, setting off a new wave of panic buying, hoarding and speculation. For the first time bread began to disappear from the shops. *Moskovskoe Komsomolets* carried a heart-rending story of a worker who was crushed by a train when he jumped onto the subway tracks to retrieve a sausage he had struggled all day to get for his family.

The older generation who came out remember what a horrible thing hunger is—they remember bread rationing during the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders. One recalled, "My mother on 16 October 1941 stood on the longest bread line of that year, and even so it was not half as long as today's!" (*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, 9 November).

Yet the Revolution Day demonstration

society and the economy, as Peter the Great attempted to do for Russia in the age of absolutism. Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Co. want to sell out the Soviet Union to Western banks and multinationals—at fire sale prices. If they succeed, Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, etc. will be degraded to the economic level of Latin American neocolonies while all the old reactionary crap from the pre-1917 tsarist autocracy will return.

Indeed, the answer of the pro-Western "democrats" to working-class protest is lying promises of prosperity under capitalism, accompanied by appeals to medieval obscurantism. On the eve of Revolution Day, the mayor of Leningrad organized a fête to celebrate restoring the city's old name of St. Petersburg. Featured in this ceremony were Patriarch Aleksy II, Primate of the Russian Orthodox church, and Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich Romanov, son of the cousin of Tsar Nicholas II. Grand Duke Romanov, who had never before set foot in the Soviet Union, said he hoped to become the new Russian tsar!

Trotskyists March on Moscow's Revolution Day

Despite a few pictures of Stalin sprinkled among the signs, there were many more of Lenin and there was also the red banner of the International Communist League emblazoned with the insignia of Trotsky's Fourth International.



Reuters
Bread lines in Moscow grow longer as Yeltsin/Gorbachev push restoration of capitalism, producing economic chaos.

MOSCOW...

(continued from page 9)

call for Revolution Day issued by the Moscow Workers Council concluded with the slogan: "No to the physical and spiritual genocide of the Russian peoples!" Yet in the city of Moscow itself, about half the industrial workforce is from non-Russian republics—Ukrainians, Caucasians, Turkic-speaking Central Asians. Trying to outbid the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionaries in appeals to Great Russian nationalism is poison, and anathema to the struggle for a genuinely socialist union of soviet republics.

In their own way, many of the Russian Stalinist "patriots" accept the disintegration of the USSR along national lines. But the breakup of the Soviet Union would necessarily produce bloody nationalist strife—border wars, intercommunal pogroms—such as are now ravaging Yugoslavia. We Leninist-Trotskyists stand for proletarian political revolution to reforge the Soviet Union on the socialist basis of genuine national equality.

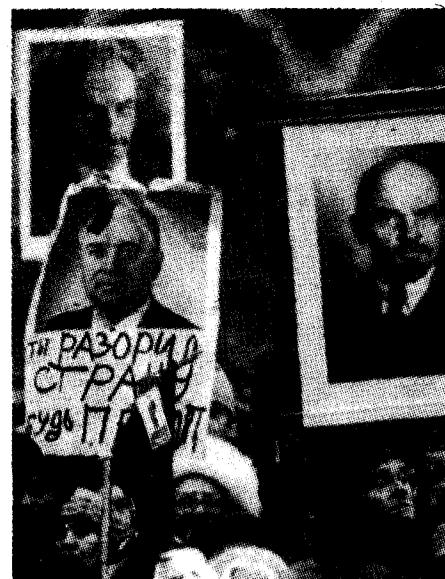
Would-Be Tsar Boris Decrees "Free Market" Starvation

"People will suffer but we have to go through this," declared Boris Yeltsin as he announced his new economic shock treatment. All price controls are to be lifted by the year's end. Unprofitable enterprises are to be shut down. Collective farms are to be privatized. And the central economic ministries will be dismantled. So Yeltsin decreed. But carrying out this program of even greater immiseration of the Soviet working people is another matter.

In the two and a half months following the Kremlin coup attempt in August, jockeying between Yeltsin's Russian Republic, Gorbachev and the nationalist leaders of the non-Russian republics produced a power vacuum at the center of the fractured Soviet Union. As the imperialists complained that the country was drifting, in late October Yeltsin moved to reassert himself as the strongman of the counterrevolution by announcing a "free market" shock treatment and demanding sweeping dictatorial powers. The Russian parliament duly voted him the right to ban all elections and referendums for more than a year, cancel all legislation passed by local and regional assemblies, and override previous legislation.

In an attempted show of strength, would-be Tsar Boris decreed a state of emergency in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Region—a traditionally Muslim enclave in the northern Caucasus which had declared its independence from the Russian Republic—and threatened to send in Soviet troops. This move was so flagrantly dictatorial and inflammatory that even Yeltsin's supporters in the Russian parliament came out against it and he backed off.

In a small way Yeltsin's retreat over Chechen-Ingush points up the fundamental weakness of his position. For



Financial Times
Poster of Gorbachev: "You ruined the country, hell waits for you."

the popular mood is turning markedly against the "democrats," i.e., open capitalist-restorationists, who are now held responsible for the hyperinflation, shortages of food and everything else, and the overall descent into economic chaos. A poll by the Moscow Sociological Agency in late October showed 65 percent of Muscovites believe the political and economic situation is the same or worse than before the August coup attempt.

The imperialist godfathers of Yeltsin, Popov & Co. are worried about working-class opposition to capitalist counterrevolution in Russia. One can already see the beginnings of this. In late October, the Moscow Federation of Labor Unions organized a march of up to 50,000 against the price increases. The Federation leaders did not challenge Yeltsin/Popov and their "free market" program as such, but rather adopted a defensive posture. Their main banner read: "Unity! Solidarity! For the Rights of Working People!" However, a placard saying "Free Prices Mean Death for the People!" caught the angry and desperate mood of the Soviet working class.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Last year the Soviet Union had a near-record grain harvest of almost 220 million tons. Yet there were still severe food shortages as the distribution system collapsed due to massive hoarding, speculation and black marketeering. This year the grain harvest has fallen to 165 million tons, the lowest level in ten years. Everyone is expecting food riots, which have already begun, to spread this winter. "A revolt would be most likely in December," predicts Major General Viktor Ivanenko, head of the KGB in the Russian Republic. *Moscow News* (13 October) is even predicting "Putsch-2," a new coup coming off of desperate blowups over hunger.

And everyone in Russia knows it was food riots by women workers in February 1917 which set off the revolution that toppled the tsarist autocracy. The Yeltsinite "democrats" rightly fear that food riots could spark their overthrow, too. The "black colonel" Viktor Alknis, a leading figure among the "patriots,"

foresees Soviet army officers and ranks supporting and joining popular protests against the new regime. However, Alknis is no enemy of a market economy. Far from it. He is an outspoken advocate of "the Chilean model" for a strong Soviet (capitalist) state.

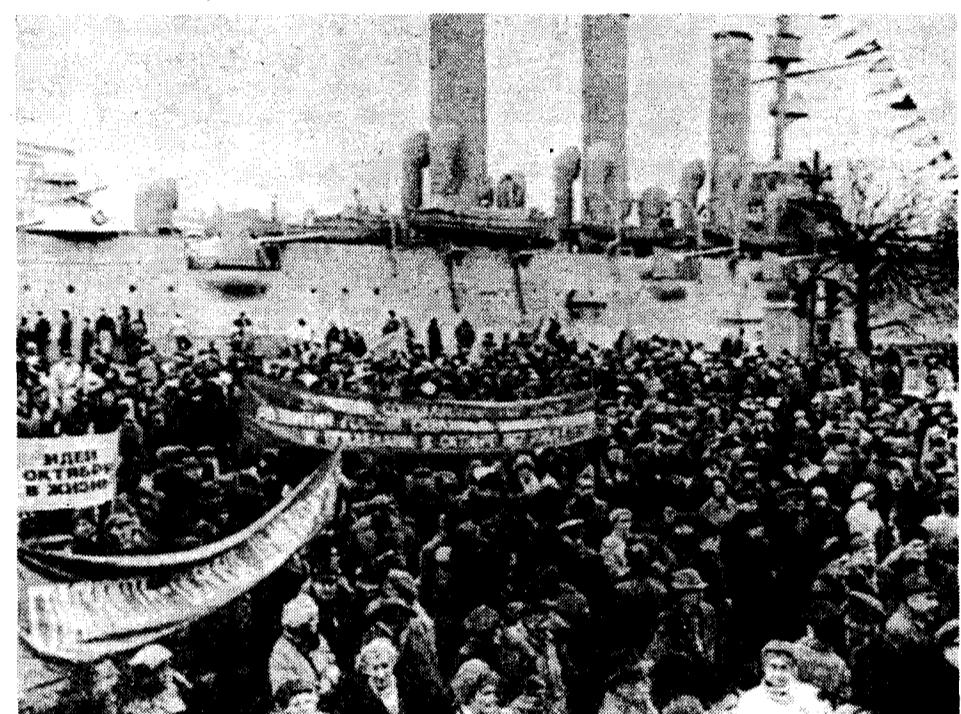
The question of how to ensure food supplies was ever-present on Revolution Day. The Moscow Workers Council called for "Distribution of Goods Under Control of the Workers!" Another grouping, Toiling Moscow, called for putting "under WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' CONTROL prices and the wages of the 'democrats' and bandits, partycrats and speculators and FORCE THEM to work." Workers control is indeed, urgently, necessary. But popular resistance to "free market" starvation can preserve the Soviet Union on a socialist basis only by breaking from the policies of the parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy which led the Soviet Union to disaster. Workers resistance will immediately face the question of power, and to succeed it requires the leadership of a genuinely communist, i.e., Leninist-Trotskyist party.

