

Government Snoops Snoop on the Government

Anti-Sex Witchhunt and the White House

The words cynicism and hypocrisy barely begin to capture the dimensions of the feigned outrage and moralistic fingerwagging by politicians and pundits after Bill Clinton finally 'fessed up to having had an "inappropriate relationship" with "that woman," former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. It all brought to mind the corrupt Vichy cop in *Casablanca* who was "shocked, shocked" that Rick's Place was a gambling den as he pocketed his winnings.

Having colluded in the axing of welfare for millions of destitute women and children, in the terror-bombing of defenseless people around the world and in all the other sordid "affairs of state," Clinton's own former aides and advisers have now leapt to the fore to express their "profound disappointment" at the

supposedly sordid goings-on in the Oval Office. Former White House spin doctor Dick Morris, who was dumped by the chief executive after it came out he'd been with a prostitute, castigated Clinton for not being sufficiently "contrite" in his televised mea culpa speech. But "outside the Beltway," Clinton's

plea that even the president is entitled to a private life played well. One opinion poll after another has shown that the population at large is fed up with Kenneth Starr's grand jury inquisition and has gone beyond apathy to a healthy disgust with the whole prurient business. Does anyone really care what DNA tests of the stained blue dress reveal? Or what, if any, "signal" Clinton was trying to send by wearing a
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Imperialist Butcher Clinton Strikes Afghanistan, Sudan

Down With U.S. Terror Bombing!



AP photos

Protesters in Khartoum carry pictures of those killed in U.S. cruise missile attack on Sudanese pharmaceutical factory.

The U.S. missile attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan on August 20 were a calculated display of imperialist bloodthirstiness and barbarity. Some 75 cruise missiles slammed into a supposed "terrorist training camp" in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant on the outskirts of the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, killing dozens of people. The two countries singled out for attack are among the most impoverished in the world, both ravaged

by years of civil war. Sudan, which is ludicrously charged by the U.S. with having a "military-industrial complex," is beset by one of the worst famines in recent history.

The administration claimed the attacks were aimed at taking out a shadowy "international terrorist network" led by Saudi Islamic fundamentalist Osama bin Laden, which supposedly organized the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania earlier in the month. In fact, U.S. imperialism is the main force for reactionary terror throughout the world, from the Phoenix mass assassination program during the Vietnam War to the murderous campaigns carried out by the CIA's Nicaraguan contras and Cuban

gusanos to the repeated missile strikes against the Iraqi people. What is behind the U.S. terror bombing of Afghanistan and Sudan, as we wrote at the time of another war buildup against Iraq earlier this year, is "the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its 'right' to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to its imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction continues to make it top dog" (WV No. 685, 27 February).

Dumping the usual talk of "consultation" with its "allies," Washington went out of its way to stress that the bombings were a unilateral action. Indeed, while most Western capitals soon fell into line,

initial international support for the U.S. attacks was limited to Blair's Britain and Netanyahu's Israel. It was not lost on imperialist rivals like Germany and Japan that the same 75 American cruise missiles, aimed at nuclear power plants in those countries, would render large areas uninhabitable for centuries.

White House spokesmen talked of "irrefutable" evidence that the targeted sites were involved in the bombing of the U.S. embassy and that the Khartoum plant was producing ingredients for a deadly nerve gas to be used in further attacks, claims which were subsequently also promoted by Republican Congressional leaders. None of this "evidence"
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Down With Giuliani's Racist Ban on Reactionary "Million Youth March"

In a calculated racist provocation, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani has denied the organizers of the "Million Youth March" a permit to march in Harlem on September 5. Giuliani raves that he is not going to allow "a hatemonger to take over our city in any substantial respect." The central figure of the proposed "Million Youth March," Khalid Muhammad, is a vicious demagogue whose anti-Semitic ravings fuel a climate of bigotry and reaction. But New York City has already been taken over by a racist hatemonger—Mayor Giuliani—who has at his command an army of cops and a considerable arsenal of repression.

Underlining Giuliani's racist assault on the city's ghetto masses is the latest

police atrocity on the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant, as two plainclothes cops fired 17 bullets at 16-year-old Michael Jones. The cops claimed that they mistook his water pistol for an assault rifle! Now the youth, lying near death in the hospital, has been charged with "menacing."

Riding into office on a bonapartist mobilization by NYC cops demanding more police power, Giuliani's "law and order" administration is synonymous with rampaging cop terror and gratuitous cruelty against the poor, blacks and immigrants. The homeless have been swept from the streets; the disabled and afflicted have been forced into slave-labor workfare programs; open admissions programs

benefitting working-class and minority students at City University (CUNY) campuses have been axed; and now Giuliani is moving to cut off methadone treatment for heroin addicts. On the streets, the racist cops serve as the enforcers of a climate of fear, intimidation and terror.

Barring the "Million Youth March" from the streets of Harlem is the latest in a series of wholesale attacks on such basic democratic rights as freedom of speech and assembly. In the past few months alone, Giuliani has unleashed thousands of cops to stop a protest by overwhelmingly immigrant cab drivers, tried to ban food vendors from Manhattan streets, ordered the arrest of demonstrators protesting the abolition of remedial education programs at CUNY, and implemented new arrest procedures which effectively amount to preventive detention (see "Giuliani's NYC: 'Quality of Life' Police State," WV No. 692, 5 June). The workers movement and all defenders of civil liberties must oppose Giuliani's ban on the "Million Youth March"!

While we defend the right of the "Million Youth March" to march down Harlem's Malcolm X Boulevard, we emphatically warn that Khalid Muhammad is a poisonous messenger of racial hatred. When it comes to fomenting race war, Muhammad is a fitting analogue to the racist Republican mayor. In response to Giuliani's ban, Muhammad threatened to "shut down the City, starting with Eastern Parkway in Crown Heights" and warned of "a direct confrontation with the Jews of that area." Crown Heights has a long history of communal violence between its black and Orthodox Jewish residents, fueled by Zionists and black nationalists. This exploded in 1991 when a Hasidic driver callously ran over and killed a seven-year-old black child, leading to clashes in which a Jewish religious student was stabbed to death. Diverting the justified outrage of black youth against conditions of horrendous

oppression into racist bigotry against Jews, Asians and others, Muhammad stokes the flames of right-wing reaction whose first targets will be black people.

The "Million Youth March" is an attempt to replay Louis Farrakhan's 1995 "Million Man March," whose calls for black "atonement" blamed the dispossessed ghetto masses for their oppression. Despite his posturing as an opponent of the racist ruling establishment, Farrakhan's reactionary mobilization was applauded by the U.S. rulers—Republicans and Democrats. A former leading lieutenant of the Nation of Islam (NOI), Muhammad was expelled from the NOI as his overly flagrant anti-Semitism got in the way of Farrakhan's continued bid for bourgeois respectability. Yet for all his "in your face" rhetoric against Giuliani, Muhammad pledged that his march "is not 40,000 white union workers beating up New York city cops."

Unlike immigrant cab drivers, student protesters and street vendors who have been viciously attacked by Giuliani, the recent protest by 40,000 construction workers was a demonstration of the social power of labor to face down the capitalist rulers and their cops. Petty-bourgeois nationalists like Muhammad and Farrakhan sneer with contempt for the multiracial proletariat. But the racist, job-trusting labor bureaucrats likewise serve the bourgeoisie in trying to head off class consciousness which could mobilize the proletariat across racial lines in defense of the ghetto and barrio poor. As we wrote in "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People" (WV No. 600, 13 May 1994):

"The fight against racial oppression is key to workers revolution in the U.S. The labor movement is the one powerful racially integrated force in this society. Their strategic position in the labor movement makes it possible for black workers to lead in bringing down the entire racist, capitalist system through united class struggle. Black women, whom the nationalists seek to keep 'in their place' as producers of babies, belong in the forefront of the fight for black freedom. Black and white and Latino and Asian revolutionaries, armed with a communist program and organized in a multiracial communist vanguard party which acts as the tribune of the people, can lead a fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited for workers revolution, to smash imperialist domination throughout the Americas, Africa and the world." ■



TROTSKY

The Labor Bureaucracy and the Capitalist State

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy serves as lieutenants of the capitalist class inside the labor movement, subordinating the workers organizations to the class enemy through support to the bourgeois parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and the bourgeois state. In an unfinished 1940 article, found after his assassination by an agent of Stalin, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky stressed that a key component in the fight for

revolutionary leadership of the trade unions was the call for their complete independence from the capitalist state.

There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power. This process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the social-democratic, the Communist, and "anarchist" trade unions. This fact alone shows that the tendency towards "growing together" is intrinsic not in this or that doctrine as such but derives from social conditions common for all unions.

Monopoly capitalism does not rest on competition and free private initiative but on centralized command. The capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, etc., view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter. In their turn the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of profiting by the competition among the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in "freeing" the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the "democratic" state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war. By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism....

It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: **complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.** This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

—Leon Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)



LENIN

Victimized for Supporting Puerto Rico Independence Demo

Defend New York City Bus Driver Eben Lugo!

While on his regular route on July 25, New York City bus operator Eben Lugo noticed a demonstration for Puerto Rican independence outside the United Nations. Lugo, who is Puerto Rican, tooted his horn in solidarity. In Giuliani's police-state NYC, that was enough for Lugo to find himself surrounded by cops, threatened with arrest and harassed by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) bosses. "They acted like I tried to shoot the president," Lugo recalled.

Lugo's bus was stopped and boarded by three cops, including a police captain, who ordered the passengers off. The cops ran a check on Lugo, accused him of trying "to incite a riot" and called his supervisor. Lugo was cited for illegal use of his horn, for which he now faces a fine of up to \$300. Then an MTA bus superintendent arrived at the scene, wrote Lugo up and ordered him to undergo drug and alcohol tests. Gil Rodriguez, vice



NY1 News

Eben Lugo

president of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 said, "I've been with Transit for 32 years and never heard of anything like this."

Lugo's co-workers have expressed support for him, as have many other

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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In Defense of Dick Fraser

Sex and Lies Pre-Videotape

In an article titled "Clara Fraser: Protesting Too Much—Personalism as a 'Political' Program" (WV No. 559, 18 September 1992), we wrote, "Even from beyond the grave, Dick Fraser haunts the FSP [Freedom Socialist Party], which obsessively continues to try to destroy him." At the time, FSP *líder máxima*, Clara Fraser, who made her 1967 divorce from Dick Fraser the FSP's *raison d'être*, was still among the living. (Dick Fraser had died in 1988.)

Clara passed on to the great "Rebel Girl" Sorority in the sky in February of this year, but the FSP's slanderous campaign against Dick did not die with her. We publish below a statement by Dick's longtime collaborator and an FSP founder, Frank Krasnowsky, which demolishes the multiple lies about the Fraser divorce contained in *Revolution She Wrote*, a collection of Clara Fraser's writings posthumously published by the FSP.

Dick Fraser was a veteran of the revolutionary Trotskyist movement in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s in the United States, and he developed the program of revolutionary integration, which sees the struggle for black liberation in the U.S. as central and integral to the struggle for socialist revolution. Dick was a theoretical mentor of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), precursor of the Spartacist League, which fought the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the early 1960s, struggling among other things for an active Trotskyist intervention into the civil rights movement.

But Dick's own political trajectory at the time was not a revolutionary one. In the SWP, Dick and Clara had been associated with the group led by Murry and Myra Tanner Weiss, which by the

late 1950s was on the right wing of the party. The Seattle-based SWP opposition, which Dick and Clara led, adapted opportunistically to the student-based New Left and became proponents of sectoralism, gutting the program of socialist revolution of its proletarian centrality by insisting that each oppressed "sector" (e.g., women, blacks, gays) must organize its own struggle separately. After the Frasers and their cothinkers left the SWP in 1966, they founded the FSP, for which polyvanguardism eventually became the *sine qua non* of its existence.

However, the Fraserites had left the SWP in opposition to the craven social-patriotism of the party's Vietnam antiwar work, encapsulated in the SWP slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home, Now." SWP majority hack Asher Harer, sent to Seattle in 1966, publicly denounced the branch for advocating a program of "driving the G.I.'s into the China Sea" and for its solidarity with the Vietnamese forces fighting U.S. imperialism. Dick was animated throughout his life by hard opposition to U.S. imperialism, but the same cannot be said for Clara. In 1985, her FSP followed its "people of color" solidarity rhetoric to its reactionary conclusion, supporting the CIA-backed Miskito Indians in Nicaragua against the radical petty-bourgeois Sandinista government!

Frank Krasnowsky recounts in his letter how he and Dick, along with other founding FSP cadre, split from Clara's increasingly bureaucratic FSP in 1967, establishing Freedom Socialist Publications, which published the journal *Revolutionary Age*. Clara and friends founded Radical Women, a feminist organization still associated with the FSP, as the codification of their "socialist feminist" perspective. Dick, Frank Krasnowsky and

the other editors of *Revolutionary Age* moved in the direction of Maoism. In 1977, Clara's FSP attempted to broker a "regroupment" among disaffected ex-SWPs including Murry and Myra Weiss, forming the short-lived "Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party," mentioned in Krasnowsky's letter.

Dick Fraser had been a co-reporter on the struggle for black rights at the founding conference of the Spartacist League in 1966, but his growing support to the Stalinist leadership of Mao's China separated him from us for many years. His political activity was also sharply curtailed after he was diagnosed with cancer, against which he fought an agonizing battle. Dick began to collaborate with us again in the early 1980s when we initiated local organizations for labor/black defense, aiming to draw wider circles of

black workers and youth around the party. Outraged by U.S. imperialism's brutal bombing of Libya in 1986, Dick joined the SL at the end of his life. We organized a memorial meeting for him in Los Angeles after his death. Those interested in learning more about Dick Fraser are referred to "In Memoriam: Richard S. Fraser—An Appreciation and Selection of His Work" (*Prometheus Research Series* No. 3 [August 1990]).

In the statement below, Krasnowsky mentions the crazed fascistic cult leader, Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche started his political career as a leftist and member of the SWP, passing subsequently through Tim Wohlforth's American Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, and more briefly through the Spartacist League. Subsequently, LaRouche founded the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), which moved rapidly to the right in the mid-1970s when it began a demented campaign of physical attacks on the Communist Party. In 1977, the Spartacist League characterized LaRouche's NCLC as "a willfully provocative anti-working-class counterrevolutionary organization without significant internal contradictions."



Frank Krasnowsky at 1989 memorial meeting for Dick Fraser.

WV Photo

Slander as Revolutionary Politics

Methods of the Clara Fraser Cult

by Frank Krasnowsky

Statement by Frank Krasnowsky, first organizer of the Freedom Socialist Party, collaborator on all the organization's founding documents, editor of Freedom Socialist Publications' magazine Revolutionary Age, former organizer and/or educational director of the Seattle Branch of the SWP, delegate to all SWP national conventions from 1946 to 1966, and local officer of USWA in Seattle—on and off—for 30 years.

A new book of articles by and about Clara Fraser, *Revolution She Wrote*, repeats and enlarges upon her perverse slander of Richard Fraser, who, she

asserts, sued her for custody of their child on the grounds of "adultery" and "neglecting family responsibilities for political work." Presenting such charges against one's wife in a bourgeois court is absolutely unacceptable to socialists and sincere feminists, and **Dick never made them** as anyone willing to look at the trial record of the custody case could learn for themselves. Since the charges were never made, Clara never had to answer them in court, yet her response to these supposed accusations is the centerpiece of the creation myth of the Fraser Cult. They have been repeated by Radical Women/FSP for

thirty years, effectively smearing Dick's name among socialists, feminists and the Trotskyist left.

