

## Giuliani, Democrats Strong-Arm NYC Transit Union

# We Need a Workers Party!

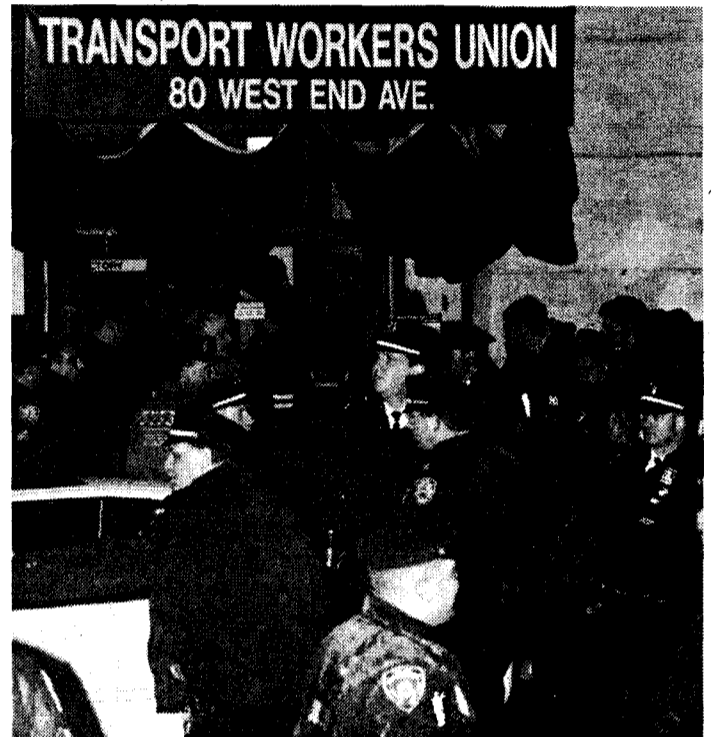
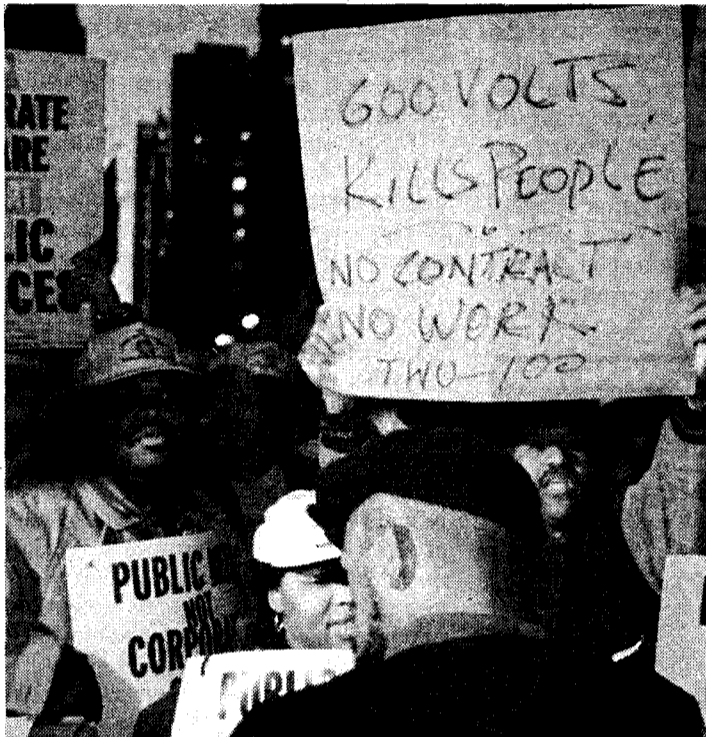
**Break with the Democrats! Defend Labor's Right to Strike!**

DECEMBER 21—The 33,000 members of New York City Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 came up against the iron fist of the capitalist state last week as they geared up to walk out on strike. Harking back to the sort of measures used to break strikes at the turn of the century, Democratic Party state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani brought down injunctions criminalizing not only strike action but even advocacy of strike action by the union or its members—or by anybody else, for that matter. Giuliani promised to destroy the union and bankrupt union members with fines of \$1 million against the union and \$25,000 against individuals the first day of a strike, with those fines doubling every day thereafter. In a frontal assault on all of labor, these injunctions signal the capitalist rulers' yearning to return to an era in which the unions themselves were branded "illegal criminal conspiracies."