The Stalinist "patriots" at bottom have no alternative to the market. The "maximum program" of Anpilov's newspaper *Molniya* offers a lot of left verbiage, but in practice the "minimum program" (the real program) takes over: as was the case in last summer's Russian presidential

ization by taking plants and controlling production. Such workers committees can be the basis for genuine soviets, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order." But authentic soviets must become organs for the struggle for power. Revolutionary leadership is the key.

In his well-known article, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," written in September 1917 on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin called for a program of all-sided workers control as the indispensable means to prevent famine. In that situation of dual power, in which the shaky capitalist government had ordered a rise in food prices, he emphasized: "For only the winning of power by the proletariat, headed by the Bolshevik Party, can put an end to the outrageous actions of Kerensky and Co. and restore the work of democratic food distribution, supply and other organizations, which Kerensky and his government are frustrating. The Bolsheviks are acting...as the representatives of the interests of the whole people...."

The historic catastrophe now facing Soviet working people cannot be prevented or even softened by defensive economic struggles. Trade-union activism cannot prevent mass unemployment and



TASS
Leningrad, November 7—Rally at the battleship Aurora, symbol of the Bolshevik Revolution, famed for its shots fired at the Winter Palace.

campaign, when *Molniya* supported the candidacy of the anti-Semitic Makashov, who was for "equality of all property forms"!

Moscow mayor Popov has decreed that basic foodstuffs—bread, meat, butter and eggs—are to be rationed by coupons. Control over the means of life must be wrested from this lackey of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Workers committees must be set up to oversee the distribution of food, smashing the stranglehold of parasitic petty traders, black marketeers and pro-capitalist bureaucrats who would become Russia's new capitalist exploiters. The vast quantities of foodstuffs they are hoarding must be seized and defended, which requires the formation of workers defense committees, i.e., the nucleus of workers militias, in coordination with pro-socialist elements of the Soviet Army.

The attempts to victimize national minorities, to rip apart the multinational Soviet proletariat while giving free rein to monarchists and Pamyat thugs and pardoning Nazi war criminals, must be met by organized multinational workers defense guards.

These urgently necessary measures can be a step in creating organs of proletarian dual power to challenge and overthrow the Yeltsin/Gorbachev counterrevolutionary gang. Independent workers committees must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent layoffs and privat-

hyperinflation if the Wall Street/Yeltsin program is actually carried out. The authors of this program must be overthrown by the revolutionary working class. The disintegration of the USSR cannot be halted by Stalinist "patriotism," which increasingly has taken the form of narrow Russian nationalism. Only the program of proletarian internationalism, carried out by a communist vanguard with a multinational cadre, can reforge the Soviet Union on the basis of national equality and socialist economic planning.

For decades, the oppressive, corrupt and parasitic Kremlin oligarchy falsely claimed the historic mantle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In reality, it was the Trotskyist Left Opposition which preserved and carried forward the revolutionary internationalist program of Red October. Under the banner of "building socialism in one country," which translated into sniveling popular-front alliances with imperialist rulers abroad, Stalin was the gravedigger of the Russian Revolution, whose surviving cadre he murdered in the Great Purge of the 1930s. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most class-conscious workers with revolutionary Marxist intellectuals. Only under the leadership of such an authentic communist party, section of a reformed Fourth International, can the Soviet working class and its allies defeat the forces of bloody capitalist counterrevolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
 New Renewal
 International rates:
\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

- \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist* (edición en español)

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

539
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

UAW Workers: Skin the CAT!

CHICAGO—On November 3, some 2,400 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) struck two Caterpillar plants in Illinois. Coming more than a month after the expiration of contracts covering 17,000 CAT workers and also UAW members at John Deere Co., the partial strike encouraged the company to step up its hardball tactics against the union. On November 7 the construction equipment giant locked out 5,600 workers and less than a week later began laying off hundreds more.

Over the past six years Caterpillar has wrung nearly \$2 billion out of the workers' sweat—now it wants blood. The company's "final offer" included a three-tier wage proposal as well as demands to slash health benefits and install speedup work rule changes. "It's negative if they don't strike," counseled one Wall Street analyst, reflecting Caterpillar's desire to defeat the union.

The company is banking on big inventories and a workforce hogtied by the Solidarity House crew that runs the UAW. Auto Workers chief Owen Bieber sabotaged the industrywide contract—and forfeited joint strike action—by settling with John Deere on October 5 (Navistar workers were cast adrift several years ago). And the "Buy American" jingoism of Bieber & Co. aids the company campaign for givebacks: they claim they need to "crack down" on labor costs to fight competitors like Komatsu of Japan.

UAW workers: don't let the "Sacrifice House" gang hang you out to dry, as in the 206-day Caterpillar strike of 1982. It's high time the ag imp bosses in the Midwest tasted some *union* hardball. Shut down Caterpillar—occupy the factories! See how fast the CAT bosses come running to talk when the strikers are on the *inside* of the plants, sitting on top of their inventory and machinery! Mass pickets must seal off the plants. It's not so easy to sell those big CATs if you can't move them—call on Teamsters, longshoremen and rail workers to refuse to handle them. There's only one way to skin the CAT—mobilize union power!

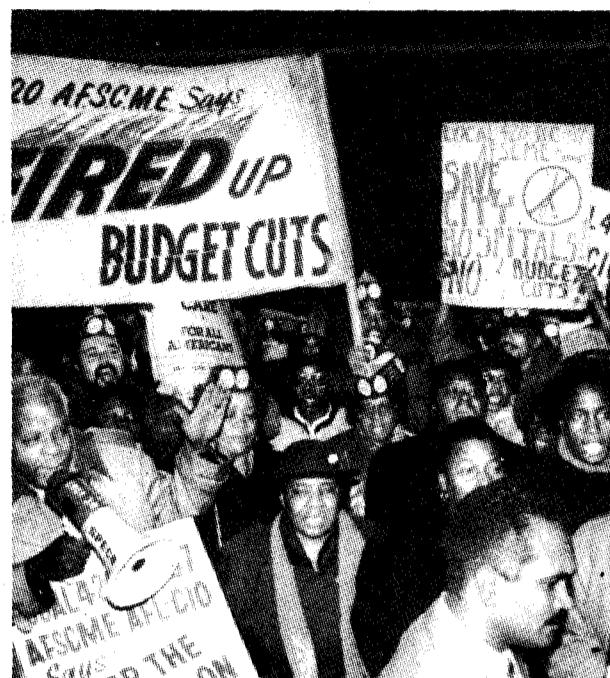
Doctors Strike Against Deadly Cutbacks

"Conditions in a hospital have to be pretty bad to drive doctors from its senior staff out into the cold to walk a picket line," wrote *Daily News* columnist Bob Herbert as over 300 senior physicians struck the Woodhull Medical Center in Brooklyn last week. In fact the walkout, over the budget cuts which have decimated health care in NYC, was the first ever by attending physicians (not just interns and residents) in the U.S.

Hundreds of community residents and members of other hospital unions swelled the picket lines, chanting "No cutbacks on services! No givebacks for workers!" After two days, the doctors succeeded in reversing some of the devastating budget cuts that sparked the strike, including canceling the firing of 50 staff members.