This slander, repeated in several of Clara's articles, is now extended to include all the comrades who, together with her, founded and developed the program of the Freedom Socialist Party, through Adrienne Weller's biography of Clara which is the book's coda. She accomplishes this by setting the court case back several months so that instead of taking place, as it did, **after** the FSP split, it takes place **before** and becomes the cause of the split. Thus, the members who left the organization to escape Clara's bureaucratic control, are transformed from Dick Fraser's political co-thinkers into collaborators in his abuse of Clara and in his legal case. Weller's crimped imagination creates a meeting where "Clara asked the membership to pass a resolution that Fraser drop his courtroom smears or be expelled." According to her: "The motion passed.... The minority...stormed out."

Illogic piles on illogic! According to this sycophant, courtroom smears that were never made were the basis for an organizational split that took place months before they weren't made! One needs more than Clara's lecture on dialectics to explain how Dick Fraser could be expelled for failing to "drop his courtroom smears" before he (allegedly) made them. Those who "stormed out" had been close comrades of Clara's for years, and I can attest that **nobody who was a member of the organization would have endorsed the court allegations attributed to Dick Fraser under any circumstances.**

The book contains nothing on the actual origins of the FSP, and Weller may not be aware that those who left took with them the majority of the organization.

This majority maintained an organization based on the FSP program, established *Freedom Socialist Publications*, and for more than five years published the magazine *Revolutionary Age* and issued several political pamphlets. One of our first tasks was to try and put to rest the political issues raised by the personal rift between Clara and Dick, which, while they had not yet come to court, had seriously affected the functioning of the FSP and what national reputation it enjoyed. To this end, with the directive of our organization and with Dick's approval, I scanned the affidavit he was to present to the court in his own defense against Clara's legal proceeding against him. He and Clara and I had been almost family for many years, so I was familiar with their marital problems and knew his obsession with keeping custody of his son. I avoided taking sides in the dispute but I wanted to be sure that his statement was an honest presentation of his opinion and would not politically embarrass the FSP. The charges Clara claims he made were not in the affidavit. While Dick was convinced that she had neglected their son, **nowhere did he blame this neglect on party work. There were no charges of adultery.**

At Dick's request, I went with him to his attorney to file the final draft. She insisted that Dick could not possibly win the case without a charge of adultery, and notwithstanding his obsession with retaining custody of Jonny, he adamantly refused, abetted by me, to include the charge.

Clara never forgave me for interfering and forcing her to manufacture her slanderous recreation of the court case. Every cult needs a creation myth. The

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Marxist Bulletin 5

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"Workplace Violence" Witchhunt Targets Unions, Minorities

Carl Cephas, a black member of AFSCME Local 2477, has worked for 16 years at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. This spring, Cephas was suspended from his job on orders of the personnel director, supposedly because he was in danger of "going postal." The evidence? Cephas had, according to a June 1 report on National Public Radio, joked to a friend, "I'll get you Alligator Girl," paraphrasing a line from a Lon Chaney monster movie. Two anonymous co-workers overheard the conversation and filed a complaint. Cephas' desk was searched, turning up a humorous novel, *Going Postal*, and a "true crime series trading card." That was "evidence" enough for management to brand Cephas a homicidal maniac and threaten to take his job away.

Carl Cephas is among the many workers who have been ensnared in the nightmarish machinery of "workplace violence" programs, which have nothing to do with on-the-job safety and everything to do with union-busting. In recent years, scenes of armed security guards escorting laid-off workers away from their former jobs have become common. The intent of such intimidating measures was clear in the case of Kathy Saumier, a worker at Landis Plastics in Syracuse, New York. Saumier, who has since been reinstated, was fired from her job on charges of "sexual harassment" because she was leading a campaign to organize the plant for the United Steel Workers.

Capitalist propaganda aside, attacks by disgruntled employees are *not* the main source of injury or death in the very unsafe American workplace. A new report in *Business Week* (17 August) ranks



Okoniewski/NY Times

Kathy Saumier, fired for union organizing on bogus charge of "sexual harassment," subsequently won her job back.

the U.S. near the bottom among major industrialized countries in the incidence of "workplace violence." Meanwhile, as the recent rash of deadly construction accidents in New York City underscores, thousands of workers are killed or maimed every year in "industrial accidents"—victims of capitalist speedup and union-busting.

The notorious incidents which have given rise to the term "going postal" are themselves testament to the speedup and forced overtime imposed by the postal bosses, who seek to gut civil service job security by deliberately harassing workers in order to drive them to quit or to provoke a hostile response for which they can be fired. As one postal worker noted in a letter to *Workers Vanguard* some years ago: "In the absence of strike

action and with our union bureaucrats selling us out in every conceivable way, the intense pressure and exploitation have driven some postal workers to desperate and crazy acts. What we really need is some hard class struggle" ("The Post Office Drives You Crazy," *WV* No. 542, 10 January 1992).

As speedup, layoffs and shrinking wages and benefits squeeze more profits out of the working class, the capitalists are pushing to return to the days when unions were banned as criminal conspiracies. This is exemplified by the use of the 1970 RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act, supposedly enacted to go after "organized crime," as the weapon of choice to bust unions like the Teamsters through blatant government intervention and takeover. Such "conspiracy" laws have also been used to break strikes and victimize picket-line militants on bogus charges like "kidnapping" scabs. The anti-union drive has intensified in the blowback from the Teamsters strike against UPS last summer, which took Wall Street by surprise, demonstrating the potential power of integrated class struggle.

Typical of this reaction was a series of articles in the *Wall Street Journal* last fall vituperating against "union coercion" and "picket-line violence." The bourgeoisie's manufactured hysteria about an "epidemic" of "workplace violence" serves to promote one of the most threatening new weapons of the capitalist employers against militants, minority workers and the very foundations of union organization. Anyone tagged as "potentially violent" can be stripped of rights and treated as a criminal. The programs typically bypass union contract protections against arbitrary company discipline, gutting minimal union grievance procedures. This constitutes a grave attack on the unions' very purpose: the defense of the workers against the bosses.

Arbitrary firings based solely on management's interpretation of someone's off-the-cuff comment hand the bosses a tool against union militants and "undesirables" like minorities and immigrants. Added to this is the sinister attempt to recruit workers to inform on each other in the name of "preventing violence." The result is a mechanism to purge the unions reminiscent of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s, substituting a trumped-up fear of violence for the red-scare anti-communism of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

War on Labor, War on Blacks

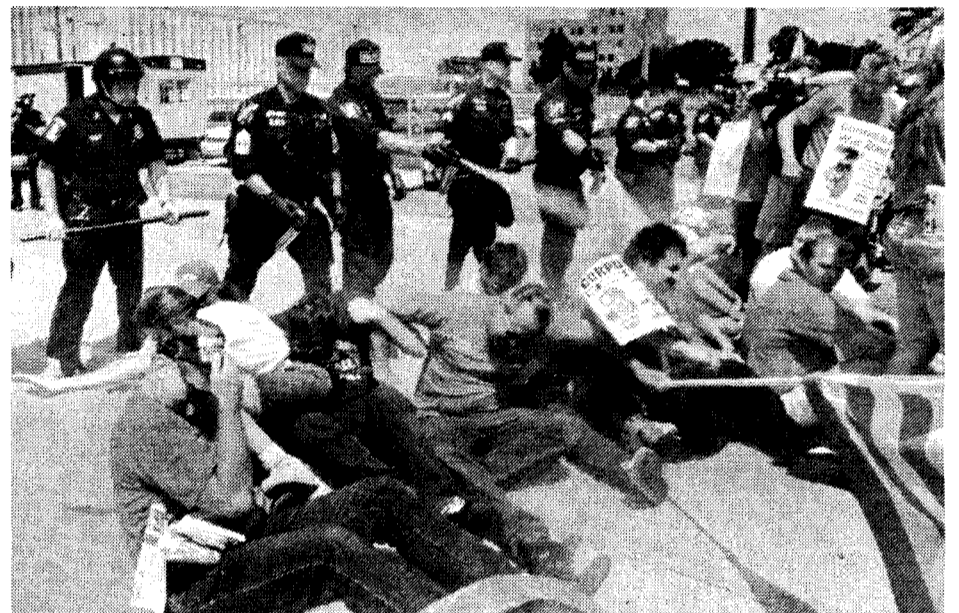
The past two decades in particular have been marked by violent capitalist class war against the American proletariat: outright union-busting, slashing of wages and benefits like medical care, "two tier" wage systems, replacing full-time jobs with low-paying, part-time jobs with no benefits, "outsourcing" to non-union shops. Private strikebreaking outfits are a major growth industry, as corporations spend billions of dollars to prevent unionization and to bust existing unions. On top of this are the billions in government expenditure on more cops and prisons to bolster the power of the bourgeois state, as the escalating exploitation of labor is accompanied by a political offensive against the exploited and oppressed. Racist terror, anti-woman bigotry and the generalized assault on the right to privacy are all necessary corollaries to the capitalist offensive.

Today, the "workplace violence" bogey is used to augment Clinton's arsenal

of police-state repression. It's cut from the same cloth as the drug witchhunt cranked up in the 1980s and early 1990s, routinely used to victimize labor militants and minorities with notoriously inaccurate drug tests. In the false name of "safety," the 1991 Omnibus Transportation Employee Testing Act, for instance, increased the number of random drug and alcohol tests in that industry tenfold. As we wrote several years ago: "The 'war on drugs,' which has served as a pretext for massive cop occupations

American Airlines and Pinkerton. These strikebreakers directly enlist the racist thugs in uniform, the capitalist police, in enforcing on-the-job repression.

Unionized black workers are special targets. The wealthy handful who rule this country seek to foment racial divisions within the working class and whip up racist hatred with the stereotype of "violence-prone" black youth. This not only means racist discrimination on the job, but sets black youth up for murderous police assaults. U.S. capitalist rule



Jim West

Riot cops use pepper gas against Decatur, Illinois strikers, July 1994. While "workplace violence" witchhunt targets union militants, the capitalist rulers unleash cop violence to repress workers struggles.

and racist assaults in the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, is also a *war on labor*, targeting some of the most unionized, and heavily minority, workers" (*WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994). Just as the "war on drugs" was used to criminalize an entire generation of black youth, giving the U.S. the highest rate of incarceration in the world, the new "workplace violence" witchhunt criminalizes pro-labor, anti-employer behavior, attitudes and thoughts.

Notably, the *Wall Street Journal* (10 February 1997) includes among "employees most likely to engage in lethal acts of revenge" those who "file one grievance after another," challenge a superior who fires them or belong to "anti-government" groups. Other "incriminating" signs are "multiple gun ownership" or telling "inappropriate" jokes! A document on "Combating Workplace Violence" put out by the Private Sector Liaison Committee of the International Association of Chiefs of Police lays it all out: "Layoffs, increased workload, having to do more with less, and other unpopular changes in the work environment have been associated with increased risk for violence." This committee includes executives from Boeing, AT&T, IBM, Ford, J.C. Penney,

rests on the oppression of the black population, which historically served as a "reserve army of labor," integrated into the capitalist economy at the bottom while socially segregated as an oppressed race-color caste. Always "last hired, first fired," with the decline of basic industry the ghetto masses are now considered a "surplus population" by the racist rulers. The chauvinist campaign against immigrants has likewise made Latinos and Asians targets for widespread harassment and victimization.

The Frame-Up of Randy Kim

Two recent cases in the San Francisco Bay Area show the "workplace violence" witchhunt in action. Randy Kim worked as a district auto mechanic at the East Bay Municipal Utility District (EBMUD), which provides water and sewage services. A joke by Kim became the pretext for his suspension from the job, a chilling police raid on his home and outlandish charges of "terrorist threats." Following a pro forma management "hearing" on July 21, Kim was summarily fired just two years short of retirement. Three weeks later, on August 13, he was subjected to a court hearing on criminal charges. Much of this account is based on an interview

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(Highland Ave. exit off 101 Freeway)

LOS ANGELES For more information: (213) 380-8239

with Kim by a WV reporter following a preliminary court hearing and on discussions with union members outside the courtroom.

Kim's 23 years on the job were an incentive for the bosses to ax him in favor of newer workers who are paid less. Moreover, Kim is a steward and former vice president of AFSCME Local 444 whose long history of union militancy has put him in the bull's-eye of a company vendetta. Just a few weeks prior to his suspension, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration had cited the company for several violations after Kim had called in the agency over dangerous working conditions. In 1989, he exposed evidence of corrupt financial dealings on the part of several managers, resulting in the forced transfer of some. An attempt to fire Kim at that time failed, but he has since faced systematic company harassment, including threats on the job and assignment to dangerous tasks despite his documented medical disabilities.

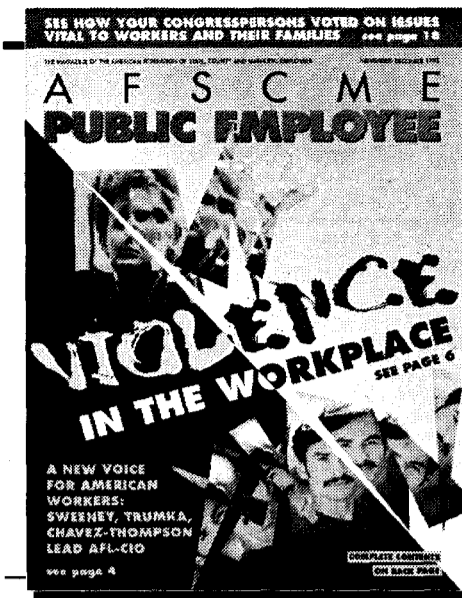
Kim told WV that two supervisors—both former cops—suspended him on April 9, the day after he jokingly remarked about what he might do, *if* he were going to die of cancer tomorrow, to the bosses who have harassed him for years. He had been finked on by a co-worker who is a good friend of one of the bosses. To reinforce the effort to fire him, the company then called police to frame him up on criminal charges under Penal Code 422, California's "Terrorist Threats" law.

The next evening, 12 cops were waiting for Kim at his home; they handcuffed him in front of his 12-year-old son and his son's friend, and accused him of having an Uzi and a .50-calibre machine gun—neither of which he owned. This false information was intended to put Kim at risk of being killed by the cops. The cops took Kim's guns, all legally acquired, including valuable collector's items, and left. Three weeks later, two trumped-up charges based on his gun ownership—carrying a concealed weapon and carrying a concealed weapon in a public place—were tacked onto the original "terrorist threat" frame-up charge.

Behind this blatant frame-up lies virulent racism as well as union-busting. Kim is of Korean and Japanese descent. One of the managers who has it in for Kim displays a bumper sticker on his truck, "Friends don't let friends buy Jap trucks." This poisonous protectionism is a direct continuation of the murderous "yellow peril" chauvinism which led to the concentration-camp internment of Japanese Americans in California during World War II. The union has filed grievances against this same manager for calling black workers "n-----s."

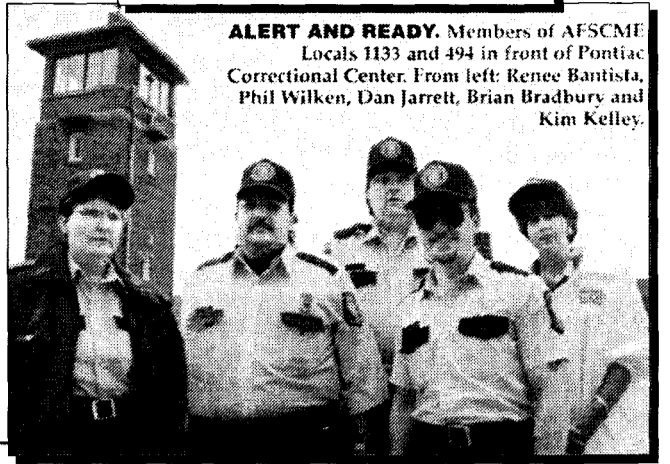
Many of Kim's union brothers and sisters were outraged over his frame-up and rallied to his defense, correctly seeing the attack as a threat to all union members. Co-workers, friends and neighbors wrote 200 letters in Kim's defense. An article in defense of Kim in the Local 444 newsletter *Mainline* (July 1998) reported that almost 300 union members had signed a petition demanding Kim's reinstatement and the dropping of all charges. Both locals passed motions making the same demands, as well as donating money for legal expenses.

In a strong show of solidarity, an integrated contingent of 35 co-workers from AFSCME Local 444 and Local 2019—including the Local 444 president and several officers and executive board members of both locals—packed the courtroom at a preliminary July 17 hearing. Heated discussions took place outside the court following the hearing. While some unionists voiced illusions in the legal system and binding arbitration, others warned that this vicious frame-up was a grave threat to the whole union and argued for strike action to stop management from firing Kim. Workers have never won anything through reliance on the bosses' courts and laws, whose purpose is not justice but defense of the interests of the capitalist rulers. A number of workers have also expressed illu-



AFSCME tops support union-busting "workplace violence" campaign while organizing racist cops and prison guards. Cops out of the unions!

AFSCME
PUBLIC EMPLOYEE
July/August 1996



ALERT AND READY. Members of AFSCME Locals 1133 and 494 in front of Pontiac Correctional Center. From left: Renee Bantista, Phil Wilken, Dan Jarrett, Brian Bradbury and Kim Kelley.

sions in the EBMUD Board of Directors, which is nothing but an agency of the capitalists.

Such illusions have been reinforced by the AFSCME Local 444 leadership, which has opposed taking strike action to defend Kim and never lifted a finger in his defense until forced to by concerned and angry union members. The union officials did not even file a grievance on Kim's behalf until *after* he was fired. The reason for this treachery is not indifference or incompetence, but the fact that the AFSCME leadership *supports* the "workplace violence" policy. Their only complaint is that they were excluded

threat" charge (which they would have had a hard time making stick) in exchange for pleading "no contest" to the minor weapons charge. Kim was sentenced to 30 days of community service and three years' probation. The probation terms—reinforced by a series of restraining orders from the company—ban Kim from setting foot on EBMUD property or having any contact with the supervisors who had brought the charges. Despite the "terrorist threat" charges being dropped, Kim remains fired and has been legally banned from his former place of work for three years without having been convicted of anything!

and hit with additional criminal charges. Last March, a WV reporter attended the criminal trial of Tracy Wade, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 who was charged with assault in a frame-up by a racist, anti-union passenger in October 1996. The trial took place amid a stepped-up campaign of harassment against BART workers in the aftermath of last September's strike, when management had whipped up a racist, anti-union frenzy among the yuppies who commute to San Francisco's financial district. Inspired by the UPS Teamsters strike, train operators and maintenance workers had shut down the BART system for six days. This solid strike was gutted in a backroom deal engineered by Labor Council bureaucrats working hand in glove with Democratic Party politicians like San Francisco mayor Willie Brown (see "Union Tops Scuttle Fight for Equal Pay for Equal Work," WV No. 674, 19 September 1997).

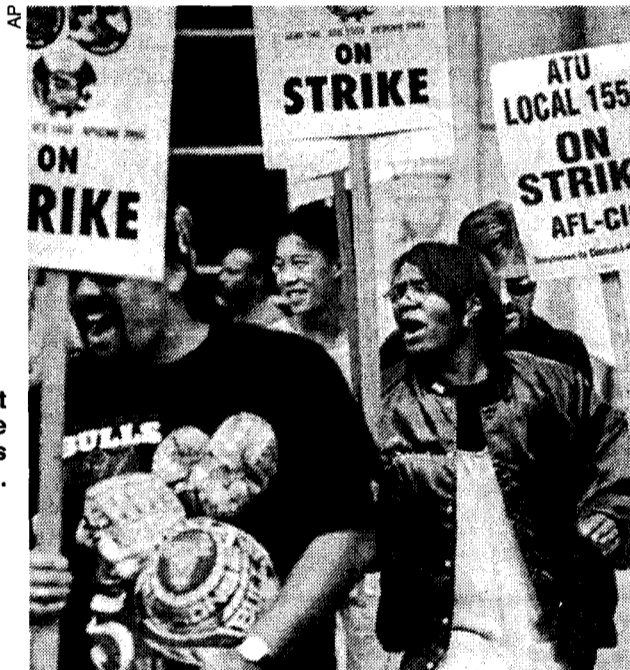
The 1996 incident occurred when Wade was in the cab of his train at a station in the upscale, mostly white suburb of Concord. A white woman passenger, a legal assistant for a law firm specializing in anti-union litigation, banged on the door and tried to force her way into the cab, where passengers are not permitted. She lyingly claimed the operator was drunk and smoking pot and filed a police complaint accusing Wade of physically attacking her and slamming the cab door on her hand. Though the interviewing cops could find no injury, a half hour later Wade was pulled off the train and tested for drugs. Despite testing negative, he was suspended. At a subsequent court hearing, he was arrested and jailed for five days. Then he was fired as the result of a kangaroo court company hearing.

In the criminal trial, another train operator who had witnessed the incident testified, helping to destroy the prosecution's case, which involved numerous flagrant inconsistencies in the passenger's story. Wade was acquitted of all charges—by an all-white jury, no less! Yet the next month a "neutral" arbitrator handed down an outrageous decision upholding Wade's firing, dismissing the testimony of the eyewitness explicitly because she was a union member!

Under Local 1555's contract, a victimized member's only recourse after a company disciplinary hearing is to go to binding arbitration, which must be approved in each case by a vote of a membership meeting; the union members are then individually assessed for the cost. BART workers told WV that following the arbitrator's decision, Local 1555 membership meetings passed a motion demanding Wade's reinstatement. But, as in Kim's case, union officials weren't about to do a thing until forced to by the members. Even then, they refused to mobilize union action, instead promoting "binding arbitration" as the answer. But the arbitrator's racist decision—an attack on the whole union—makes it clear that there is no such thing as "neutral" arbitration between workers and capitalists, whose interests are *counterposed*. With the union tops' refusal to mobilize the union in defense of Wade, the BART bosses

continued on page 11

Bay Area transit workers on the picket lines in 1997.



from the process which victimized Kim. So docile are these union misleaders that the president and chief steward willingly allowed themselves to be scanned by metal detectors on the way into the July 21 "hearing" (held at the offices of a private investigative firm) which resulted in Kim's firing, thus contributing to management's campaign to paint Kim and his union supporters as violent criminals.

Having lost his job, Kim still faced criminal charges. At the August 13 court hearing, Kim accepted a deal by the District Attorney to drop the "terrorist

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution to Randy Kim's ongoing legal defense fund, and *Workers Vanguard* urges our readers to do likewise. They may be sent to: Randy K. Kim Solidarity Fund, c/o Alan A. Dressler, Attorney-at-law, 633 Battery Street, Suite 635, San Francisco, CA 94111.

Harassment Targets Bay Area Transit Workers

As happened to Randy Kim, a black Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) train operator was also recently set up, fired



Murder at the workplace: 25 workers, mostly black women, were killed in fire at Hamlet, North Carolina poultry plant in 1991 because management kept exits locked.

Don Hughes, 1933-1998

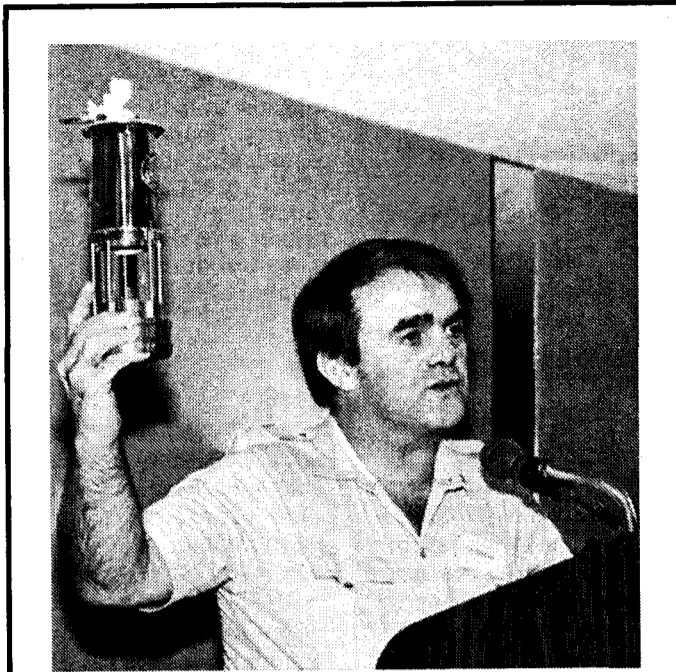
Don Hughes, a longtime friend of the Spartacist League/Britain and the International Communist League, died in his home in Cwmcarn, South Wales on August 15. He was 65 years old.

Don was among a number of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) militants who drew close to our party in the course of the yearlong 1984-85 British miners strike. Our comrades first met Don when he visited London during the summer of 1984, several months into the strike, to speak at support meetings and raise funds for the NUM. Because he was a powerful and effective orator, Don was always in demand as a speaker. But what set Don apart from the many other NUM militants who became eloquent exponents of the union's cause during the strike was his uncompromising hatred for capitalism and his refusal to kow-tow to the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie.

Don was one of a group of militants which was the core of the strike at Celynen South colliery and had brought the pit out in the face of initial opposition. It was these workers, and not the official leadership of the local NUM lodge, who were the real strike leadership. Though already over 50 years of age, Don took an active part in the flying pickets which were a hallmark of the strike. The summer we met him, he was badly battered by the cops while taking part in a mass picket at the Orgreave coking facility in Yorkshire, where tens of thousands of mounted cops had finally dispersed the picketers after a huge pitched battle.

Don had a powerful sense of the class line. A comrade who visited him in July 1984 recalled his impression at the time that "Don embodies some of the finer traditions of the South Wales mining proletariat." Don explained his hatred of scabs by pointing to a tradition that was passed down over many, many generations in the South Wales coalfields. At a November 1984 SL/B public meeting in London, he recalled the instance of someone from a nearby mining village who had scabbed on the 1926 miners strike: "That man died with no one at his funeral, and he was a man of 84. We remember in South Wales over a very long period."

In the course of the strike, the SL/B newspaper *Workers Hammer* attained a fairly sizeable readership in the coalfields because of our straightforward defense of the strike and our exposure of the scabbering of the Labour Party and trade-union mislead-



Don Hughes spoke at 1985 SL/U.S. gathering, presented miner's lantern to our party.

ers. While many strikers detested the backstabbing Neil Kinnock, then the leader of the Labour Party, most of them thought the Labour Party could be reformed. Labourism was and is deeply ingrained in even the more militant sections of the British proletariat. But Don had long ago seen through these charlatans.

When Don was still a teenager, the postwar Attlee Labour government broke its promise that the National Health Service would provide free medical care and imposed fees. From that time on, Don said, he always recognized that the Labour and Conservative parties pursued the same fundamental end, the maintenance of the capitalist system, based on exploitation of the working class. When Kinnock made a cameo appearance at Celynen South the day before the strike ended, having devoted his efforts to violence-baiting the miners for defending their picket lines, that was the one and only time Don ever turned down picket duty.

Don was a revolutionary syndicalist of the old school. In the period prior to the Bolshevik Revolu-

tion, his outlook was not at all uncommon in Europe among subjectively revolutionary workers, who were driven to syndicalism by disgust with the parliamentary reformism of the social-democratic parties. After the strike was over, we sought to persuade Don to run in an election against Kinnock, who represented Don's parliamentary constituency. But Don maintained a principle against participating in parliamentary elections, and he would not budge from this. Nonetheless, when the SL/B published a supplement for the 1987 general elections which asserted "No vote to Judas Kinnock" and called for the forging of a Bolshevik party, Don distributed 700 copies by going door to door in six mining villages.

Don would always insist that he was "only a trade unionist" and that he left "politics" to others. But although Don never accepted the idea of a Leninist vanguard party, he was anything but a narrow trade unionist. He enthusiastically accepted an invitation to attend a gathering of the SL/U.S. in the summer of 1985, where he gave a powerful account of the history of British syndicalism and communism. He spoke at meetings organized by gay and lesbian rights organizations and had a passionate hatred of racism and fascism. Despite his meager income,

only a few months before he died Don proudly made a substantial contribution to the campaign to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. He was a self-educated proletarian militant who maintained an active interest in political and social issues, and could always be counted on to make a perceptive contribution in any discussion, whether on the imperialist war in Vietnam or any other international or historical question. Don loved to argue about politics, and never tired of a good "chin wag" with a bottle of whiskey to share when comrades visited.

Following the defeat of the strike, Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher vindictively decimated the coal fields, completing the industrial devastation of South Wales, which had once been a center of coal mining and steel-making. When Don's pit was shut down, it was the last time he worked. After 38 years in the mines, like many other coal miners, Don suffered from severe respiratory diseases, which plagued him until his death. We extend our condolences to Don's many family and friends. This socialist and militant fighter will be sorely missed.

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The Red Cross and the Church—Partners in Crime

The AIDS Epidemic in Mexico

The following article is translated and abridged from the "Mujer y Revolución" (Women and Revolution) pages in *Espartaco* (No. 11, Spring/Summer 1998), published by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League.

ESPARTACO

At a February press conference during the Sixth World Conference on Disease in Mexico City, in the guise of protecting public health, an important health official retailed the lie that the principal cause of the spread of AIDS is not unprotected sex but...condoms! The official asserted: "I feel that the more the use of condoms is promoted as a possibility for preventing infection, the more infections there will be." He then ranted that "we have many other needs and if ten thousand people die of AIDS while a million have respiratory or digestive illnesses, I think that it is much more important to help the million people than the ten thousand" (*La Jornada*, 7 February). Lying that condoms fail 40 percent of the time, he also blamed the media and the National Council for the Prevention and Control of AIDS (Conasida)—



Rick Gerharter/Impact Visuals

Protest by AIDS activists in Mexico City, 1993.

an official institution for AIDS prevention—for the spread of the disease.

Who said this? The Pro Vida (Pro Life)—i.e., pro-AIDS—bigots or the Catholic church? No, it was José Barroso Chávez, the president of the Mexican Red Cross, an international health organization which supposedly helps the sick! It is a recognized fact that condoms remain the most effective protection against the sexual transmission of AIDS, if they are used correctly and in every instance of sexual contact. Given that the Red Cross isn't ignorant of this, Barroso's ravings are part of a criminal campaign of hysteria and prejudice promoted even as many deadly misconceptions remain prevalent, like the notion that it is possible to prevent AIDS by bathing before and after sex or that AIDS can be detected from one's external appearance ([Mexico City] *News*, 4 February).

While some groups around the country denounced Barroso's grotesque remarks and demanded his resignation, all but two members of the board of directors of the Mexican Red Cross voted full confidence in their leader. Notably, while declaring its opposition to discrimination, the International Red Cross has said nothing about Barroso, claiming that it cannot interfere with the Mexican organization because the groups are "autonomous and responsible for their own governing bodies" (*La Jornada*, 18 February). Thus, the Red



Cambio 16

Impoverished slum dwellers in Mexico. As rate of infection skyrockets, AIDS has increasingly become disease of poverty.

Cross is sentencing millions of people around the world to death.

Even before Barroso's reactionary remarks, the Mexican Red Cross systematically discriminated against AIDS patients. In the Baja California town of La Paz, the Red Cross was accused of medical negligence and discrimination against poor patients for refusing treatment even when lives were at risk. Even though its services are supposedly free, there is the case of Casimiro Méndez, who wasn't treated because he had no money, or that of Justino Rosas Vargas, who was negligently discharged without treatment even though he was known to be suffering from a brain trauma—a life-threatening condition (*La Jornada*, 17 March).