Woodhull serves the predominantly black and His-

panic Fort Green and Williamsburg area. With over 100,000 emergency admissions annually, it is the second largest hospital in Brooklyn. While the private outfit that staffs the hospital, Medical Associates, turned a \$17 million profit last year, conditions for the patients and staff are disastrous. There is not one full-time infectious disease specialist, in a hospital where one-third of the patients are infected with HIV. The waiting list for a mammogram is a year long. The orthopedic department was simply eliminated. Other



WV Photo

New York City, November 13—Woodhull doctors' two-day strike was the first ever by attending physicians.

cuts were made in ophthalmology and urology.

The doctors at Woodhull, 40 percent foreign-born, are organized in the Doctors Council, whose members cover all city hospitals. When they finally struck on November 12, after five months without a contract, the doctors got immediate support from the 900 members of AFSCME Local 420 at Woodhull, who refused to cross their lines. But technicians and pharmacists in Hospital Workers Local 1199 crossed, only coming out at lunch to "picket"—so much for 1199 head Dennis Rivera's "solidarity."

Moreover, Local 420 president Jim Butler, whose members are bearing the brunt of the cutbacks, ordered the AFSCME members at Woodhull to cross the doctors' picket lines the second day of the strike. At the same time, Butler grandstanded by bringing in several hundred AFSCME hospital workers from Harlem, Coney Island, Bellevue and Kings County to march on the lines that day.

When the announcement of the settlement came late in the afternoon, the housekeepers and doctors, porters and lab technicians, cheered the announcement that some of the cuts had been restored. But to win decent wages, not to mention fighting for decent health care, it's going to take a solid strike by all hospital workers. And the hospital union bureaucrats above all don't want to embarrass their buddy, Democratic mayor David Dinkins.

ants of the capitalist regime in "socialist" colors.

With riot cops ringing the Cléon plant, the union bureaucrats rushed to "negotiate" a sellout deal—a measly 224 francs (\$39) monthly pay boost plus an "end of the conflict" bonus—with no defense of the eight strikers hit with disciplinary suspensions. Two days after the cops moved in, the Stalinist leaders of the CGT and the social democrats at the head of the CFDT rammed the "settlement" down the strikers' throats. As the union hacks—interrupted by boos and cries of "sellout!"—exhorted strikers to return to work "your heads held high," strikers voted by a slim majority to *reject* the sellout. However, the Stalinist double-dealers simply stated that this did not represent a majority of

the workers—scabs included! Even after this stab in the back, Renault workers at Le Mans held out for another eleven days before settling for an increased year-end bonus.

After a decade of strikebreaking, racism and austerity, workers have grown increasingly fed up with Mitterrand's gang of "socialist" bourgeois-technocrat ministers. France continues to be swept by strikes. Nurses have stayed out despite attempts by the union tops to push through a "settlement" with the government. France's ports have repeatedly been shut down in the past month as dock workers struck against government union-busting. Last week the airports were virtually closed down several days as air traffic control technicians struck for higher wages.

You Can't Win Strikes by Begging the Democrats

BOSTON—For more than a month not a single school bus or van left the terminals. The small USWA Local 8751 held out in the face of a concerted union-busting drive on the part of the School Department and the In-City Bus Company (ICBM), and a concerted attempt by the capitalist media to whip up a back-to-work movement.

Mayor Ray Flynn and the local bourgeoisie want to gut the drivers union as they wipe out any remaining vestige of busing, in essence burying the corpse of the school desegregation struggle of the 1970s. The heavily minority bus drivers hung tough, but their discipline and determination was dissipated by the union tops' strategy of relying on the very same Flynn, tying the power of the workers to the bosses' Democratic Party. And the USWA International intervened from Pittsburgh, collaborating with Flynn to pressure the local. On October 28, the drivers returned to work—their union intact, but nothing gained.

Drivers will be saddled with a one-year wage freeze and a four-year no-strike clause (the first ever), and the School Department will be free to implement big layoffs as it "consolidates" bus routes. All that ICBM and Flynn promised to do is rehire from Local 8751 members that get laid off! Even drivers' president Garry Murchison said, "I think the contract stinks and we deserve better."

But if you read *Workers World* (7 November), newspaper of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, you find Local 8751 vice president Steve Kirschbaum crowing that this "historic union security agreement" guarantees that "wages, benefits, terms and conditions...will stay intact." What he doesn't say is that a hell of a lot of drivers are faced with losing their jobs, while saddled with the no-strike pledge Kirschbaum never mentions!

Kirschbaum and Steven Gillis, an exec board member, whine in *Workers World* (24 October) that the unions want "the mayor to use his executive powers to force the ICBM Co. to bargain in good faith." Yet even the *Boston Globe* knew that anti-busing mayor Flynn was in a "united front" with School Superintendent Lois Harrison-Jones against the school bus drivers union.

It was to cover for their own defeatist program that the Marcyite junior bureaucrats threatened to call the police on *Workers Vanguard* salesmen, then later created a provocation toward the end of the strike. Kirschbaum and a few white anti-communists initiated a loud provocation, causing cops to enter the line and remove two WV supporters, endangering everyone on the line—especially immigrant Haitian workers.

The labor bureaucrats, both the open company cops and their small-time shadows, hate the Spartacist League because we tell the truth. As an SL leaflet stated: "Workers in this city, everywhere, need a class-struggle leadership willing to take on this racist capitalist system. To get what we need—quality integrated education, housing and jobs for all—will take a socialist revolution." ■

France: CGT Still Knows How to Sell Out a Strike

"Socialist" president François Mitterrand has succeeded in halting the strikes sweeping the French auto industry, with a big helping hand from the Communist Party-led CGT union federation. At the key Renault plant in Cléon, the despised CRS (riot police) were sent in on November 5 to clear a passage for the scabs. Mitterrand acted as the strike spread to the Renault plant in Le Mans (along with sporadic walkouts in other plants). A strike of the entire state-owned auto company would have meant a showdown with the government, which the union misleaders sought to avoid at all costs. Despite the cop presence, forcing the workers back required a mobilization of the CGT tops, who helped put Mitterrand in office and have loyally carried out their duties as labor lieuten-

ants of the capitalist regime in "socialist" colors.

With riot cops ringing the Cléon plant, the union bureaucrats rushed to "negotiate" a sellout deal—a measly 224 francs (\$39) monthly pay boost plus an "end of the conflict" bonus—with no defense of the eight strikers hit with disciplinary suspensions. Two days after the cops moved in, the Stalinist leaders of the CGT and the social democrats at the head of the CFDT rammed the "settlement" down the strikers' throats. As the union hacks—interrupted by boos and cries of "sellout!"—exhorted strikers to return to work "your heads held high," strikers voted by a slim majority to *reject* the sellout. However, the Stalinist double-dealers simply stated that this did not represent a majority of

the workers—scabs included! Even after this stab in the back, Renault workers at Le Mans held out for another eleven days before settling for an increased year-end bonus.

After a decade of strikebreaking, racism and austerity, workers have grown increasingly fed up with Mitterrand's gang of "socialist" bourgeois-technocrat ministers. France continues to be swept by strikes. Nurses have stayed out despite attempts by the union tops to push through a "settlement" with the government. France's ports have repeatedly been shut down in the past month as dock workers struck against government union-busting. Last week the airports were virtually closed down several days as air traffic control technicians struck for higher wages.

As the general strike of May-June 1936 was scuttled by the French Communist Party (PCF) in the name of "unity" with the popular-front government, PCF leader Maurice Thorez declared: "You have to know how to end a strike." Supporting Mitterrand's popular-front Union of the Left since 1981, first in exchange for four PCF ministers and then in a "corridor coalition" after they were dropped, the Stalinists in league with the social democrats betrayed the powerful movement of the auto workers. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyte de France fought for class-struggle leadership in the strike, emphasizing the need for internationalism and defense of "immigrant" workers, in seeking to forge an authentically Bolshevik party of the working class. ■

Northite Fool's Gold

This article was written for Spartacist No. 91, November-December 1991, published by our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany.

For close to two decades David North's Workers League and his cohorts in the "International Committee of the Fourth International" have been foam-flecked cheerleaders for virtually every imperialist-backed anti-Soviet force in the world. But these days the WL is talking a lot out of the other side of its mouth. Now we read in the "ICFI" statement on "The Lessons of the August Putsch and the Tasks Before the Soviet Working Class" (*Bulletin*, 6 September) that only their organization "defends the historic conquests of the Soviet proletariat and upholds its great socialist traditions"! Our advice to anyone who falls for this one is, as the Romans said, *caveat emptor*—hold on to your wallet.

More than 20 years ago we recalled Lenin's term "political bandits" to describe the Workers League and its "International," then headed by IC "founder-leader" Gerry Healy. Over the years, the Healyites' "political" banditry was eclipsed by their degeneration into outright gangsters-for-hire. In 1979, after years of pimping for Libya's Qaddafi, Healy & Co. heralded Iraqi Ba'athist dictator Saddam Hussein as a leader of the struggle against "counterrevolutionary Stalinism" and hailed his execution of 21 members of the Iraqi Communist Party. At the same time they photographed anti-Saddam protesters in London and handed the photos over to the Iraqi embassy, fingering demonstrators for arrest, torture and possibly death. Meanwhile the Healyites were receiving tens of thousands of dollars from the Ba'athist regime.

Although the most heinous, this was only one of many crimes committed by the Healy/Northites, for which they were put on the payroll of virtually every Arab sheik and dictator in the Near East (see "Healyites Got Blood Money," WV No. 517, 4 January, and "Northite Blood Money," WV No. 523, 29 March).

In 1985 when this dirty source of revenue dried up, Healy's organization fell apart and Workers League leader David North declared himself the heir to his former master's seat at the head of the shattered remnants of the International Committee. Now that it seems like nobody's paying them for what they say and write, the Northites have reverted to an earlier scam: selling themselves as supposed orthodox Trotskyists in the abstract, while still tailing after anti-Soviet counterrevolutionaries in the concrete. But this latest con game blew apart with the August showdown in Moscow,

as Yeltsin's coup brought to power the capitalist-restorationist forces that the *Bulletin* has been covering for.

The Northites' current posture as the defenders of the gains of the October Revolution is so manifestly fraudulent that they can't get it straight themselves.

Healyite Schizophrenia

The "ICFI" statement on the coup and Yeltsin's counterrevolution reads like it was

victory of "those forces now in the forefront" who they admit are "frothing enemies of the working class." What's to welcome? This is not "dialectics," which Healy and North have done so much to discredit, but the squirmings of opportunists hoist on their own petard. They want to be with the Yeltsin "masses" on the barricades while warning against Yeltsin the harbinger of capitalism. The dilemma many Stalinophobic pseudo-

"leader of the restorationist faction of the official Communist Party apparatus" while Yeltsin is called "a representative of the emerging Soviet bourgeoisie" and of "bourgeois comprador elements," dating this as far back as 1987. But as recently as the 21 June *Bulletin*, an article titled "Behind the Election of Boris Yeltsin" writes of "the drive to capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, whether it is led by Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin or some other counterrevolutionary representative of the bureaucracy."

And referring to Yeltsin the bureaucrat rather than Yeltsin the bourgeois is no mere slip of the pen, for in the Northite zodiac the Soviet bureaucracy is nothing but a "counterrevolutionary" agency working hand in hand with imperialism. Thus in his 1989 tract on *Perestroika Versus Socialism*, North declares that "the political and economic goals of the bureaucracy in its relations with world imperialism" are "the destruction of the planned economy and the social conquests of the October Revolution" and the restoration of capitalism. And, more generally, in his 1988 tome *The Heritage We Defend*, he declares that "Trot-sky had branded the Stalinist bureaucracy as 'counterrevolutionary through and through'." This stupidly one-sided formulation is the banner of every anti-Soviet fake-Trotskyist. And it is a lie.

Leon Trotsky never said any such thing. Rather, he wrote in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933) that "Whoever fails to understand this dual role of Stalinism in the USSR has understood nothing." He is referring here to the position of the bureaucracy, which rests upon the collectivized property forms inherited from the October Revolution, at the same time as it seeks to balance between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, transmitting the pressures of imperialism but also, on occasion, constrained to defend in its bureaucratic fashion the workers state in order to protect its privileges. Trotsky repeatedly insisted on this fundamental point, as in *The Revolution Betrayed*, which has a section on "The Dual Character of the Workers State." And in a 1937 article against the future renegade Burnham, Trotsky noted:

"The function of Stalin, like the function of Green [then head of the American trade-union federation, AFL], has a dual character. Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests. To that extent does Stalin defend nationalized property from imperialist attacks and from the too impatient and avaricious layers of the bureaucracy itself. However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists. In spite of Stalin, the proletariat defends the USSR from imperialist attacks."

— "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?"
(November 1937)

We discussed the genealogy of the anti-Trotskyist formula that Stalinism is "counterrevolutionary through and through" in our article "David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son" (WV No. 456, 1 July 1988). It is important to underline it here once again, for behind North's analytical deceit lies a fundamental assault on the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against counterrevolution. And indeed, at the decisive moment in the face of a direct counterrevolutionary assault by forces which North himself acknowledges to be a "comprador bourgeoisie," North's bottom line was "we

What Do David North and Susan Sontag Have in Common?



Answer: They both supported Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loved.

written by a schizophrenic. First we have the declaration that "The International Committee of the Fourth International welcomes the humiliating collapse of the August 19 Stalinist putsch in Moscow." Yet the very next paragraph states, "But the justified satisfaction felt by workers both in the Soviet Union and internationally at the failure of the putschists must not blind them to the fact that those now assuming center stage in Moscow are bitter antisocialists and ruthless exponents of capitalist restoration." Again later it declares, "The collapse of the August 19 coup is a large nail in the coffin of the Stalinist bureaucracy." Yet this is followed by:

"But any premature jubilation on the part of the working class would be totally unjustified.

"Those forces now in the forefront are the most ruthless and frothing enemies of the working class. Their aim is nothing less than selling off all the assets of the Soviet Union and its reduction to a semi-colonial status."

— *Bulletin*, 6 September

It's those telltale "buts" that give the game away. For the collapse of the coup, which North & Co. "welcome," is not divorced from, but identical with the

Trotskyists resolve by prettifying the "democrat" Yeltsin, North deals with by talking out of both sides of his mouth.

The anti-Stalinist David North evidently agrees with Joseph Stalin on one thing: "Paper will put up with anything that is written on it."

Even at the level of description, the "two-line" statement exposes itself. It heralds "the implacable opposition of the socialist working class to the military-KGB coup." Yet a few paragraphs later it notes Yeltsin's "appeal for a general strike went largely unanswered, even in Moscow. The working class identified with neither faction." The Northites warn that "without the independent mobilization of the working class on the basis of a socialist program, the collapse of Stalinism will lead to even more brutal forms of repression and social devastation" and "the terror of capitalism." Yet for years these Stalinophobes have denounced the Kremlin bureaucracy as the sole moving force for capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR.

Thus in one of his interminable speeches, spread over six pages of the same 6 September issue of the *Bulletin*, David North refers to Gorbachev as



On Yeltsin's "barricades": counterrevolutionary petty-bourgeois swine sport Confederate flag of white-supremacy.



were for the defeat of this coup"—which was also Yeltsin's bottom line.

From Walesa to Yeltsin: Crush the Counterrevolution!

In an article titled "Middle Class Radicals and the Soviet Coup" (*Bulletin*, 13 September), the Northites assume a posture of denouncing the cabal of fake-Trotskyists who cheered Yeltsin's counterrevolution. At the same time they rant that the Spartacist League "criticized the coup plotters only for 'ineptitude' and 'stupidities,' because they did not arrest Yeltsin or even cut off his phones, and did not mount a 'serious assault' on the Russian parliament building. In other words, this politically-diseased organization was hoping against hope for an old-fashioned Stalinist bloodbath." North's German followers of the BSA (Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter) continue in the same vein, saying the Spartacists only criticize the coup plotters "because they didn't carry out a bloodbath in front of the White House in Moscow like the Chinese Stalinists did two years earlier in Tiananmen Square in Peking" (*Neue Arbeiterpresse*, 4 October).