Barroso's backward remarks came in the midst of a xenophobic campaign in Chiapas and other areas. Thus, Pro Vida president Jorge Serrano Limón appealed to the Mexican government to expel Rainer Rosenbaum of the United Nations Population Council because his work promotes birth control and his "vile" declarations in favor of abortion "damage" public health and violate the human rights of Mexican couples (*La Jornada*, 9 March)! Such charges are truly grotesque given that illegal abortions are the third or fourth greatest cause of death among women in Mexico.

In Mexico, dangerous displays of superstition and "morality" from the Catholic church are common. Archbishop Javier Lozano Barragán rants against condoms as a "giant farce," basing himself on a study solicited by the "impartial" Vatican. Though about as "scientific" as exorcism, this study was also cited by Barroso. Barragán also denounces a back room deal between the government and "the big latex-producing laboratories...in order to maintain their profits worldwide." Such charges really take some chutzpah coming from the institution of the medieval Inquisition, that bastion of "faith" which perversely tortured and killed millions of innocent people in order to enrich itself. The church thus became the largest landowner in Mexico and parts of Europe! In the eyes of the church, AIDS is a gift from god to rid the world of sinners, gays and "wayward" women.

The "holy" union between the Red Cross and the reactionary Catholic church is nothing new. In the name of anti-Communism, both organizations actively assisted the Nazis during and after World War II. The International Red Cross issued fake passports to Nazis (many even in their real names!) in order to find them refuge in Latin America. The Catholic church, with its vile anti-Semitic poison, refused to help Jewish refugees escape the ovens of the Holocaust.

Despite Barroso's deadly lies, the HIV virus cannot "pass through the pores of a condom." Rather it is transmitted through semen or other secretions when condoms are not used during sex, through intravenous drug use, blood transfusions, or from a pregnant woman to the fetus. Not all those infected with HIV develop AIDS, which kills by attacking the body's immune system. Many patients die of opportunistic infections like pneumonia and other complications. While there is presently no cure, the spread of AIDS could be dramatically reduced through public education on condom use, through sterile needles for drug users, through drugs which would reduce the transmission of AIDS by pregnant and lactating women to their babies, and through systematic screening of blood for transfusions.

As the rate of infection rises steeply, AIDS has become a disease of poverty. In wealthy countries, the disease spreads most rapidly among the poor, and 90 percent of all cases are now found in underdeveloped countries, with Mexico ranking eleventh in the world and third in the hemisphere in the per capita rate of infection, after Brazil and the United States. Mexico City, one of the largest cities in the world, already accounts for a quarter of all AIDS cases in the country, and one in 70 city inhabitants are expected to be infected by the year 2000. Yet it still has not established a prevention program! As in many other underdeveloped countries, the obstacles to reducing the spread of AIDS in Mexico are diverse: a church ban on contraceptives, lack of education on prevention, women's oppression and anti-gay bigotry, contaminated blood banks, rampant poverty, prostitution and illiteracy.

In Mexico City, 44 percent of AIDS cases are to be found among youths between the ages 15 and 29. As a result of poverty, the moralist dictates of the Catholic church and bourgeois reaction, 73 percent of sexually active youth do not use any type of contraception! The infection is spreading like wildfire especially among women and the rural population, where access to health care is totally inadequate and some 48 percent of the indigenous population is illiterate.

Because AIDS is largely sexually transmitted, this question intersects ingrained prejudices in bourgeois society which have been manipulated from the start in the service of obscene fanaticism and repression. Bourgeois politicians, the church and official and private institutions such as the Red Cross reinforce the belief that sex outside marriage is dangerous and immoral in order to shore up the institution of the family, the main source of women's oppression. Since homosexuality is perceived as a threat to the patriarchal family, especially in a Catholic country like Mexico, gays are brutally oppressed and even murdered. Even though AIDS is transmitted largely through heterosexual relations, it is still portrayed as a gay disease. AIDS patients are targets of systematic bigotry, thrown out of their jobs and homes, rejected by their families and subjected to discriminatory treatment in hospitals.

The worldwide AIDS pandemic is a crime of the bourgeoisie internationally, as scientific research and vital public health services, education and prevention are abandoned because of the dictates of the profit system and its social props—the family and organized religion. Medicine for profit means that the poor die while the rich can get treatment, even if this requires taking a plane to New York or Paris. In the 1980s, blood banks in France, Germany, Canada, Japan and the U.S. knowingly sold HIV-infected blood for years, infecting thousands because blood screening was "too expensive"! And while mothers with AIDS have been used as guinea pigs in studies in the Dominican Republic, Thailand and many African countries, to this day only four countries (France, Great Britain, the U.S. and Cuba) carry out research to develop preventive vaccines against the virus. The miserable conditions of poverty produced by capitalism are the perfect breeding ground for infectious diseases such as AIDS, cholera and tuberculosis. Only an internationally planned socialist economy can wipe out poverty and promote universal public health. For billions of dollars for an international program of AIDS research!

The Grupo Espartaquista de México fights for massive public education, free distribution of condoms, decriminalization of drugs, free health care, free and anonymous AIDS testing, free abortion and contraception, full democratic rights for homosexuals and against discrimination in the treatment of AIDS patients. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas! ■

Just Out! Spartacist

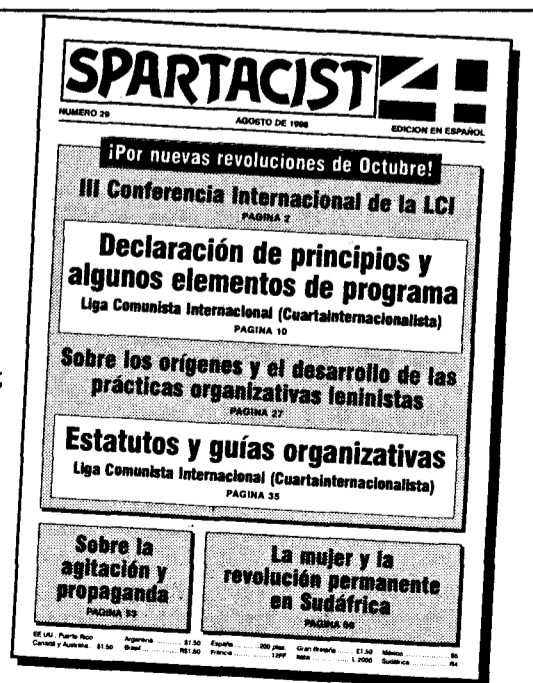
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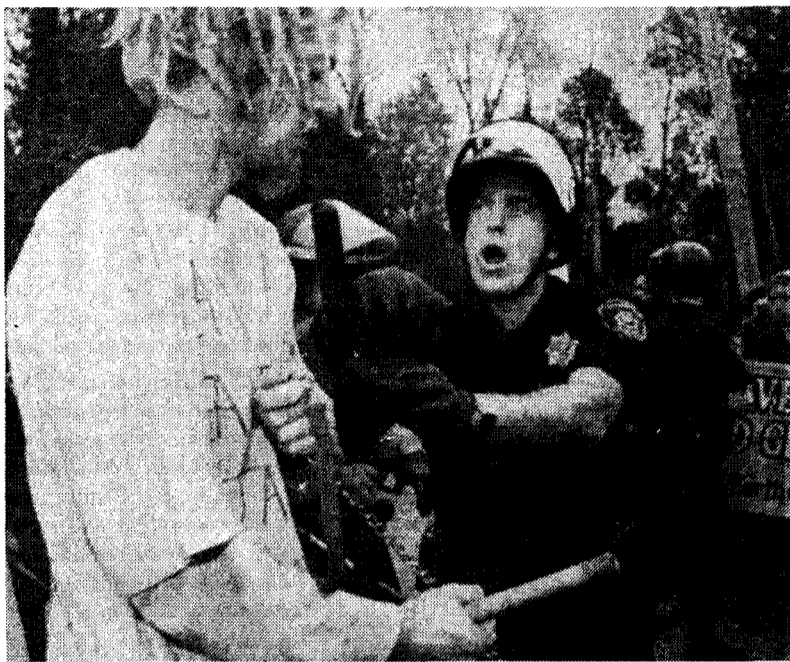
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Young Spartacus

Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics



Ecology activists protest logging of redwood forests; Vice President Al Gore preaches for environmental "reform." Environmentalist movement encompasses both Green "radicals" and key sections of capitalist ruling class.

AP photos

For International Socialist Planning, Not Capitalist Plunder!

We publish below the first half of an edited presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour tracing the development of the environmentalist movement, which is currently a focus of attention particularly among campus youth. As materialists, Marxists approach ecology, and all such issues, on the basis of scientific knowledge. Thus, the following talk was supplemented by a presentation by comrade Carl Lewis outlining the scientific and

Part One

technological considerations involved in various environmental questions like global warming.

The two presentations were delivered at the third annual "Youth Maintenance and Educational Work-In," which brings together young members of the SL and the Spartacus Youth Clubs for training in manual skills combined with educational presentations on the history and program of the Marxist movement. This annual event is motivated by the understanding, as we wrote in "Maintenance and the Communist Movement" (WV No. 605, 2 September 1994) that "if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual."

As a rule, political parties, groups, movements and prominent individuals can be located, and often locate themselves, along a left-right spectrum. However, the environmentalist movement in the U.S. seems to defy obvious placement along a left-right axis. Depending on how one selects the evidence, it can be demonstrated that the environmentalist movement is a radically leftist opposition to capitalism or, alternatively, a current

in the very mainstream of American bourgeois politics.

One of the prominent figures in the movement is Barry Commoner, who considers himself a socialist, occasionally cites Marx for authority and advocates global economic planning. Self-styled "eco-Marxists" put out a journal called *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. At farm workers rallies in California, one will see contingents from the Green Party. Kirkpatrick Sale, author of the only good history of the New Left SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), maintained some years ago that the American radical left was just as strong as it had been in the 1960s, only now it was embodied in the environmentalist movement.

This view is mirrored by the movement's right-wing opponents. A former Republican governor of Washington described environmentalism as "anti-business, anti-established institutions and, above all, anti-capitalism." Shortly after Ronald Reagan became president in 1981, a conference of the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom chanted, "Nuke the whales" to express their intense hostility to the Greens, whom they viewed as far more significant opponents on the campuses than the reds.

Yet one can present other evidence to paint a totally different picture. Among the many corporate contributors to the Audubon Society, a mainstream environmentalist organization, are Chevron, General Electric, IBM, DuPont and J. P. Morgan. There is a large government bureaucracy which administers the multitude of laws and regulations "protecting" the environment. Reagan's successor, George Bush, whom no one would accuse of being anti-capitalist, dubbed himself

"the environmental president." And shortly before his election as vice president in 1992, Democrat Al Gore published a book titled *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*.

How does one explain a movement which encompasses both self-described anarchists and Marxists and the vice president of the most powerful imperialist country in the world? People in the environmentalist movement would answer that it has two wings: a moderate or reformist wing represented by organizations like the Audubon Society and a radical wing—the people in it call themselves "deep ecologists"—represented by "Earth First!" Chevron and J. P. Morgan are not going to contribute tens of thousands of dollars to Earth First!

As Marxists—dialectical materialists—we stand in fundamental political opposition to both wings of the environmentalist movement. Capitalist governments will never sacrifice the profits of large

corporations and banks to "protect the environment," no matter how piously they pay lip service to it. And the economic primitivism preached by the Green radicals is both reactionary and utopian. Control over major ecological problems such as air and water pollution can be achieved only within the framework of an *internationally planned, socialist economy*. This in turn requires *workers revolutions* to take the factories, transport systems, oil fields, mines and other means of production from the privately owned and profit-maximizing corporations and banks which now dominate the world economy.

The Two Faces of Bourgeois Ideology

A major factor underlying the ideological confusion generated by the environmentalist movement is that Green radicals identify capitalism *as such* with what can be called consumerism and a



Der Spiegel



Mainstream

Where 18th century British economist Adam Smith (left) argued that technology would lead to increased prosperity, Thomas Malthus said population growth necessarily meant continued poverty.

belief in the limitless expansion of material wealth through scientific and technological innovation. But such a view of capitalism is profoundly false because it is *one-sided*, analogous to regarding only the Republican Party as the party of big business in the U.S. To begin with, the equation of capitalist ideology with consumerism and the worship of technological progress disregards religion. If you see a guy on Wall Street carrying a sign saying, "God will punish New York, the Babylon of the modern world," you would not conclude that he is a radical leftist opponent of capitalism. On the other hand, he is not likely to be a public relations man for the Federal Reserve System or Merrill Lynch—though these days you never know!

Green radicalism implicitly denies that Christianity is a central ideological pillar of the Western bourgeois order, that the churches—both Catholic and Protestant—are institutions in their own way just as crucial in present-day America and Europe as stock exchanges and advertising agencies. Recall that the main bourgeois party in Europe's most powerful capitalist state, Germany, calls itself the Christian Democracy.

The Polish pope, John Paul Wojtyla, played a key role in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. Yet in a 1995 papal encyclical, Wojtyla denounced the "powerful cultural, economic and political currents which encourage an idea of society excessively concerned with efficiency." The same encyclical attacks the "reckless tampering with the world's ecological balance." As we shall see, radical environmentalism as an ideology has a quasi-religious character sharing certain basic premises with Christian doctrine.

But even if we consider secular bourgeois economic doctrines, these do *not* all promise a boundless cornucopia of material wealth. At the very beginning of industrial capitalism in England and Scotland in the late 18th century, two different—in a sense alternative—currents of bourgeois economic ideology emerged, the one optimistic, the other pessimistic. Adam Smith maintained that capitalist entrepreneurs, spurred by market competition, would steadily increase the wealth of nations through technological innovation. However, 20 years later Thomas Malthus, a minister of the Church of England, the state church, argued that the large majority of mankind is condemned to perpetual poverty because of the naturally limited supply of agricultural land. He wrote: "The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man."

Over the next two centuries, depending upon economic and political conditions, optimistic forms of bourgeois economic ideology have been ascendant at some times, pessimistic doctrines promoted and widely accepted at others. The growth of a significant environmentalist



Library of Congress

Massacre of Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma by Custer's troops. Right: John Muir with fellow conservationist and imperialist president Theodore Roosevelt in Yosemite, 1906. Muir endorsed murderous military expeditions which drove Native American Indians out of Yosemite.

White House Historical Association



movement in the U.S. in the 1970s was linked to a shift in the dominant bourgeois ideology, especially among liberals, from Keynesianism to "energy Malthusianism." A seminal document of this movement, the 1972 *Blueprint for Survival*, stated: "Indefinite growth of whatever type cannot be sustained by finite resources. This is the nub of the environmental predicament."

Leon Trotsky once pointed out that revolutionary politics does *not* consist in putting a minus wherever the bourgeoisie puts a plus, and vice versa. And es-

generation and attendant questions, like disposal of nuclear waste material. In discussing such questions, as in the article "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement" (WV No. 146, 25 February 1977), we examined the available scientific material.

As that article makes clear, we are opposed to the Green campaign against the generation of electric power through nuclear fission under any and all circumstances. But we do not therefore endorse the policies and activities of the firms involved in nuclear power or the govern-

The third current emerged from New Left radicalism. In the late 1960s, many young American radical leftists idealized the peasant communes of Mao's China as an alternative to the money-grubbing, dog-eat-dog, gadget-ridden Western capitalist societies. A decade or so later, some of the same people idealized the primitive peoples—the ecologically correct term is primal peoples—of the Amazon basin, imbuing them with the same anti-bourgeois, countercultural virtues.