To compare the couple of thousand scruffy yuppies, speculators and Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests, who were the pathetic advance guard of Yeltsinite counterrevolution, with the hundreds of thousands of workers and students, many of them explicitly pro-socialist, who rallied day after day in Tiananmen Square, is *obscene*. Like the less duplicitous cheerleaders for Yeltsin, the Northites can't stand our statement that "a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order." And to North & Co., the crime of crimes would be a military bloc with a section of the bureaucracy seeking to fight the outright capitalist-restorationists. And as we wrote in our polemic "Traitors, Not Trotskyists—Cheerleaders for Yeltsin's Counterrevolution" (*WW* No. 535, 27 September):

"The 'gang of eight' was incapable of sweeping away Yeltsin in its pathetic excuse for a putsch because, as we wrote, it was a 'perestroika coup.' But both imperialism and the forces of internal counterrevolution were aligned on Yeltsin's side. The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defense of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions. Trotskyists would have entered a military bloc with the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counter-revolution," as Trotsky postulated in the 1938 Transitional Program. This was precisely our policy toward Jaruzelski in 1981."

And indeed, it is precisely the example of Poland which lies behind the Northites' policy in the Moscow coup. At that time, when the entire left was proclaiming "Solidarity with Solidarity," the international Spartacist tendency sought to expose before the world's working

class that Lech Walesa & Co. were an agency for the CIA and Western bankers, Ronald Reagan, the Pope and clerical nationalists. They quoted as if it were an outrage our forthright statement: "If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily...we will support this. And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution" (*WW* No. 289, 25 September 1981). Healy, North et al. lined up with the counterrevolutionary cabal.

Now that Solidarność leader Walesa is presiding over the capitalist immiseration of Poland, all the fake-lefts are jumping ship, including North. Thus in its statement on the August coup, the *Bulletin* denounces Walesa for running a "pro-imperialist regime" which uses police and troops to smash workers strikes. But ten years ago, the Northites joined with anti-Communist Polish émigrés and AFL-CIO bureaucrats at a pro-Solidarność rally in Chicago which was addressed by the Reaganite governor of Illinois. "Mass Support for Solidarity," ran the front-page headline

imposing imperialist sanctions against the Soviet workers state on behalf of Lithuanian independence:

"The April 24 announcement by the White House that it is taking no retaliatory actions against Moscow for its blockade of Lithuania underscores the unprecedented level of collaboration between imperialism and Stalinism against the international working class."

—*Bulletin*, 27 April 1990

Here the militantly counterrevolutionary Lithuanian Sajudis regime—whose first act when granted independence by the Yeltsin-Gorbachev regime was to grant a blanket amnesty to the native fascist collaborators of Hitler's Germany—is identified with the international working class!

Today the Northites declare that the Soviet working class "must retain its complete independence from the political aims of the imperialists and their political and economic agents in the Soviet Union." Yet last spring the *Bulletin* uncritically enthused over the Soviet coal miners strike, which was organized and manipulated by the pro-Yeltsin leaders of the newly formed Independent Union of Miners to demand that control over the mines and other



of the *Bulletin* (18 December 1981) describing this anti-Soviet political orgy.

Anti-Soviet Nationalists and Anti-Union Witchhunts

With openly capitalist-restorationist forces on the ascendancy in Russia and other republics, the Northites offer themselves as the leadership for the struggle of the Soviet working class to "stop the degradation of the Soviet Union into a Balkanized semicolonial of imperialism." What gall! The Workers League has been the most fervent defender of every force in the USSR that was fighting for just such an outcome.

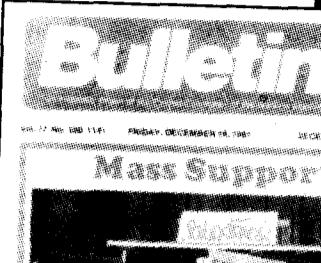
Last year they championed the cause of the right-wing nationalist Sajudis government in Lithuania. Echoing the most right-wing, anti-Communist elements of the American ruling class, the Workers League even denounced Bush for not

United front of counterrevolution: George Bush, Lech Walesa, Lane Kirkland at AFL-CIO gala, and David North's Workers League.

Workers League PUBLIC MEETINGS

Solidarność POLAND

Full Support for Solidarity!
No to Martial Law!
Free Lech Walesa and all Solidarity
Prisoners!
Defeat Stalinism! Down with
Jaruzelski!



the AFL-CIO," according to the American union federation's newspaper, and indeed they had been toured through the U.S., paid for by the Bush government. And we noted how the AFL-CIO is notorious as an agency for CIA intervention into the labor movement internationally. Not a peep on any of this from the Northites.

Among the cabal of CIA types present at the founding congress of the Russian miners union in October 1990 was a delegation from the scab "Union of Democratic Miners" in Britain. A creature of the Thatcher government and the British mine bosses set up to destroy the real miners union during the 1984-85 coal strike, the UDM was there to purvey the imperialist-orchestrated Big Lie campaign that miners union leader Arthur Scargill "mishandled" funds that were donated by Soviet miners during the strike. The bourgeoisie was enraged at this internationalist solidarity from Soviet workers, who dug deep in their pockets to aid this bitter class battle. After years of persecuting the union, and even stealing union funds from the banks, the British state finally had to drop court charges against Scargill.

Spartacists who were present at the Soviet miners congress exposed this anti-union vendetta. Now the Northites say nothing about the whole affair. Small wonder. In 1983 it was their own international leaders, in Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party, who instigated the initial anti-Communist witchhunt against Scargill. On the eve of the coal strike, Healy's press lambasted the miners union leader for accurately calling Solidarność an "anti-socialist" organization. This was a completely calculated "bombshell" by the Healyites and one which was played for all it was worth by Thatcher, her Fleet Street media and the anti-Communist labor bureaucrats in Britain in their campaign to cut off any solidarity with the miners. The Healyites were so proud of themselves that they published an entire pamphlet about it.

David North and the "AFL-CIA"

Here we had the intersection of the two political hallmarks of Healyism—vicious anti-Sovietism and belly-crawling before the Cold War trade-union tops. At the height of the Vietnam War, the Workers League put out a program for a labor party that didn't mention either the war or the fight for black liberation in the U.S. And in the December 1990 German Bundestag elections, the Northite BSA ran on a program that did not even mention immigrant workers, racist/fascist attacks or women's rights. And while they included ritual criticisms of the Social Democrats (SPD), the Northites called for votes to the SPD witchhunters, who served as the advance guard of capitalist reunification in a Fourth Reich of German imperialism.

Today, as part of its "orthodox" con game, the Northite "ICFI" is making critical noises about the pro-imperialist

continued on page 15

Magic...

(continued from page 16)

not a lot of joy or opportunity for high achievement, so they identify with sports as a connection—hopeful and illusory—to those few who do make it to the big leagues, the big money, and the acceptance and even admiration by white America. For many, Magic Johnson seemed to bring youth's cloak of invincibility and immortality into adulthood. Now the prospect of seeing an adored superstar-wither and die has brought the agony of the AIDS epidemic home to millions. A *Sports Illustrated* headline captured the impact on America: "Like One of the Family."

The fantasy of super stardom now follows Magic Johnson off the court and into the battle against AIDS. The expectation that Magic Johnson and heightened awareness and concern can turn around this catastrophic epidemic is in itself a devastating condemnation of the American government. Tens of thousands have died horrible deaths because there is no cure and because the government has done precious little to find a cure or alleviate the suffering of those infected with HIV, and a very great deal to make it worse: giving free rein to insurance company greed, closing hospitals, fostering discrimination. The virus has been a "giggling factor" in the halls of the White House, welcomed as a divine mop-up operation of capitalist society's most despised pariahs: homosexuals.

The criminal neglect and bigotry by the government and the medical establishment based on the insistence that AIDS was a "gay disease" has also led to the death of thousands of black people. In 1981, Dr. Arye Rubinstein, a pediatric immunologist at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, documented cases of AIDS in black children in the Bronx. He was scorned, ignored, his paper returned unpublished because the *New England Journal of Medicine* thought it impossible that children could have a "homosexual disease." By 1988 one out of every 61 babies born in New York was HIV-infected.

Magic Johnson wants to take a "safe sex" message to the black community. He told a national audience from the Arsenio Hall show to "put your thinking caps on and put your caps on down there" (gesturing below his belt). But powerful institutions, from the government to the schools to the black church, demand "behavioral change," not education. Vice President Quayle countered Magic, stating, "I would not say safe sex, I would talk about abstinence." If "safe sex" is a contradiction in terms, talk of teenage abstinence is utterly absurd.

Larry Kramer, founder of the Aids Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) and author of the play *The Normal Heart*, appeared on Ted Koppel's *Nightline* the same evening as Magic Johnson's announcement. Kramer said:

"He's going to die and I'm going to die. And the 40 million people that the World Health Organization predicts are going to be HIV-positive by the year 2000 are going to die. We are not talking epidemic, Mr. Koppel, we are talking plague. No amount of education is going to end this plague. The only thing that will end this plague is a cure. And research is simply not being done because George Bush and Congress don't care. I beg Magic Johnson to be the spokesman for a cure."

Tasks of basic education, support for the sick, hospices for the dying, all of which should be energetically undertaken by public health authorities, are picked up by groups like the Gay Men's Health Crisis. Based in the largely white, petty-bourgeois milieu of the organized gay community, with access to jobs, education, health insurance, and connections, GMHC has reached out to provide help to black and other destitute AIDS victims. But heroic ad hoc volunteerism is always a cruelly insufficient resource for any endeavor a society actually cares

about, and meanwhile we have an exponentially growing public health disaster. In Harlem, Watts and Miami's "Little Haiti," AIDS is spreading furiously among IV drug users. More than half of the people infected with HIV in this country are black and Hispanic. The AIDS virus is compounded by systematic race and class oppression: poverty, unemployment, decrepit housing, inadequate schools, too few hospitals and no health insurance. By the time people in these conditions are diagnosed, most are only weeks away from death.

Sex, Race and the AIDS Witchhunt

An estimated ten million people around the globe are infected with HIV and everywhere outside the U.S. and Western Europe the primary means of transmission of the virus is through heterosexual sex. The devastation wrought

on black America in particular about the virus, and more generally to fight the opprobrium heaped upon the estimated one million Americans who are infected with HIV, may help, but awareness is not a cure. What is required is to fully mobilize society's resources for AIDS research as well as to care for those infected. What stands in the way is the government's policy of malign neglect, reinforced by pervasive social backwardness. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar said it best: "This is still a nation of bigotry and fear." Just look at the skyrocketing incidents of gay-bashing since mainstream America became "aware" that thousands of homosexuals were dying of AIDS. Stars don't come bigger than Magic, and now even against him the backlash has begun.

Since the bigots can't blame gays or IV drug use for Magic's infection, they've unleashed a torrent of prejudice

money" and a pillar of the community.

In the context of the convulsive civil rights and Vietnam antiwar struggles of the '60s and early '70s, some black athletes broke the mold, at a huge personal cost. Muhammad Ali was stripped of his boxing title (and millions in endorsements) when he refused to be drafted and stated, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." Gold and bronze medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos were banished from the U.S. Olympic team for their defiant "black power" salute when the American flag was raised over their heads and the national anthem boomed during the 1968 Mexico City games. In the macho world of sports, it took tremendous courage for football player Dave Kopay to come out of the closet.

It's a sign of these conservative times that even as Magic Johnson courageously goes public with HIV, he repeatedly attributes his infection to "God's way." Much of the sports world has responded with moments of silence and public prayers. This plays into the hands of every bigot, from the Catholic church to the White House to the black preachers who have opposed every measure that could prevent the spread of AIDS, like sterile needle exchange programs and condom distribution in the schools. They think it's "God's will" to wipe homosexuals, drug addicts, teenage mothers with AIDS babies off the face of the earth. They demand "behavioral change," by which they mean abstain from sex, abstain from drugs...or drop dead.

Sex and hormones is a lot of what being a teenager is all about, but for kids today, sex without a condom is like playing Russian roulette. In Chelsea, Massachusetts, an economic wasteland, 20 percent of adolescents are infected with sexually transmitted diseases, and the rate of HIV infection is 50 times higher than that of the rest of the state. In an emotional hearing on November 12, a proposal to distribute condoms in the Chelsea schools was defeated by priests and administrators who argued against "promoting sex." As 15-year-old Sabrina Sullivan retorted, "Sex does not need to be promoted."

AIDS is caused by a virus, not by "sin," and not by sex—any kind of sex. Our species didn't evolve to its present state through chastity. Nor did anyone ever advocate an end to the "heterosexual lifestyle" because it was responsible for spreading herpes, gonorrhea and syphilis. But now we have a government with the mindset of Salem witchhunters—they preach abstinence not only because they think people with AIDS deserve to die, but as part of a whole repressive puritan drive to mold obedient boys and girls for Bush's New World Order.

Criminal State Neglect as Epidemic Rages

Magic Johnson has accepted Bush's offer to join the National Commission on AIDS, and vows to "tell President Bush that it's time to drop the political barriers that have slowed down efforts to find a cure for the disease." The Commission issued a report in September advocating national health care and delivered a scathing attack on the Bush administration's lack of response. As Carisa Cunningham, a spokeswoman for the AIDS Action Council, said, "if the President continues to ignore the recommendations of the commission, it doesn't matter who sits on the commission or what they say." Bush and Congress only want Magic's winning smile as window-dressing for a policy of neglect.

Likewise in New York City where AIDS is ravaging the ghettos and barrios, the city's response has been to plaster filthy urine-stenciled subway cars with slick bilingual advertisements of happy faces announcing that they've tested positive for the AIDS virus and life has never been better. It's enough to make you scream—but the most curdling howls of rage would not begin to do justice to the appalling state of medical care



Disease of poverty: AIDS victim reduced to begging in New York City subway. The full resources of society should be mobilized to fight this deadly plague.

by the disease in sub-Saharan Africa has brought incalculable horror; India, Thailand and Brazil are threatened by the rampant spread of this plague. The enormity of the shock in the U.S. of a famous heterosexual person announcing he has the AIDS virus is in itself a monument to the ignorance, bigotry and backwardness of this country whose rulers have greeted this terrible disease as "God's retribution" against homosexuals, IV drug users and other social "deviants."

The intersection of disease with sex calls out every hatred, every prejudice in this sick society. In Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan sport "Thank God for AIDS" T-shirts. Reactionaries obstruct fighting this disease and welcome AIDS as a political weapon to instill fear as part of a racist, religious, anti-sex witchhunt. For the past year public health officials, Congress and the bourgeois media swarmed like vultures to the ravaged body of Kimberly Bergalis (who apparently contracted AIDS from improperly sterilized equipment at her dentist's office) in order to further spread fear, loathing and state repression of "guilty" carriers who infect "the innocent."

Randy Shilts (author of *And the Band Played On*) commented: "In his fight against HIV, Magic Johnson should not confine his concern to heterosexual victims.... The depressing subtext to Johnson's announcement was that suddenly people cared about HIV because it struck someone they liked, someone who clearly didn't 'deserve' it" (*Sports Illustrated*, 18 November). And the bluntly honest Charles Barkley confessed: "I'm disappointed in myself that I don't feel bad for everyone who has AIDS like I do about Magic." If Magic hadn't made it to the NBA he could be just another black man dying of AIDS in a Michigan ghetto—and no one would give a damn.

Magic Johnson's commitment to edu-

against sex itself. From other players, like Phoenix Suns guard Kevin Johnson, we get misogynous tales of satanic temptresses stalking locker rooms and parking lots for sexual prey: "The women hover and wait to try to get you." From right-wing ideologues and boozy, lunkheaded, hypocritical moralist sports writers we get the inverse—that "innocent" women are the victims of oversexed, spoiled men. On the sports page, Dave Anderson outrageously denounced "the egotistical essence" of Johnson testing positive for HIV. "He's not St. Magic of Sunset Boulevard; he's Earvin Johnson of the Fast Lane who finally got caught for speeding." On the opinion page we get Patrick Buchanan thundering, "We want to ignore the traditional morality, but never pay the price...there is a moral distinction between Kimberly Bergalis and Magic Johnson that cannot be lost."

For women this is nothing but a rehash of the sexist stereotypes of women as either Virgin Marys or Lay Down Sallys. For black men, it's a racist double standard. Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson or Donald Trump aren't pilloried in the press for their sexual exploits—it's accepted as a "legitimate" lifestyle of the rich and famous and white.

Black athletes, who weren't born with silver spoons in their mouths, are held to a different code of conduct. The price of fame and adulation for them is high: no politics, no drugs (except what the owners pump you up with), praise god whenever possible, and be a patriotic "role model" for the Moral Majority bigots to hold up for youth. In the NBA, the blackest of professional sports, players have been denounced by the media for "perverse commercialism" when they promote products like high-priced sneakers. But if your great-great-grandfather amassed the family fortune through buying and selling black slaves, then you're "old

in capitalist America. Even the *New York Times* (17 November) acknowledged:

"As AIDS becomes more deeply entrenched in the culture of poverty, inspiration alone can only help so much. Already, those answering Johnson's call to get tested for the virus may face months of waiting. Those who test positive and lack health insurance may find themselves in a three-month line just to see a doctor, let alone gain access to costly life-prolonging therapy."