But let's begin at the beginning, with Malthusianism. What is called the Malthusian doctrine of population did not, in fact, originate with Thomas Malthus. During the 18th century, British bourgeois intellectuals studying economic and social change observed that when harvests were good, the lower classes married younger, had more children, more of whom lived to maturity, and therefore demand for food increased. If agricultural output did not increase proportionally, food prices rose and more people died of hunger and disease, especially infants and young children.

The enormous influence exercised by Malthus' 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population* did not derive from its intrinsic intellectual merit but rather from the political context in which and for which it was written. Malthusian economics was an important and integral part of the ideological counteroffensive against the French Revolution. Not only feudal reactionaries throughout Europe but also the English bourgeoisie feared, and rightly so, that the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" would be embraced by their own lower classes. For comrades interested in this chapter of English history, I recommend E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*.

Malthus maintained that a society based on the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" was impossible because of the fundamental workings of *natural* law. His essay was written as a polemic against the leading English radical William Godwin, a prominent supporter of the French Revolution. Against Godwin, Malthus asserted:

"This natural inequality of the two powers of population, and of production in the earth, and that great law of our nature which must constantly keep their effects equal, form the great difficulty that to me appears insurmountable in the way to the perfectibility of society."

Along the same lines, Malthus argued:

"The principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no *direct* relation to forms of government, or the unequal division of property; and that, as the rich do not in reality possess the power of finding employment and maintenance for the poor the poor cannot, in the nature of things, possess the *right* to demand them."

Friedrich Engels, in his first major work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, summarized the ideological import of Malthus' doctrine: "that the earth is perennially over-populated,"

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Michael Yamashita

Profit-driven destruction of forests in Indonesia led to uncontrolled fires last year which blanketed entire region with suffocating smoke.

pecially when it comes to environmental issues, the bourgeoisie is often divided. Nor do we determine our positions in response to those of other political tendencies, whether of the far right or the far left. We determine our positions on all questions by the *objective*—and I emphasize objective—interests of the proletarian revolution as a necessary transition to communism.

We judge environmental issues and conflicts on the objective merits of the concrete case. When environmentalist groups are raising a hue and cry that a corporation is dumping toxic wastes in a residential area, they may well be exposing a capitalist crime against public health. On the other hand, when millionaire homeowners oppose additional residential construction in their neighborhood in the name of "protecting the environment," the environment they're protecting is one in which their children will go to school only with the children of other white millionaires.

It is also important to stress that our position on environmental issues is necessarily governed not only by our political principles but also scientific and technical *knowledge*. For example, we have published a number of articles over the years on the issue of nuclear power

ment agencies overseeing them. Rather we demand workers' control over safety standards and practices in nuclear power plants, which is a direct challenge to capitalist prerogatives. More generally, our opposition to environmentalism as a movement and ideology does *not* mean we are indifferent to the degradation of the environment resulting from the present organization of industrial technology, just as our opposition to feminism as a movement and ideology does not mean we are indifferent to the oppression of women. Quite the contrary.

Malthus and Bourgeois Historical Pessimism

The environmentalist movement in the U.S. today was formed as a confluence—to use a good ecological term meaning flowing together—of three different currents arising in different historical eras. The first, already alluded to, is Malthusian economics. The second is the bourgeois conservationist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries as represented by the Sierra Club, formed in 1892 by the famous naturalist John Muir. Its main political representative was Republican president Theodore Roosevelt, the most bellicose American imperialist of the day.

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Eco-Radicalism...

(continued from page 9)

whence poverty, misery, distress, and immorality must prevail; that it is the lot, the eternal destiny of mankind, to exist in too great numbers, and therefore in diverse classes, of which some are rich, educated, and moral, and others more or less poor, distressed, ignorant, and immoral."

Our opposition to Malthusianism does not mean we are indifferent to the question of population growth. Indeed, such a view is incompatible with the Marxist outlook if for no other reason than that birth control is necessary to liberate women from patriarchal domination and household drudgery, especially in backward countries. In an 1881 letter to Karl Kautsky, Engels wrote:

"The abstract possibility that mankind will increase numerically to such an extent that its propagation will have to be kept within bounds does, of course, exist. But should communist society ever find itself compelled to regulate the production of humans in the same way as it has already regulated the production of things, then it, and it alone, will be able to effect this without difficulty."

What Engels considered an abstract possibility has today, I would argue, become a reality, though not for Malthusian reasons. In the late 19th century, the difference between the economic conditions of the masses in the advanced and backward countries was nowhere near as great as it is in the tail end of the 20th. Having an automobile, as do most

By the mid-19th century, the vast expansion of agricultural production in North America disproved and discredited Malthusian doctrine in its original form. It was clear that the rapid growth of an urban population in England would not lead to severe food shortages and famine. However, there remained concern about shortages of other natural resources. In

lived in cities or suburbs. At the same time, many of them enjoyed hunting, fishing and roughing it in the great outdoors. They thus campaigned to preserve the country's diminishing wilderness areas, which were largely owned by the federal government, especially west of the Rockies, in order to pursue these activities.

vationism, Teddy Roosevelt, was also the main representative of nascent American imperialism. While he was president, Roosevelt made a pilgrimage to John Muir's cabin in the Sierras to pay homage to the high priest of conservationism.

The same social and ideological milieu which gave rise to the conservationist movement also established the Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls. These were originally organizations of class-privileged youth which combined nationalist ideology with outdoorsmanship. Being able to rough it in the wild was regarded as the mark of a red-blooded American. The teenage son of a businessman or professional who spent the summer backpacking in the Adirondacks or Sierras was seen as having an ennobling experience inaccessible to the son of an Irish or Italian worker living in the urban slums. In the U.S., class and ethnic privilege always go together. The American bourgeoisie was then overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon or, more generally, North European Protestant. The industrial working class was predominantly Irish, Italian and East European, traditionally Catholic and heavily immigrant.

The conservationist movement by its very nature was imbued with a nativist outlook. The large majority of its supporters were disdainful toward ethnic Catholics and regarded blacks and Asians as *untermenschen* (subhumans). The administration of Teddy Roosevelt, the conservationist president, negotiated a so-called "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan to prohibit further immigration from that country.

More generally, bourgeois conservationists saw themselves as morally superior to the vulgar masses, especially the immigrant communities, who were supposedly indifferent to preserving the country's natural heritage. At the extreme, conservationism took on a quasi-religious character. Thus John Muir wrote:

"Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers but as fountains of life. Awakening from the stupefying effects of the vice of over-industry and the deadly apathy of luxury they are trying as best they can to mix and enrich their own little ongoings with those of Nature...some are washing off sins and cobweb cares of the devil's spinning in all-day storms on mountains."

—quoted in David Pepper, *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism* (1982)

Go stand in a mountain storm in the Sierras and the only thing that will be washed away will be you!

Doubtless to the consternation of his latter-day followers, many of whom glorify Native American Indian culture, Muir was hardly "progressive" on this question. In his book *The Yosemite* (1912), Muir waxed lyrical about how successive U.S. military expeditions forced the Indians—denounced by Muir for their "murdering, plundering style"—"into reservations, some peacefully, others by burning their villages and stores of food." And when Basque shepherders first entered the eastern Sierras, Muir denounced them for despoiling the pristine state of nature. Here we have the central tenet of Green radicalism, that nature in its pristine state must be preserved against the predations of human civilization. ■

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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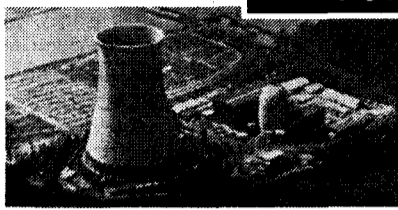
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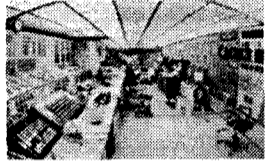
Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement

by Jeff Maxwell

Since the 1970s, the workers movement has been engaged in a struggle against the nuclear power industry. The industry has been accused of being a major cause of environmental pollution and of being a major cause of nuclear war. The industry has also been accused of being a major cause of the energy crisis.



Oregon nuclear power plant on the Columbia River.



The energy crisis over the current decade has led to a renewed interest in nuclear power. The industry has been accused of being a major cause of environmental pollution and of being a major cause of nuclear war. The industry has also been accused of being a major cause of the energy crisis.

WORKERS VANGUARD

—25 February 1977

Spartacists opposed eco-radical campaign against nuclear power. Marxists stand for the development of science and technology.

the 1860s, a prominent British bourgeois economist, William Stanley Jevons, predicted that England would soon run out of coal. "The conclusion is inevitable," he wrote, "that our present happy progressive condition is a thing of limited duration." The idea that the growth of industrial society was ultimately limited by the finite supply of natural resources

The first major conservationist organizations were the Boone and Crockett Clubs, named after the fabled frontiersmen Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett, whose members were almost all avid hunters. When I was a kid, I visited Teddy Roosevelt's home on the north shore of Long Island. If it had four legs and moved, this guy shot it. On every wall

Dietz Verlag Berlin



Friedrich Engels denounced Malthusian doctrine for justifying impoverishment of the working class. Right: London poorhouse for the unemployed, 1902.



working-class families in the U.S., allows for a totally different and richer way of life than living in a Mexico City slum or an Indian village. An international federation of workers states would confront the vast economic gulf separating the so-called First World from the Third World. And this will be a source of considerable political tensions. Raising the population of China and India to the material level of North America or Japan will be a lot easier and a lot faster if that population is much smaller than at present.

remained a minor current of bourgeois economic thought until the 1970s, when it again became a major current.

Conservationism and American Nationalism

Before discussing why this happened, I want to discuss the second major current feeding into the environmentalist movement: the bourgeois conservationist movement. By the end of the 19th century, a large majority of the American bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie

there were stuffed heads of game animals—moose, elk, water buffalo, grizzly bears.

Of course, there's nothing bad about hunting, fishing, bird watching, mountaineering and backpacking in the wilderness. We have comrades who enjoy these activities. However, in the era of John Muir and Teddy Roosevelt, such forms of recreation were largely the preserve of the upper classes and so acquired an aristocratic aura. Before the automobile culture, the urban working class and lower petty bourgeoisie had no access to the country's remaining wilderness areas.

Nonetheless, many of the specific policies promoted by the conservationists were progressive—the establishment of national parks, forests and wildlife refuges, limits on tree-cutting to make forests self-regenerating, the prohibition on dumping toxic wastes in lakes and rivers. But I want to focus on the ideological outlook of the conservationist movement. Love of nature became an important component of American nationalist ideology in this period. The remaining wilderness areas were viewed as the country's most precious national heritage. While Europe had its historic castles, its magnificent palaces and art collections, America had its majestic mountains, its primeval forests, its crystal-clear lakes. It was no coincidence that the most politically powerful representative of conser-

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Snoops...

(continued from page 1)

yellow tie when Lewinsky appeared before the grand jury? While legal "experts" drone on about whether Clinton is guilty of perjury or obstruction of justice for lying about his affair with Lewinsky, commentator Hendrik Hertzberg got to the point when he wrote in the *New Yorker* (17 August):

"Obstacles may well have been placed in the path of an unaccountable prosecutorial bureaucracy that for obscure reasons has developed a single-minded obsession with discovering at any cost, and publicizing in sniggering detail, precisely what private sexual acts were engaged in by the President and the former intern. One can only hope so. But in what sense does the promulgation of details of this kind constitute justice? Doesn't this particular exercise in salacious nosiness deserve to be obstructed?"

Indeed, the Starr investigation underlines the sinister quality of the whole grand jury system, where anybody can be hauled before a prosecutorial inquiry

tion are a threat to the most elementary right to privacy for the population as a whole. And that is what accounts for much of the public disgust with this inquisition. If the long arm of the sex cops can reach into the White House, many understand, then what about their own bedrooms? As we noted in "Family Values' Reaction, Sex and the White House" (WV No. 684, 13 February): "The notion that even the president of the United States could be brought down by sex snoops does not sit well with many people."

Even the bourgeois press has deigned to observe that Clinton is hardly the first president to be caught with his pants down. John F. Kennedy had a virtual harem, ranging from Marilyn Monroe to Mafia moll Judith Exner, and everybody from George Washington to the stolid Warren Harding had their dalliances. An op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (23 August) calling to "reset our moral course" noted: "Most of our presidents have been morally tarnished in one way or another, and many have committed



Hypocritical media circus over Clinton's White House tryst.

aftermath of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam, Carter's crusade for "moral rearmament" was aimed at regimenting the population for a renewed war drive against the Soviet Union. As Gore Vidal noted at the time in an essay titled "Sex Is Politics," when the threat of external "enemies" failed to rouse "a howl of manly rage," the powers that be reverted "to the tried-and-true hot buttons: save our children, our fetuses, our ladies' rooms from the goddess enemy."

Today, encouraged by counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and lacking the ideological battle cry of "fighting godless Communism," the religious right, aided and abetted by both Republican and Democratic politicians, is taking aim at the very right to privacy—in practice, the right to consensual sexual relations—and at every gain secured in recent decades, from the right to abortion to democratic rights for gays. The latest manifestation of this is the grotesque anti-gay "advertising" campaign in the bourgeois press triggered by Republican Congressional leader Trent Lott's condemnation of homosexuality as a "sickness" like kleptomania or alcoholism. We noted in "Sex, Race and the Military" (WV No. 671, 11 July 1997):

"For 20 years, cops, courts, clergy and Congress have waged a war on privacy which seemingly knows no bounds. They have driven gay teachers out of the schools, threatened teenage mothers with getting thrown off welfare for engaging in 'illicit sex,' sent childcare workers to prison for years on the basis of concocted tales of satanic abuse and constricted the right to abortion from the day it was granted in 1973. But the latest

sex witchhunt has reached into that holy preserve, the top command of the U.S. imperialist armed forces."

As Marxists, we say: not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military. Nonetheless we defended Air Force Lieutenant Kelly Flinn when she was drummed out for having an "adulterous" affair and lying about it. In that article we cited the Dreyfus case of the 1890s in France, which became a key test for socialists on the question of democratic rights. Captain Alfred Dreyfus was a Jewish career officer in the French Army who was framed up on espionage charges and jailed for years in an explosion of vindictive anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus Affair brought France to the brink of civil war between the bourgeois right—spearheaded by the officer caste, the royalists and the Catholic hierarchy—and the radical bourgeoisie. It split the socialist-led workers movement between those who would not defend him because he was an officer and those who knew that it was in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed to stop the reactionary offensive against him.

As the Dreyfus case demonstrated, democratic rights are indivisible. This is why we oppose the anti-sex witchhunt even when its victim sits in the White House. Marxists oppose all attempts by the bourgeois state to legislate private sexual norms. Even the imperial president's right to conduct his personal life without the sex cops' supervision must be defended—not least because their imposition on him is really bad news for the rest of us. Government out of the bedroom! ■



SL contingent at 1992 abortion rights protest in San Francisco. Government out of the bedroom!

without even the right to an attorney and threatened with imprisonment on contempt charges for refusing to "cooperate." In recent years, such repressive and invasive methods have been significantly expanded. Indeed, the Clinton White House has overseen some of the greatest assaults on civil liberties of any president in decades—from gutting the centuries-old right of *habeas corpus* to imposition of secret deportation trials of immigrants. And if they can't frame you up on bogus criminal charges, they can throw you in jail simply for the felony crime of lying—about anything—to a federal officer like an FBI agent or a customs official.

As communists, we are intransigently opposed to both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans. Bill Clinton is commander in chief of U.S. imperialism, and as such a deadly enemy of working people and minorities in the U.S. and around the world. But we are not indifferent to the anti-sex witchhunt which has now targeted Clinton. The seemingly limitless powers of the Starr chamber to pry into Clinton's and Lewinsky's private lives through harassment and intimidat-

adultery or lied to the nation or both. But Bill Clinton is the President under today's rules."

"Today's rules" are defined by a climate of backward religiosity, anti-sex fervor and wholesale assault on constitutional rights—in which Clinton himself has played a not insignificant role. In the past few years, the bourgeoisie has moved to rein in some of the anti-sex witchhunt's more demented aspects, like the search for imaginary "satanic ritual abuse" at day-care centers. But more broadly, the capitalist rulers promote this reactionary offensive. Its purpose is to bolster the bourgeois status quo, the powers of the bourgeois state and the repressive institution of the family, the main source of the oppression of women and a key conservatizing prop which serves as an ideological transmission belt for the "values" of the capitalist rulers.

Particularly beginning with the presidency of "born again" Democrat Jimmy Carter, the forces of the religious right have been emboldened in their bigoted attacks on anything that deviates from white Christian fundamentalism. In the

but to stop management's campaign of speedup, racist harassment and victimization. Yet the TWU Local 100 bureaucracy, currently headed by Willie James, has a record of knuckling under to—or colluding in—every management attack, from the imposition of drug testing to a contract deal two years ago to force slave-labor "workfare" recipients to take the jobs of unionized transit workers. The union tops refuse to mobilize labor's power because they are beholden to the capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and bow to the bosses' state. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the unions forged in the fight for a revolutionary workers party. Defend Eben Lugo! Come to his hearing: September 2, 10:30 a.m., Brooklyn South Traffic Violations Bureau, 2875 W. 8th St. ■

Bus Driver...

(continued from page 2)

New Yorkers outraged by Giuliani's arrogant racism. Transit management has been literally getting away with murder, as transit workers are killed in "accidents" resulting from lack of necessary maintenance work on tracks, signals and infrastructure. Meanwhile, there has been enormous speedup as ridership increases. Now the Transit Authority is proposing a plan whereby the cops would secretly report to management drivers who are deemed "uncivil," setting workers up for victimization without their knowledge and in the absence of even a traffic ticket.

A mobilization of union power is needed not only to defend Eben Lugo

Workplace...

(continued from page 5)

now see it as open season on unionists and minorities. At least one train driver has since been fired as a result of company entrapment. And in another case, two workers at BART's Concord maintenance shop were suspended under "workplace violence" policies, reportedly provoking a work slowdown.

Union Tops Push Class Collaboration

Binding arbitration is a deadly trap for labor. Far from being "neutral," binding arbitration is a crucial weapon of the exploiters, devised to weaken and demobilize the power of labor. The labor traitors' ready embrace of binding arbitration stems from their class-collaborationist view that the agencies of the capitalist class enemy—the government, the courts, the cops—are potential "allies" of labor. This outlook, which ties the workers to their exploiters, has long been rooted in the allegiance of the union tops to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class; it cannot be reformed or pressured into acting on behalf of the proletariat but must be swept away through socialist revolution. The unions today will either be increasingly subordinated to the capitalists, as a secondary means of disciplining the workers, or they must become instruments for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system by the working class.

From AFL-CIO head John Sweeney

on down, the labor bureaucracy represents a thin layer of privileged, overwhelmingly white labor aristocrats who have thrown in their lot with the racist capitalist rulers. Thus the union tops are up to their ears in the very same "workplace violence" witchhunt that is targeting their members. The AFSCME Web site includes a thick handbook called *Preventing Workplace Violence*, which hails joint labor/management committees as "an effective way to address workplace violence problems," even while admitting that such a procedure makes it impossible to file grievances against the resulting discipline of workers.

What particularly drives the AFSCME misleaders is their aggressive recruitment into the union of cops and prison guards, the very armed thugs whose job it is to perpetrate violence against workers and minorities—from herding scabs through picket lines to shooting down black youth in the streets. We say: *cops and prison guards out of the unions!*

To rally behind it the forces to sweep away the capitalist enemy, the working class must champion the cause of all the oppressed. The lieutenants of capital who sabotage labor from within must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership of the unions—Break from the Democrats and Republicans! The key to victory lies in forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government, which will take society's productive forces out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and consign the exploitation, oppression and violence inherent in capitalism to the scrapheap of history. ■

Tibet...

(continued from page 16)

a society where slavery—sexual and otherwise—was rampant, medical care nonexistent and literacy the preserve of (some of) the ruling priest-caste. Although bureaucratically deformed from its inception, the 1949 Revolution overthrew capitalist/landlord rule and established a collectivized, planned economy, laying the basis for huge strides forward by the workers, peasants and minority peoples of China, including the Tibetans.

Today, the nationalist regime of the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is itself leading the charge toward capitalist restoration, re-establishing both imperialist and domestic capital investment, with its own cadre immersing themselves in money-grabbing entrepreneurship. The Beijing bureaucracy is rapidly oxidizing the “iron rice bowl”—the guarantee of jobs and housing and other social benefits—including current moves to eliminate the housing subsidy for state workers, which threatens to create millions of homeless. The looming threat of “free-market” misery has led to widespread resistance, including strikes, by the Chinese proletariat.

For now, the imperialists, especially in business circles, have adopted a “soft cop” strategy; correctly perceiving that the Beijing regime has pushed China to the brink of counterrevolution. But the U.S. ruling class has, in the Korean and Vietnamese wars and earlier in World War II, demonstrated that it will readily perpetrate mass slaughter—up to and including nuclear incineration—to maintain world dominance and eradicate the “menace” of communism. And it would do so again in China should such be deemed warranted. Indeed, unlike the situation at the time of the 1917 Russian Revolution, when the imperialist powers were exhausted and ideologically bankrupted by World War I, today they have been reinvigorated by the counterrevolu-

to defend their rule. Former Soviet leader Gorbachev’s willingness to cede the Baltic states and, most importantly, the USSR’s “influence” over East Germany intensified imperialist pressures against the Soviet Union and emboldened domestic counterrevolutionaries, finally leading to Yeltsin’s pro-imperialist coup in August 1991.

When U.S. imperialist chief Clinton visited Beijing in June, he unfurled the banner of “autonomy” for Tibet—which, not accidentally, is the current program of the Dalai Lama—as part of his program for a “democratic” China. Clinton’s trip had all the trappings and hypocrisy of an Elmer Gantry revival, replete with tedious sermons on the virtues of democracy accompanied by confessions of human frailty. Autonomy under the Dalai Lama would have approximately the same relationship to democracy as Clinton’s (unremarkable) sexual proclivities have to chastity.

The stunning, picture-postcard beauty of “Shangri-La” notwithstanding, Tibet has the most minimal basis for human habitation, a reality which has facilitated its development as a distinct society, isolated, in the large, from the rest of the world as well as from such modern intrusions as literacy, medical care and civilization in general. Formed through the merger of a feudal-like aristocracy and a vast clerical estate making up, at times, over 20 percent of the male population, the Lamaocracy held sway over a society of peasants and herdsmen for hundreds of years until 1959. Only then, nine years after the entry of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA) into the territory, did the Beijing bureaucracy begin to implement fundamental reforms in Tibet.

The theocracy in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa so effectively and brutally dominated the society that there is no accessible history of the kind of episodic peasant uprisings which characterized precapitalist societies throughout the rest of the world. In fact, there is no record of any unrest at all. It is a measure of the



Reactionary Buddhist monks stage riot in Tibetan capital of Lhasa, 1987. AP

Lama fled to India and the CCP quickly abolished his administration—the “Tibet Local Government”—which had been formed in 1951. Only then did Mao move to abolish *ulag* (forced peasant labor), slavery and the myriad of mandatory taxes paid to the aristocracy and monasteries. Previously, the monasteries simply appropriated children to replenish the monk population while villages were forced to hand over children for state functions in Lhasa, with boys thus “donated” taken by the monks as consorts. The land, livestock and tools of the aristocrats who fled into exile were distributed to the peasants, as were the land and chattel of the monasteries which had participated in the uprising. As one frequent visitor to the area described post-revolutionary Tibet, “at least now you don’t see emaciated serfs in rags carrying the litter of a noble dressed in warm clothing, turquoise rings and gold bracelets” (*Guardian*, 29 December 1973, quoted in A. Tom Grunfeld, *The Making of Modern Tibet* [1996]).

Even the modest reforms instituted under CCP rule were attenuated through

cluding the distinctive hairstyle) were proscribed. Much of what had been at the core of Tibetan “culture”—monasteries, religious artifacts and texts—was simply smashed up and destroyed, although with the appreciable side effect of driving monks into actual labor. By decree, nomadic herdsmen were “transformed” into farmers overnight and the peasantry organized into large agricultural communes which lacked not only the machines but the soil necessary for large-scale farming. Predictably, agricultural production was so disrupted that by 1981 one-fifth of the Tibetan population required subsidies from the central government merely to survive.

Deng Xiaoping’s rise to power shortly after Mao’s death was accompanied by the lifting of Han-chauvinist strictures against Tibetan language, attire and hairstyles. The monasteries were rebuilt and refurbished, while the idle monks returned in droves and currently number some 40,000 to 50,000. At the same time, the “market reforms” initiated under Deng have increased Han privilege in the area, as well as the distaste of most Tibetans for their occupiers. The growing presence of the PLA, with its relatively well-paid officers and soldiers and their families and its prominent role in business ventures (geared in Tibet primarily to tourism), has also led to an infusion of ethnic Han entrepreneurs employing Han workers.

Thus, the real gains for the Tibetan masses from the export of the 1949 Chinese Revolution—from the introduction of modern health care to the establishment of a modicum of education, which lowered the level of illiteracy from 90 percent to roughly 45 percent—stand alongside continuing glaring inequalities. Tibetan farmers and herders earn an average of \$68 a year, while 79 percent of Tibetan women of childbearing age are illiterate. Such inequalities are rapidly increasing with the introduction of capitalist market “reforms.”

Hollywood Stumps for Counterrevolution

Keenly attuned to the opportunities provided by the policies of the CCP bureaucracy, which has engaged in off-and-on discussions concerning the status of Tibet, the Dalai Lama has “evolved” from his earlier calls for independence, which faded out after the anti-Soviet rapprochement between the U.S. and Mao’s China in the early 1970s. Now the god-king has expressed a willingness to dicker over some sort of “autonomy” arrangement, with occasional statements of approval of modernization and, even, some sort of “socialism.” At the same time, following the final undoing of the Russian October Revolution in 1991-92, the aristocrats and lamas who maintain the Tibetan exile communities in the Indian subcontinent have increasingly sought to mobilize international pressure for Tibetan independence.

These developments have inspired a gaggle of American entertainers to lend their efforts to the reactionary anti-Communist crusade against China. Prominent among them is Richard Gere, the actor and sometime pupil of the



Dalai Lama with Chinese PLA troops in 1956. Three years later, he backed CIA-sponsored rebellion.

tionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which was prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule.

Particularly in the face of the “free Tibet” frenzy against the Chinese deformed workers state, the Trotskyist International Communist League reasserts the need for unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. To stop the devastation threatened by the reintroduction of capitalist slavery, China’s toiling masses must carry out a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste. This requires the forging of an authentically communist party rooted in the internationalism of Lenin’s Bolsheviks and the early Communist International, whose revolutionary program was carried forward by Trotsky’s Fourth International. Key to this is the understanding that the only path to a socialist society of abundance lies through the rapid spread of proletarian revolution throughout South and Southeast Asia and to South Korea and Japan.

The Hell of Lamaist Tibet

Tibet is of little geopolitical importance for the imperialists. But it does pose a test of the resolve of the CCP Stalinists

intensity of oppression and exploitation in Lamaist Tibet that what was perhaps proportionally the largest and most idle ruling stratum in human history was economically supported by growers of barley and herders of yak. At base, this meant the labor of women, since both the monks and a not small portion of the male population, who emulated the monastic life after “sinning” by procreating, were employed in contemplation.

After the PLA’s 1950 occupation of Tibet, American imperialism—with parallel efforts by the ruling classes of India, Taiwan and Japan—utilized Tibet’s ruling stratum and its fear of the least reform to foment resistance against the newly formed Chinese deformed workers state. In 1959, a rebellion inspired, armed and financed by the CIA originated in Tibet’s eastern reaches in China’s Sichuan province and culminated in a monk/aristocrat-led uprising in Lhasa. This effort—preordained to fail—was cynically launched by the U.S. simply to harass China. Against the imperialist hue and cry over “poor little Tibet,” the Trotskyists stood forthrightly for the defense of China (see “Trotskyist Youth Protest U.S. Moves Against Mao’s China,” page 13).

The rebellion was smashed, the Dalai

sabotage by the remaining Tibetan aristocrats, as well as through the narrow policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which was shot through with “Great Han” Chinese chauvinism. Those aristocrats who stayed were reimbursed for their property, as were the “loyal” monasteries which were then subsidized by the Chinese state. Mao’s “Great Leap Forward” of the late 1950s—a utopian campaign to catapult China to the status of an advanced industrial power on the basis of raw peasant labor—grievously undermined agrarian and social reform. Substituting utopian sloganeering for material reality, this leap *backward* brought industrial and agricultural production to a standstill, leading to a devastating famine throughout China.

Subsequently, Tibetans were subjected to fierce Great Han chauvinism during the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” beginning in the mid-1960s, in which Mao mobilized millions of student youth to buttress his position in an intrabureaucratic factional feud. In this grossly misnamed campaign, which took aim at all things “foreign” and at such “capitalist” influence as accumulated scientific knowledge and classical music, Tibetan language and native dress (in-

1959 Statement on Tibet

Trotskyist Youth Protest U.S. Moves Against Mao's China

The following leaflet, titled "The Tibetan Brigade: Crocodile Tears Stain the Monks' Cloth," is reprinted from Young Socialist (June 1959), newspaper of the then-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). It was issued by the Eugene V. Debs Club of Berkeley, California and the East Bay YSA. As we noted when we reprinted the leaflet in Spartacist No. 27-28 (Winter 1979-1980), this occasioned some reaction in the local radical milieu as it was known to have been written by Jim Robertson, a former longtime unassimilated Shachtmanite and ardent communist, as his first statement of Trotskyist Soviet defensism.

A hue and cry has gone up throughout the "free" world and especially in the United States over the latest alleged atrocity of the Chinese (Communist) government. This "atrocity" is the attempt, assured of final success, to reestablish Chinese dominance in the face of revolt planned and led by the Tibetan priestly and landowning classes.

The situation is clear enough in broad outline. To their discredit, the Chinese government has attempted to conciliate with the Tibetan feudal classes for the past eight years. At the same time, as the product of a revolutionary upheaval, the Chinese regime brings with it certain

reforms. These reforms, such as rudimentary education, threatened the age-old system of oppression of the peasants by the native rulers. These latter worthies, headed by their "god-king," felt undermined, and while they still had at least a measure of popular support staged a coup which ran into Chinese military resistance.

As an aside to those in the West who profess to admire the quaint devotion of the more backward in Asia to their religious leaders, let it be noted that these condescending attitudes went out with the "humble, devout" French serf of before 1789 and the "carefree, contented" Negro slaves in America. Oppression and obscurantism that lead to blighted and shortened lives are vicious. The path of human betterment is through increasing men's understanding and control of their universe, not by use of rosaries and prayer wheels.

Several defenses have been put forward in favor of the Tibetan feudalists. (1) "Freedom and democracy"!! When in the last two thousand years have the Tibetan people voted or been asked about anything? The very revolt was in part against the eventual possibility of that sort of thing.

(2) "Another Hungary." In Hungary

the revolution fought to go forward, seeking to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy (the brothers of Mao and company) in favor of rule from below and for socialism, and against the old order of great landed estates, privately owned factories, clericalism, and political rule by Admiral Horthy's fascist gang.

(3) "Self-determination" might have been a serious basis for deciding in favor of Tibetan independence could someone figure out how the Tibetan people are to express their choice in a nation where the "god-king" gives all the answers as well as asks all the questions. But in reality this aspect is without meaning.