Thirty-four million Americans have no health insurance at all. There are 200,000 reported cases of AIDS in the U.S. and over 125,000 deaths. On 1 January 1992, the definition of AIDS will change from having an opportunistic infection to having either an infection or a T4-cell count (cells which fight infections) of less than 200. It is estimated that under this new, more appropriate definition the number of AIDS cases in the U.S. alone will soar to 350,000-400,000. At the same time, the less than \$500 million allocated for education about AIDS in the U.S. is being slashed by \$14 million for fiscal year 1992.

There is more than enough money to slaughter Iraqis, or line the pockets of Bush's family and capitalist friends, as in the S&L bailout, which will cost taxpayers about \$500 billion—because the American ruling class has a program of death and destruction. They build prisons instead of schools, shut down mental hospitals, dump the sick on the streets, yank the homeless out of their shantytowns and subway platforms, slash spending for welfare, Medicare, and on and on. AIDS in America has rapidly become a disease of poverty. Black youth have been tossed on the slag heap by a ruling class that sees them as a

troublesome "surplus" population. The only way out of the literal dead end they face is a thoroughgoing socialist revolution that creates jobs, free quality education and health care for all.

The government's chief response to the AIDS crisis has been hysteria and repression. Just as the Bergalis case fueled a blizzard of bills pushing for mandatory testing and blacklisting of health care workers backed by threats of fines, jail terms, and loss of jobs and licenses, so too will Magic Johnson's announcement be jumped on to push mandatory testing for drugs and HIV in sports and other occupations. Boston Celtic Kevin McHale has already called for mandatory testing in the NBA. These calls for mandatory testing represent the triumph of ignorance over science. AIDS is spread not through casual contact but exchange of semen, blood or vaginal secretion. Who's at risk in the locker room is not McHale but an HIV-positive player, whose suppressed immune system makes him more susceptible and less able to fight infections from colds and viruses that are spread casually. The only purpose then of mandatory testing is to stigmatize, victimize and blacklist.

Since a test for HIV antibodies first became available in 1985, the Spartacist League has opposed any and all government attempts to legislate mandatory testing of anybody. Instead, we advocate voluntary, anonymous testing for those who want it. In this racist, anti-gay society, forced testing only exposes those most in need of help to the vicious bigotry intensified since the onset of this terrible epidemic. In 1989 UCLA researchers terrified millions with a clinical study they claimed showed that even

people who tested negative for AIDS might really have already been exposed to the virus but wouldn't develop antibodies and test positive for an indefinite period of years. Medical experts long ago concluded these findings were false—the interval between infection and a positive test result is short, less than six months—but the public wasn't informed until this month! Such indifference and incompetence make a mockery of the witchhunters' demands for mandatory testing.



WV Photo

Spartacists at demonstration for gay rights in Washington, D.C., October 1987.

The answer to the AIDS crisis is science, not hysteria. But in this sick capitalist society, scientific research on AIDS is hampered by underfunding, grotesque squabbles among drug companies and research teams for glory and prestige, and especially by a medical system run for profit. AIDS patients are bankrupted by the drug companies, who charge a fortune for drugs that appear to be life-prolonging, like AZT. And while the FDA takes forever to get new medications on the market, AIDS victims are legally persecuted for seeking out new medications the only way they can—through an international black market.

We need billions for AIDS research and international cooperation in research for a cure. We're facing a devastating plague here, and society should be mobilized from top to bottom to fight it. But of course this capitalist society is organized to produce for profit, not to fill human needs. And there's no better example of that than what has happened and continues to happen and *not* happen with the AIDS crisis. This government is doing everything in its power to push a reactionary social and political program that prevents effective treatment or containment of the disease and that ensures that its effects will be most devastating and inhumane.

As we wrote in "The Agony of Aids" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988): "The fight against AIDS cries out for a socialist revolution which will lay the basis for a society which will end all forms of social oppression. Only then will the limits of science be the sole limits—and those will constantly be enlarged through thoughtful, energetic research." ■

Northite Fool's Gold...

(continued from page 13)

labor bureaucracy. North cynically proclaims: "We do not make a fetish of the so-called mass organizations, with their paper membership and their overstaffed and overpaid bureaucracies.... The AFL-CIO, like all the other bureaucracies which exist in this world, is an instrument of imperialism which exists to control and discipline the working class" (*Bulletin*, 6 September). He calls for a "Fight for a Labor Party Based on a Socialist Program," and even declares that such a party need not be "some sort of social democratic party under the aegis of the AFL-CIO." Quite a mouthful coming from the same Workers League which for years routinely called on the same sellout AFL-CIO bureaucrats to lead everything including general strikes.

In fact, during the Iran-Contra scandal, the Northites demanded that "the AFL-CIO conduct[s] its own independent inquiry into the illegal White House activities and the direct dangers they pose to the working class" (*Labor Must Act on Iran-Contra Crisis*, January 1987). This is tantamount to calling on the CIA to investigate itself! The AFL-CIO tops were no less involved in the

U.S. war crimes in Central America than the crew in the White House basement. Lane Kirkland was a member of the Rockefeller Commission, which carried out a whitewash of CIA assassination activities for the Ford administration in 1975. Kirkland was a member of the Kissinger Commission, which rubber-stamped Reagan's support to the contra terrorists in Nicaragua. He is a member of the National Endowment for Democracy, set up to give a veneer of legitimacy to CIA-funded subversion. And the AFL-CIO has for years provided cover for CIA "labor" activities through the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" in Latin America and similar outfits elsewhere.

"Democratic" Cover for Imperialist War

The hypocrisy is mind-boggling, but hardly new for the sinister David North, who was one of the prime authors of the Healyite cop-baiting smear job against the American reformist Socialist Workers Party, "Security and the Fourth International," and who more recently appealed to the capitalist state to jail SWP member Mark Curtis, while lining up AFL-CIO bureaucrats to back this vicious frame-up. As part of his current pseudo-orthodoxy jag, North is putting his membership's heads through yet another Healyite wringer as they build for a "Berlin Conference Against Colonialism and War" this month.

This is quite a name for a conference held by this crew. When the U.S. imperialists' mad bombers were laying waste to Iraq, the central demand of the Northites was for a "national referendum on the gulf war in which all workers and youth of voting age would be able to take part" (*Bulletin*, 30 November 1990). We pointed out (and perhaps members of North's Workers League could figure out for themselves) how this amounted to "democratic" support for the imperialist war:

"At the red-white-and-blue 'antiwar' demonstration in Washington, D.C. on January 26, the Northites marched under a banner reading: 'Stop War Against Iraq—Let the People Vote on War.' This is worse than the most abject social-pacifism, appealing to the imperialist butchers to give a more 'democratic'

cover to their genocidal war against the Iraqi people. At the time, the American 'people,' in their overwhelming majority, supported Bush's war!"

—WV No. 523, 29 March

North's attempt to invoke Trotsky in defending this social-patriotic ploy is a slander against the Bolshevik leader, who consistently fought for class struggle against imperialist war. While the "ICFI" was peddling this line, the Spartacist League marched under the banner "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" and the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) fought for labor political strikes against the war.