The real choice for Tibet if Chinese control were thrown off is not independent nationhood but abject dependence on American arms, money and advisors. One has but to look at the other reactionary and feudal regimes in Asia to see both the reality and meaning of American imperialist domination: the military dictatorships in Pakistan and Thailand, the corrupt "democracies" of Viet Nam and the Philippines, the personal tyrannies in South Korea and Formosa. Not a pretty picture.

The victory of the Chinese Communist government is clearly the progressive choice in the present contest. How-

ever, to recognize this is not to whitewash that regime. But even in its distorted way it is part of great and positive changes on the Asian mainland, changes that eventually will be the Maoists' own undoing. Through these very achievements the regime will be overthrown by the mass of people anxious to rule their own destinies without the intervention of a privileged elite. That is the future; the Tibetan monk-rulers are the past.

But what about the hue and cry in America? How easily fine words are twisted to meet the needs of American "world leadership"! How morally corrupt our public figures are, men whose political complexion runs the entire respectable spectrum. Nationally a pro-Tibetan committee has been set up ranging in composition from the Formosa lobby mouthpiece, Henry Luce of Life-Time-Fortune, to Norman Thomas, accurately described as "the State Department socialist." At California, the self-styled "Tibetan Brigade" has sprung up and in its publicity seeking fashion faithfully echoes the rhetoric of their elders.

All this noise in a country that backs dictators the world over and as in Guatemala forcibly puts puppets into power with plots staged by the Counter Intelligence Agency. And at a time when, to take a most outstanding example, in Algeria, a whole people have been waging a desperate, bloody war for years against fascist colonials and an imperialist army supplied with American arms.

Here is hypocrisy of world-historic proportions. We socialists say: no thank you!

Dalai Lama, who has vowed to make Tibet "a household word in the United States, like Maalox or Lysol." However, Gere has apparently recently been supplanted in the Dalai Lama's inner circle. If Christopher Hitchens' report in the Nation (27 July) is to be believed, "Steven Seagal, the robotic and moronic 'actor' who gave us *Hard to Kill* and *Under Siege*, has been proclaimed a reincarnated lama." Hitchens observes, "Suggestions that Seagal's fortune helped elevate him to the Himalayan status of tulku [sacred vessel] are not completely discounted even by some adepts and initiates."

These jet-setting "artistes," who invariably exceed their gurus in vacuity, wish to add to their collections of causes and extravagant toys a Tibet to be preserved "au naturel," a theme park where tranquil and simple humans live in "organic" relationships unspoiled by "civilization." In reality, they uphold a society only decades ago so ravaged by sickness that an estimated 90 percent of the population suffered from venereal disease; a society in which women were shared with their husbands' male relatives if poor or added to the stables of wives of the rich; a soci-

ety where life was brutal, harsh and short and where the masses were offered not the least hope for amelioration or any kind of change. And that society, or one very much like it, would re-emerge if the Lama/aristocrat exiles returned to power in an "independent" Tibet.

In stressing the need for the Chinese proletariat to combat the Han chauvinism of the Stalinist bureaucracy and champion the rights of Tibetans, the Muslim Uighurs of Xinjiang and other national and ethnic minorities, we raised the call for "the right of independence for a Tibetan soviet republic" ("China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). However, given the social conditions in Tibet, this call is mistaken. There is currently no basis for any sort of independent Tibet, where there exists neither a domestic capitalist class—nor even a comprador capitalist layer—nor a working class of any significance. There is no way to even determine what the masses in Tibet might want. The toiling population—peasants and herders—remains unorganized, politically mute

and isolated in myriad small villages and settlements.

In *The Permanent Revolution* (1930), Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote:

"Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses."

As in the case of other horribly benighted and backward countries, like Afghanistan, even a modicum of modernization can only come from without. This is why, at the time of the Soviet military intervention against CIA-backed feudalist reactionaries in Afghanistan in 1979, we raised the call: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" In that context, we pointed to the extension of Bolshevik power to Central Asia in the 1920s, which laid the basis for an enormous leap forward for that region's toilers, particularly women who had been brutally oppressed under the Islamic hierarchy. The Kremlin's withdrawal from Afghanistan in the late 1980s set up women and leftists there for the horrendous rule of the Taliban cutthroats and led in short order to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

In Tibet, it was only the entry of the army of the Chinese deformed workers state that enabled the masses to begin even the most minimal steps toward social progress. The fate of the Tibetan people is inextricably bound up with the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China and socialist revolution in the Indian subcontinent and throughout Southeast and East Asia.

China: For Proletarian Political Revolution!

To oust the bureaucratic caste that is rushing to liquidate the last remaining gains of the Chinese Revolution requires the leadership of a proletarian party which, as Lenin prescribed, must act as the tribune of the people, fighting on behalf of all the oppressed. This means,

for example, struggling against the erosion of the gains made by women since 1949 and combatting every instance of Great Han chauvinism promoted by the nationalist bureaucracy. Proletarian political revolution in China would immediately face the fury of imperialist-led reaction. The only defense against this is the international mobilization of the working class, struggling to spread red revolution particularly to South Korea and Japan.

Key to the victory of the October Revolution was the Bolsheviks' intransigent internationalism, including their defense of the right of self-determination for the many oppressed nations in the tsarist prison house of peoples. After seizing power, the Bolsheviks did indeed grant those nations the right to separate, while establishing measures of autonomy for various pre-national peoples. But particularly as the young Soviet republic was besieged by imperialist-led White counterrevolution, national self-determination, like all bourgeois-democratic questions, was subordinate to the defense of proletarian state power. The short-lived Ukrainian and Georgian "republics" of the time, despite their pretensions of "neutrality" and a patina of "socialist," peasant radical and even anarchist rule, proved to be little more than highways for the military forces mobilized by the imperialists against Red Russia. Similarly, an "independent" Tibet today could only serve as a platform for imperialist provocations against the Chinese deformed workers state.

The preconditions for any meaningful Tibetan autonomy or, if desired, independence are the destruction of every remaining vestige of aristocratic and monastic power—and the end to all state support to the monasteries—through the mobilization of the Tibetan masses into soviets of toilers linked to proletarian soviet rule in China. Only then could the Tibetan people begin to overcome centuries of near slavery and hideous deprivation and embark on the road of progress, prosperity and human freedom that is the goal of socialist revolution. That advance today depends on a victorious working-class political revolution in China as part of the fight for a socialist Asia. ■

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U.S. Bombing...

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has yet surfaced. On the contrary, a British engineer who worked at the Khar-toum factory for several years said: "It just isn't equipped to cope with the demands of chemical weapon manufacturing" (Reuters, 22 August). We recall the bombing of a supposed "biological weapons facility" in Baghdad—which turned out to be a baby formula factory—during the U.S.-led imperialist war against Iraq in 1991.

Cynically waving aside the whole question of facts, former CIA director John Deutsch haughtily declared: "A decision to retaliate does not require the same standard of proof as a conviction in an American court of law" (*New York Times*, 22 August). Clinton's lies in the matter of his private sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky have provoked howls of outrage. But there was not a peep of dissent from capitalist politicians or the media about the lying justification for Clinton's murderous missile strikes. In fact, from Wall Street to the White House, this whole capitalist system of racism and war is based on lies.

In the aftermath of the U.S. terror raids, American spokesmen have been whipping up a war scare against "Islamic terrorism" remarkable for its stridency. In the first instance, this is used to justify yet another augmentation of the repressive powers of the capitalist state. "Security" measures and police patrols were beefed up at airports and many public buildings, while a "bomb scare" even halted commuter trains into New York City. The U.S. rulers' "anti-terrorist" hysteria is a particular threat to Arab Americans and Muslims in general, who have been the victims of arson attacks, death threats and FBI harassment particularly since the war against Iraq. At the same time, it serves to whip up a patriotic frenzy aimed at undercutting class struggle.

The government's cynical warning of an increase in indiscriminate terrorism against Americans is a self-fulfilling prophecy. In one of the demonstrations of outrage which erupted in Sudan, Pakistan and the Near East, a spokesman for the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group in the Zionist-occupied Gaza Strip proclaimed: "America will reap the harvest of its aggression." In carrying out their own far more deadly state terror, the U.S.



Mary Evans Picture Library

imperialists are inciting attacks against American citizens abroad.

At protests in the U.S., the Spartacist League carried signs reading, "Down With U.S. Terror Bombing of Afghanistan, Sudan!" and "Afghan Islamic Reaction—Made in the U.S.A." We don't know who carried out the embassy bombings which killed several hundred Kenyan and Tanzanian civilians. But what we do know is that the Islamic *mujahedin* (holy warriors) now hypocritically denounced by Washington as "terrorists" are creatures of U.S. imperialism who only several years ago were hailed as anti-Communist "freedom fighters." Bin Laden's "network," for example, was armed, trained and financed by the CIA as part of Washington's proxy war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980s. And the "terrorist training camps" in Afghanistan were built by the U.S. and described by Soviet analysts at the time as "the last word in NATO engineering techniques" (*New York Times*, 24 August).

When Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan in December 1979 to stem a CIA-backed *mujahedin* insurgency against a left-nationalist, pro-Soviet regime, U.S. imperialism seized on this to kick off a renewed war drive against the USSR. Working with its theocratic client states in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, Washington poured *billions* into arming the reactionary Afghan *mujahedin* who threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and flayed teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read. Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a central issue in the civil war that raged in



Britain's Lord Kitchener, an earlier imperialist butcher of Sudanese people. Kitchener's troops carried out 1898 massacre at Omdurman.

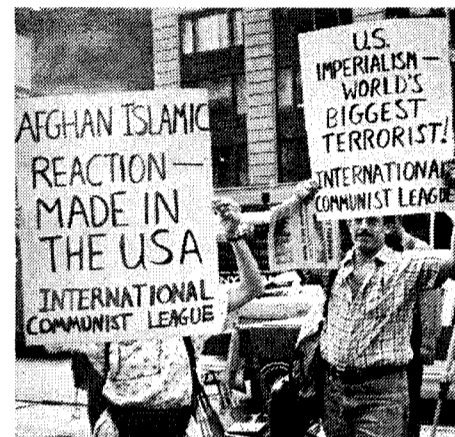
Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. It was also a key battlefield in imperialism's unremitting drive to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state, which despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy rested on the planned, collectivized economy issuing out of the 1917 Russian Revolution, a historic gain for the world proletariat.

Driven by fierce anti-Communism, a whole slew of reformists—notably including the International Socialist Organization (ISO)—joined the imperialist rulers in calling for "Soviet troops out" and in embracing the *mujahedin* cutthroats as "freedom fighters." In contrast, we proclaimed: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Trotskyists stood for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy. When Soviet troops were pulled out of Afghanistan in 1988-89, we bitterly denounced this betrayal. In solidarity with embattled Afghan women and leftists, the Partisan Defense Committee proceeded to organize an international fundraising campaign to assist civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad.

For its part, the Cliffite ISO gloated at the time, "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). The Kremlin pullout paved the way for the victory of the Taliban reactionaries, who have imposed a benighted reign of terror and imprisoned women in the home and under the head-

to-toe *burka* (see "Afghanistan: Hell for Women," *WV* No. 654, 25 October 1996). It also paved the way for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Again the Cliffites joined the imperialists in rejoicing that "Communism has collapsed" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

Occasional "anti-imperialist" rhetoric notwithstanding, reformists like the ISO provide an ideological cover for the imperialist mass murderers. Emboldened by the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, the rulers of U.S. imperialism have increasingly wielded their massive arsenal of terror to assert their dominant position in the world, not least in the horrendous slaughter of some 100,000 Iraqis in 1991 and in the continuing United Nations embargo which has killed over a million more, largely young children. From the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the counterrevolutionary wars which killed millions of workers and peasants in Korea and Vietnam, America's imperialist rulers are the deadliest terrorists on the face of the planet. Down with the starvation blockade of Iraq! Defend



WV Photo

New York City, August 21: Spartacists at protest against Clinton's terror bombing of Sudan, Afghanistan.

Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

The Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party as part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International to lead the proletariat in sweeping away this rapacious, war-crazed capitalist class. As SL signs carried at the recent protests proclaimed, "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" ■

SWP, the Ayatollahs' Socialists

Emblazoned across the back page of Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP) newspaper, the *Militant* (6 July), is the headline, "Two Million Visit Tehran Book Fair." The article boasts about how popular the Pathfinder book stall was at this fair, even glowing about the interest shown by military officials and other representatives of the Iranian regime. One has to ask: just what does it take to get to set up a "leftist" book stall in Teheran? We don't know just what the Barnesites have to do to warrant this privileged treatment from a reactionary, clericalist regime, but it certainly helps to act as fawning press agents for the ayatollahs.

When the Iranian mullahs under Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in 1979 by placing themselves at the head of a wave of mass protest against the tyrannical regime of the U.S.-backed Shah, the SWP was among the most avid of the numerous fake-left organizations internationally which backed the Khomeinists. We declared at the time: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" We particularly pointed to the proletarian upsurge which had been the key force in preparing the Pahlavi dynasty's downfall, but which had been channeled behind the Islamic

fundamentalists because of the treachery of the Iranian left. When the Khomeinists took over, we warned (*WV* No. 225, 16 February 1979):

"This is not a victory for the working masses. Today, Iran belongs to middle-class Islamic reaction in a bloody alliance with a section of the same officer corps which has dealt out decades of death and oppression on behalf of the Pahlavis. They are prepared to do the same now."

This warning was soon borne out, as the mullah regime equaled or surpassed the Shah's tyranny in a bloody reign of terror which continues to this day, creating a brutal theocracy in which women are stoned to death for "adultery" and whose jails and graveyards are filled with victimized trade unionists, leftists, homosexuals, Kurds and other national minorities.

In contrast, the *Militant* (23 February 1979) cheered that "Iranian Masses Show the Way for Workers Around the World" and proclaimed: "Victory in Iran." Even as the mullahs began to impose the *chador* on women and to imprison leftists—including the SWP's own Iranian co-thinkers—Barnes' emissaries returned from visits to Iran burbling with polyannish "eyewitness reports." When SWPer Cindy Jaquith hailed the suffocat-

ing *chador* as a "symbol of resistance" and gushed over what she called "the most classical example of a revolution that we have seen since the Russian Revolution," we dubbed her reports, "Gidget Goes to Teheran" (see "They Wanted Khomeini, They Got Him," *WV* No. 227, 16 March 1979).

Now the SWP brags how one of the best-selling items at its stall was a book titled *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. Little wonder! They also crow that "access to education and literature were among the central demands" of the workers and peasants who were supposedly the "driving force" of the "Iranian Revolution." Well, Iranians may be able to buy literature castigating cosmetics as "exploitative," but we doubt that Pathfinder offered any novels by Salman Rushdie, who remains subject to a *fatwa* (death warrant) by the Iranian regime for supposedly denigrating Islam.

As for Leon Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*, also published by Pathfinder, the Barnesites themselves long ago explicitly repudiated the revolutionary strategy elaborated there. Yet Trotsky's book is of crucial importance to Iranian leftists and workers, as it explains that

achieving even democratic tasks and breaking the yoke of imperialist domination requires the proletarian seizure of state power as part of a perspective of international socialist revolution.

Two decades after the reactionary character of the "Iranian Revolution" has been amply demonstrated, the SWP continues to spin out an "anti-imperialist" cover for the mullah regime. For years, the SWP has tried to rope leftist youth into its liberal "solidarity with Cuba" campaign. The ex-Trotskyist SWP rejects the program of unconditional military defense of Cuba linked to proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Castro bureaucracy which has opened wide the doors to capitalist restoration. Willfully dismissive of the class line, the SWP promotes a liberal "anti-imperialism" which glorifies not only the Castro regime but even reactionary capitalist governments currently targeted by the U.S. rulers.

Indeed, in its report on the Teheran book fair, the SWP equates Cuba with the viciously anti-woman theocratic regime in Iran as "fellow revolutionary" countries. That statement alone should be enough to repulse any young leftists mistakenly attracted to the Barnesites. Those who seek a revolutionary strategy to defend the Cuban Revolution and fight against U.S. imperialism will find it in the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League. ■

CWA...

(continued from page 16)

off the tap of company profits.

The day before the official strike date, workers in New York City and upstate walked off the job for several hours, chanting "No contract, no work!" During the strike, picketers shut down scab cabling and office work in Manhattan and Brooklyn, in one instance converging on a non-union contractor and stopping all work by occupying a key piece of construction machinery. On behalf of Bell Atlantic, New York City mayor Giuliani mobilized a large cop presence to barricade picket lines. Several phone workers were arrested. It is critical that the union defend its members against the strike-breaking cops and courts: Drop the charges! No company reprisals!

The settlement in the Bell Atlantic strike is being touted by the CWA leadership as an enormous victory. Insofar as the union was able to hold the line against the further influx of non-union labor, it did indeed strike a blow against management's plans to gut union jobs. At the same time, the CWA bureaucracy acquiesced to several management demands that are directed to the same end. The company is allowed to hire non-union contractors on an "emergency" basis and more generally to "renegotiate work rules and compensation in order to bid more successfully" against non-union firms (Washington Post, 12 August). A Bell Atlantic press release following the settle-

ment declares that the company will continue to "outsource" telemarketing and other work.

The union tops particularly trumpeted the company's agreement to transfer the work of non-union service representatives at Bell Atlantic Plus in Hampton, Virginia to unionized work places. What is not said is that at least 200 of the Hampton jobs are being eliminated altogether. Having done nothing to organize these workers, the CWA misleaders now throw them to the wolves in the name of protecting union jobs. But the primary responsibility for the explosion of non-union work in this industry lies with the CWA bureaucracy. Lying prostrate before the attacks on the union following AT&T's breakup and industry "deregulation," they did less than nothing to organize the raft of low-wage firms spawned in this period, particularly in the South.

Low-wage, non-union contractors and companies will continue to be a club held over unionized telecommunications workers. Although only some 60 percent of the workforce at the Baby Bells is organized in the CWA and IBEW, even this is too much for Wall Street. An article in the New York Times (17 August) noted, "Large proportions of union workers put the Bells at a long-term disadvantage in a brutally competitive market where almost all of the other players use mostly nonunion labor."

There is a clear and crying need for industry-wide union organizing efforts and for one industrial union for all telecommunications workers. This is a huge

and powerful industry in which any attempts to organize the massive number of non-union companies means going up against the capitalist rulers, their state apparatus of cops, courts and "neutral" labor boards—and the whole welter of anti-labor laws that stands behind them. The spread of non-union telecommunications companies in the "right to work" South poses pointblank the need for the union to actively take up the defense of black rights. As we noted in the 1994 Spartacist League conference resolution (Spartacist [English-language edition] No. 51, Autumn 1994):

"On the one side, the entire black community will tend to rally behind racially integrated workers fighting the local white power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the American ruling class will resort not only to the police, company goons and professional strikebreakers but, if hard pressed, also to the Klan and its ilk, while using racist demagoguery to turn backward white workers against the labor movement."

The fight against racist discrimination is also key to forging one industrial union, which can only come about by breaking down deep craft divisions—reinforced by racist and sexist bigotry—that separate higher-paid, overwhelmingly white male technicians from operators and clerks.

But the current leadership of the American labor movement is dead set against any such struggle. In many ways, the CWA bureaucracy stands out as the starkest example of a labor misleadership that equates the interests of the working class with those of the racist imperialist rulers. The CWA tops have for decades been in

the forefront of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's collusion with the CIA in building "labor" fronts for U.S. imperialism against militant workers around the world. On the home front, this is seen in their support for the Democratic Party, long the mechanism through which the union bureaucrats tie labor to the capitalist exploiters. And even as they refuse to put the slightest effort into organizing non-union telecommunications workers, the CWA bureaucracy has for years dedicated money and organizers nationwide to "organizing" the strikebreaking, racist cops.

After some two decades of bitter defeats, prepared by the class-collaborationist policies of the labor tops, the unionized working class is beginning to engage in some hard struggle in defense of jobs and working conditions. The situation desperately cries out for a new class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, one rooted in the understanding that labor must be mobilized independently of the capitalist exploiters and their political parties—Democratic and Republican. Even so elementary a task as organizing the unorganized requires a leadership which, through such sharp class battles, can educate the working class in the understanding of its social power and its interests in fighting for the cause of black freedom and in defense of immigrant rights. Out of such struggles will come the proletarian leaders of a revolutionary workers party committed to the expropriation of the capitalist rulers through socialist revolution. ■

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

split, however, was on more substantive grounds.

It was a revolt against Clara's insistence on using the Party as a tool for resolving her personal problems and enhancing her political status. To this end she abused democratic-centralism by transforming the executive board into her factional tool. The board, which had been temporarily elected to expedite administrative work, made political decisions without the approval of the members, or arbitrarily overruled, impeded or refused to implement decisions of the membership that it did not agree with. The immediate reason for the split, was the refusal of the board to allow a report by the trial commission, which had been unanimously selected by the members to investigate and evaluate charges Clara had made against Dick's conduct, to make its report after completing three months of intensive study. The members, of course, strongly disapproved of Dick's treatment of Clara and were particularly concerned with his growing alcoholism which had become an embarrassment to the Party. The Trial Commission's report proposed that Dick take a year's leave of absence to deal with his drinking problem, and demanded that he cease his harassment of Clara. This did not coincide 100 percent with Clara's desires, and, refusing to hear the report, her board imposed its own decision.

Most galling was Clara's insistence on the Stalinist principle, that the executive

board had the right to determine the personal relations of members, the distribution of their property in case of divorce, the custody of children, with or without the member's approval. Even sexual relations were within their purview. The only reference to adultery in the dispute was Clara's accusation that Dick had committed a political crime by having an affair with a member of the Spartacist League. Opposing the Board's dictatorship were most of the founders of the FSP, the drafters of its theoretical documents, and, of course, the majority of the Trial Commission whose months of careful evaluations were summarily ignored. We were not novices. Clara was not our Guru. We had had enough impediments to political work. This was the last straw. We walked out.

Weller is right in one thing. Clara's faction carried their motion by one vote. But "A half truth is a whole lie." The actual vote was 6-5. In that low vote lies the true story. Out of a membership of about 25, plus supporters nationally, a faction of six—four on the executive board—considered it their exclusive right to publicly expel the theoretical leader and principal founder of our organization. Democratic-centralism, without the "democratic" was used by a minority in executive position to serve bureaucratic ends. For some six months, the board ignored pressing political problems and dragged the members through meeting after meeting consisting of repetitions of Clara's problems with Dick, until enough members were discouraged from attending. Thus her faction of six suddenly became a majority of one at a hastily



Spartacist
"Member of the Spartacist League."

called "emergency" meeting and used that majority to expel Dick. The board notified nobody that a momentous decision for the organization was impending and no attempt was made to set this meeting at a time when all members could attend. Members living outside the Seattle area weren't consulted. Even Dick was not there to defend himself.

We left, but we were not the last to leave. Within five years, four of the members who had supported Clara's motion and created her new FSP were expelled or dropped as male-chauvinists. This included her three supporting members on the executive board, one of them their most vocal feminist and another their new organizer. Within ten years, not a single member of the original FSP remained with her. Her status as Guru was confirmed.

Revolution She Wrote attests to Clara's exceptional abilities as an organizer and propagandist for socialist and Trotskyist ideas. But the book is marred by more than the slanders of Dick. It abounds with half-truths and lies designed to provide her with a reputation as a profound Marxist theoretician.

For example.

1. The article *The Emancipation of Women* taken from the resolution of the Seattle Branch to the 1965 national convention of the SWP, *Crisis and Leadership*, is by implication attributed to Clara. The resolution, however, was written by Dick Fraser, with Branch mem-

bers proposing changes and then edited by Clara and me. Since Clara and Dick were members of the national committee at the time, the Resolution was presented under both their names.

The excerpt quoted on the centrality of Black women in the struggle for emancipation was developed by Dick in the early forties, some ten years before he met Clara. Radical Women has wisely made the concept the basis of its approach to Black women, but I was shocked when Nina Harding, at a memorial meeting, heaped praise on Clara for originating it. The editors of Clara's book promise to reprint the resolution. A bit of deliberate plagiarism since it has already been printed by Freedom Socialist Publications.

2. Clara's discovery of Lyndon LaRouche's fascist orientation came a bit late. LaRouche was clearly a fascist long before she discovered this. Yet the first organizer of her FSP joined one of his groups, the husband of one of the members of Radical Women was a LaRouche supporter, and Clara's FSP refused to participate in a large mass meeting called to expose and counteract the violent development of this fascist gang. There is something wrong with the politics of a group that only recognizes a fascist when he flips out on the "woman question."

3. Much is made of Clara's leadership in the formation of the *Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party*. Yet no mention is made of what happened to this promised regroupment. Interesting. It did not help its development when she raised personal vengeance to intolerable heights and branded her California allies as "counter-revolutionaries" for sending money to help provide medical care for Dick Fraser, who was dying of cancer. Myra Tanner Weiss, a founder of the *Committee*, a friend of Clara's for years, and her teacher during her youth, disassociated herself because of Clara's bureaucratic attempt to take over the organization.

4. The book is markedly silent on the persons who provided or developed the ideas that she later built upon and took as her own.

A personal biography of Clara Fraser could provide insight into the problems of socialist women in the revolutionary movement. It would make a fine sequel to *Revolution She Wrote*, but I doubt if her sycophants are capable of carrying out such a project. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

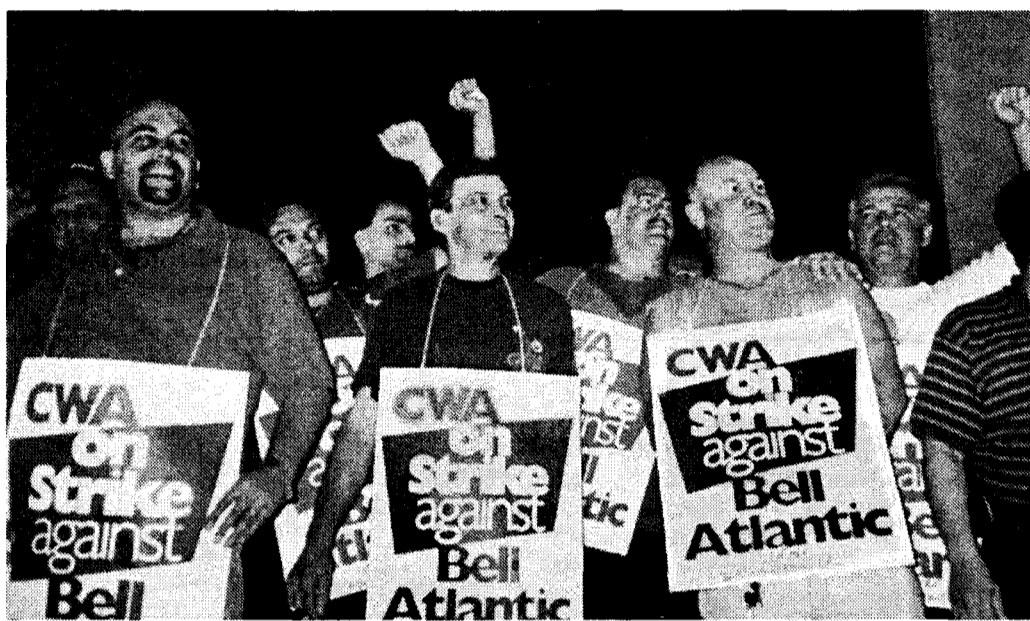
Victory to the US West and SNET Strikes!

CWA Strikers Ward Off Bell Atlantic Union Busting

Organize the Unorganized!

AUGUST 24—As a result of a solid two-day strike against Bell Atlantic by 73,000 Communications Workers of America (CWA) members from Maine to Virginia, which ended on August 11, the company largely backed off from plans to hire non-union labor in its business offices and for its expanding work in data communications. The company also re-entertained its threats to tear up a 1994 agreement allowing early retirement and agreed to limits on forced overtime. As we go to press, some 34,000 CWA members are in the eighth day of a strike against Denver-based US West, which operates in 14 states, while picket lines by the CWA-affiliated Connecticut Union of Telephone Workers went up yesterday at Southern New England Telephone (SNET).

Central to all these strikes has been the fight against the mushrooming of non-union jobs in the telecommunications industry and attacks on wages and working conditions, from “two tier” wages to “productivity” speedup schemes. As we



August 9: CWA picket line in New York City.

WV Photo

wrote in a special supplement following last year's widely popular UPS Teamsters strike (see “Unchain Labor's Power!” WV No. 673, 5 September 1997):

“While the bosses rake in record profits, for working people in America today's supposedly booming ‘employment’ economy is increasingly defined by being ‘downsized’ into part-time, contract or ‘contingency’ labor. Downward pressure on wages is also maintained by massive speedup and the virtual elimination of

the eight-hour day, as full-time workers are forced to work upwards of 60 hours a week. At the same time, wide layers of the ghetto poor have been tossed right out of the labor market and are now treated as a totally expendable population who should work for nothing in slave-labor ‘workfare’ schemes or just die.”

The floodgates for attacks on unionized telephone workers were opened by the government-ordered “divestiture” of

the AT&T monopoly in the early 1980s, leading to the creation of “Baby Bells” like US West and Bell Atlantic and a proliferation of low-wage, non-union outfits. Coming in the aftermath of a national strike in 1983, the purpose of the breakup of “Ma Bell” was to dismember the union and eliminate over 100,000 union jobs. Since that time, telecommunications has seen a heavy influx of capital investment, with a mad race to recombine into new monopolies. The current massive demand for data communications has been matched by an increasing shortage of high-skilled labor, giving phone workers additional leverage against the companies' attacks.

Bell Atlantic, having recently moved to acquire the GTE corporation (whose bid to take over Puerto Rico's nationalized phone company provoked a two-day general strike there last month), was under intense pressure to settle quickly so as not to lose high-speed data and Internet business accounts to its rivals. Despite instances of scabbing by phone workers organized in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), the strike was nonetheless a brief but powerful illustration of the social power of the working class which, by withdrawing its labor, can turn

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“Free Tibet”: Rallying Cry for Counterrevolution in China

For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialist Attack and Internal Counterrevolution!

In recent years, one of the most backward and inaccessible regions on the earth has come to the fore as a cause célèbre for Hollywood movie stars as well as imperialist politicians. The clamor for “freedom” for Tibet from Chinese rule has also managed to yoke a significant number of liberal and leftist youth behind one of U.S. imperialism's longstanding anti-Communist crusades. This has been aided by a seemingly endless barrage of films extolling Tibet's “traditional”—and benighted—culture, its self-exiled godking and star of Apple computer ads, the Dalai Lama. Among these is *Seven*

Years in Tibet, idolizing a German Nazi in the 1930s who became a convert to the Tibetan cause. Meanwhile, a range of rap and rock groups like the Beastie Boys and Red Hot Chili Peppers have donated their efforts for “freedom concerts” to raise funds for this anti-China campaign.

The “Free Tibet” cause originated with the machinations of the American CIA and other imperialist forces intent on fomenting capitalist counterrevolution in China. Until its overthrow following the 1949 Chinese Revolution, the Tibetan “Lamaocracy” ruled

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Clinton meets Dalai Lama, Tibetan high priest of counterrevolution, at White House in 1997.

AFP