So our advice to anyone who might be taken in by North's latest shell game is to look carefully at the record of this dubious tendency which took well over £1 million from Arab bourgeois

regimes; which set up the leader of the British miners union for persecution by the class enemy; which has systematically used the capitalist cops and courts against its opponents on the left; which extolled the execution of Iraqi Communist workers, and fingered opponents of the Ba'athist regime for bloody repression; which hailed feudal Ayatollah Khomeini and Walesa's Solidarnosc, the only union Ronald Reagan ever loved; which has supported fascistic Lithuanian nationalists and Yeltsinist "union" misleaders bought by the "AFL-CIA"; which has catered to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in America and the Fourth Reich Social Democrats in Germany...look carefully at all this and understand that the slimy reality of the Northites is not just what you read on paper. These people are capable of saying and doing anything. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Boston

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

Los Angeles

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

Chicago

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

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 781-7500

New York

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

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

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

San Francisco

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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

Edmonton

PSSE P.O. Box 9605
Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

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

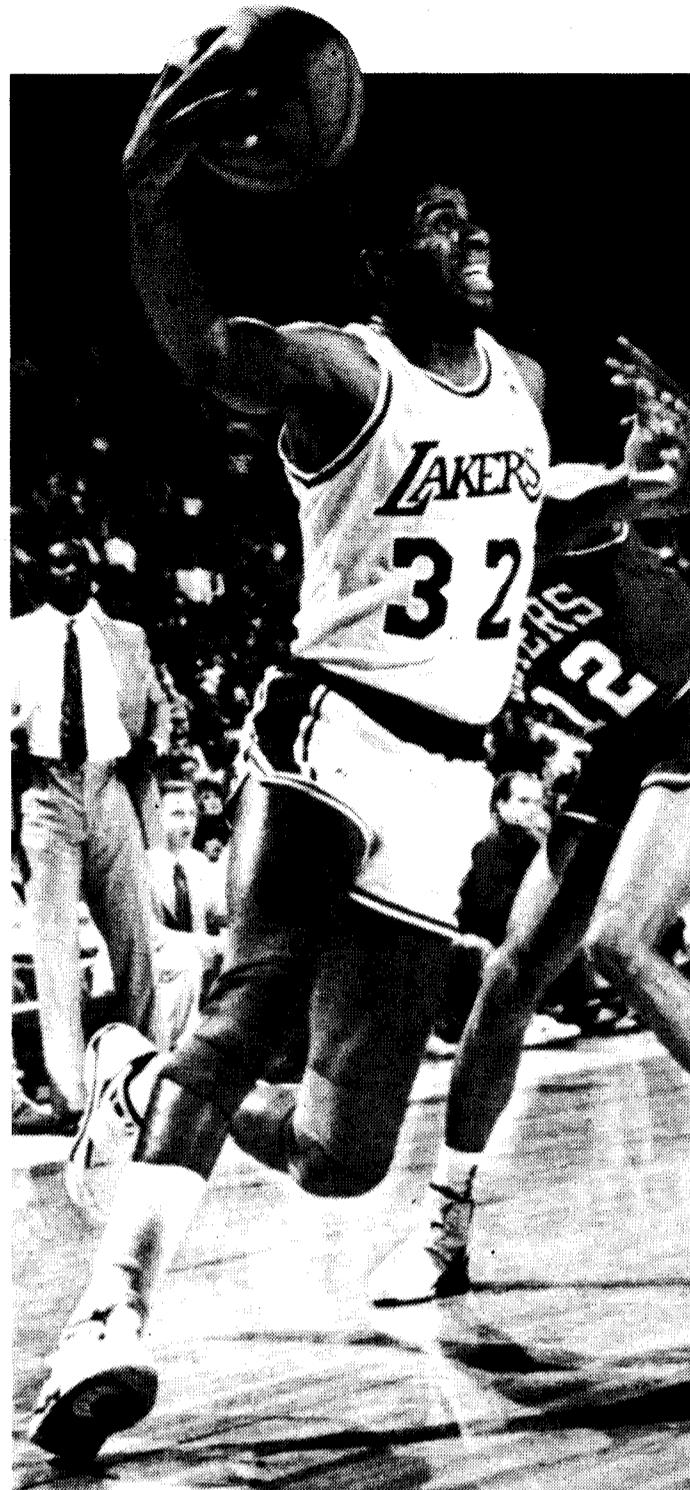
Chicago

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

New York City

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

WORKERS VANGUARD



Soohoo/NBA Photos
Legendary Los Angeles Lakers basketball star Earvin "Magic" Johnson.

Magic Johnson and the AIDS Crisis

On the early afternoon of November 7, Magic Johnson calmly stepped up to a microphone as if it were just another NBA free throw line and stunned the world with the announcement that he had been infected with the HIV virus. Johnson announced his immediate retirement from professional basketball and pledged to become a spokesman in the battle against AIDS, cautioning, "You think it can never happen to you, that it only happens to other people. If it can happen to Magic Johnson it can happen to anybody."

His composure and bravery in publicly announcing his infection with the AIDS virus—a death sentence for its overwhelmingly gay, black and Hispanic victims who also suffer a plague of bigotry—was met with an unusual outpouring of support. Philadelphia 76ers' forward Charles Barkley adopted Johnson's uniform number "32" for the rest of the season as a personal tribute. Phone lines to AIDS organizations were jammed coast to coast as thousands called in \$32 contributions or asked for information about the virus. Young black kids who practice Magic's moves with the basketball in vacant lots and schoolyards across the country cried and talked of their fears for themselves, their older brothers and sisters, and their idol.

For more than a dozen years Magic Johnson has dominated the sport of basketball. The Los Angeles

Lakers had not had a losing month since Magic joined the team in 1979. Lumbering down the lane on the break with his shoulder-high dribble, arching jumpers from "downtown," master of the touch pass, no-look pass, fake pass, "junior sky hook," and now and then a crushing slam dunk, Johnson led his Lakers to five NBA championships. He is also that rare professional gracious enough to visit the opposing team's locker room to offer congratulations when the Lakers lost.

To list Johnson's achievements only scratches the surface of his game. Magic Johnson is one of the very few who changed the way the game was played. The on-court coach, Magic demonstrated that teamwork, setting up teammates to score, was an art. In the dozen years since Johnson and his friend Larry Bird brought their rivalry onto the hardwood floors of the Boston Garden and the Great Western Forum, pro basketball was transformed from an exciting but little-watched inner-city game to a vastly successful international business—helping overcome the last vestiges of a quota system in basketball by proving that white fans will turn out for a "black sport."

Especially for minority youth who face big "Do Not Enter" signs at the gates of most walks of life, sports are the great escape fantasy from a reality of grinding poverty and oppression. For them there's

continued on page 14

NYC Trial of Skinhead Gay-Bashers

The Murder of Julio Rivera

Three white skinhead killers are currently facing charges in Queens for the brutal slaying of Julio Rivera, a gay Hispanic bartender. "I killed him because he was gay," Daniel Doyle testified on November 7. Doyle could calmly deliver this chilling admission because he isn't even on trial, having earlier copped a plea. And the judge encouraged the prosecution to work out a deal for a lesser plea for his two accomplices.

The case is becoming known as the "gay Howard Beach trial" as the murderous bigotry of the gang members recalls the racist lynch mob which, in 1986, set upon three black men and chased Michael Griffith onto an expressway where he was struck and killed by a car.

In the early morning hours of 2 July 1990, the skinhead punks, members of the fascist "DMS" ("Doc Martens Skinheads") gang, set out on a vicious "hunting party." They looked for a homeless man, but couldn't find one. So they knocked down an empty shanty of a homeless person under the subway tracks, and went to P.S. 69 and lay in

wait for a gay man to walk by. The Jackson Heights schoolyard is known as a gay "cruising strip."

They lured Julio Rivera into the yard, then took out a claw hammer and began to hit him in the back of the head with full force. They broke a beer bottle over his head and smashed him in the face with a plumber's wrench. When Rivera was bent over under the blows, they stabbed him in the back, the blow that ended his life.

Gang leader Daniel Doyle, who delivered the fatal knife blow, is the son of a retired city detective. By pleading guilty to manslaughter Doyle will be eligible for parole in eight years, in exchange for testifying against fellow gang members Erik Brown, college student and brother of a New York City cop, and Esat Bici, a lumpenized part-time pizza deliveryman with underworld connections.

Brown and Bici are charged with second-degree murder and, if convicted, could face 25 years to life. Even that is a whitewash, for it's crystal clear that this was a case of cold-blooded,

premeditated murder.

The cops said Rivera was a "cocaine user" and treated it as a low-priority drug murder. They waited nine months to classify it as a "bias crime" and four months of demonstrations passed before they made an arrest, even though the killers were going around the neighborhood bragging about their deed. It was due to the courage of Alan Sack, a close friend and former lover of Rivera, that the case has come to court.

Sack, a 39-year-old interior designer, had been talking with a friend on the street, when someone shouted at him to run to the schoolyard because "someone's killing Julio." As he testified at the trial, he ran to the scene where he found his friend covered in blood and lying on the sidewalk. Fighting back tears, Sack told the jury how he held Julio, desperately urging him to hang on.

Sack had never been an activist until he held Rivera dying in his arms. Determined to seek justice, he tracked down witnesses and badgered the police and mayor's office. He called upon the gay rights group Queer Nation in Manhattan,



Julio Rivera

and with their help flyers were distributed and marches organized. On one candlelight march this August, 350 gay men and women walked to the schoolyard, as store owners cheered them on.

At the Queens state supreme court last Wednesday, Sack told WV what it has meant for him to sit through the trial of

continued on page 5