But while Spitzer and Giuliani's union-busting moves succeeded in stopping a strike, the TWU ranks are not cowed or broken. Even in the face of these injunctions, thousands of transit workers at a mass meeting on the evening of December 14 voted twice to go out on strike. In the days that followed, many expressed the sentiment widely heard at one maintenance yard: "We should have struck. We had the city in the palm of our hands. We could have crushed Giuliani."

The power of the TWU to shut down the center of finance capitalism—demonstrated in citywide transit strikes in 1966 and 1980—is evident to all. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (16 December) acknowledged how "Wall Street tycoons and media bigwigs cringe in anticipation of a strike by New York City transit workers." But, as is no less evident, a strike by transit workers and other public sector unions immediately confronts the full might of the capitalist government, its strikebreaking court injunctions and laws, like New York State's Taylor Law, and the cops who enforce them.

The government's union-busting orders and the army of cops deployed to enforce them—flooding the streets and subway stations and surrounding bus barns and subway maintenance yards—are a naked expression of what the capitalist state is all about: a machinery of repression against the working class. These cop-enforced court orders also laid bare the class nature and commonality of class interests of the dual parties of capital, the



December 8 TWU Local 100 rally outside MTA office in Manhattan brought out at least 12,000 angry, determined workers. Fearing union's power to shut down NYC, government pushed through anti-strike injunctions, unleashed cops to surround TWU headquarters on December 14 as contract deadline neared.

Democrats and Republicans, in the face of any challenge by the working class to the bosses. And they revealed that the existing leadership of the labor movement serves as labor auxiliaries of and political police for the capitalist rulers.

Local 100 head Willie James and TWU International president Sonny Hall not only bowed to the government's strike-breaking but literally used the police to intimidate the union membership on behalf of their capitalist masters. Not only were union members instructed to obey the court diktats and warned not to even utter the word "strike," but the TWU tops came into the December 14 union meeting the evening the contract expired accompanied by dozens of NYPD cops whose very presence was aimed at menacing the membership.

To give James an out, Giuliani targeted the New Directions (ND) opposition, which makes up almost half of the Local 100 executive board, as an "out of control" faction bent on a strike. However, if anything, New Directions was more overtly opposed to a strike than was the James leadership in the weeks leading up to the contract expiration. New Directions did at least challenge the injunction in court while the lawyers for the James leadership blocked with the city administration in its move for a

hearing to secure a permanent injunction. But at a December 15 solidarity rally, ND also loyally obeyed the injunction to the letter, instructing the several hundred workers who turned out not to talk about a strike and to abide by the court injunctions. This is hardly surprising since New Directions' entire strategy has been based on dragging the TWU into the same bosses' courts!

### For a Class-Struggle Leadership of Labor!

There is widespread anger among the union membership and among all city workers at the government's strong-arming tactics and the James leadership's capitulation. When the presence of cops was made known at the December 14 union meeting, a good one-third of the 3,000 workers there started chanting, "Out! Out! Out!" or yelling, "Get 'em outta here!" Some transit workers at the December 15 rally carried a banner reading, "Smash the Taylor Law! No Confidence in the James Gang! No Confidence in New Directions! Elect Strike Committees!"

TWU members at that rally and at transit locations around the city eagerly read and carefully studied a Spartacist League leaflet (reprinted on page 8) headlined "Defend Labor's Right to Strike! Bust the

Union-Busters! Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!" To prepare for the solid, unified strike drawing in all of NYC labor which is needed to smash the government's ominous assault on the right to strike—and, ultimately, on the very right of the unions to exist—it is necessary to draw some serious lessons from the recent events. Above all, the unions must be *politically* armed in such confrontations.

Ludicrously attempting to cast a transit strike as a communist plot, Giuliani claimed to know that an ND leader had addressed a "Marxist study group." ND's response was to drape itself in the Stars and Stripes at the December 15 rally. In fact, ND is as bound to Democratic Party electoral pressure politics as is the James leadership. It is not only ND that Giuliani is redbaiting these days. A *New York Times* (20 December) article headlined, "Giuliani's Hunt for Red Menaces: From Transit Union to Gardeners, Mayor Sees Marx's Shadow," reported that Giuliani even took aim at the Parks Council, "made up of prominent blue bloods," for decrying the lack of public funding for parks in poor neighborhoods! This man is an incipient clerical fascist, albeit constrained within the framework of a bourgeois democracy which, as the

*continued on page 9*

### PDC Holiday Appeal Speeches

**October 23 Anti-Klan Mobilization:  
Labor/Black Power in Action... 4**



## Victim of Anti-Asian, Anti-Communist "Chinese Spy" Hysteria

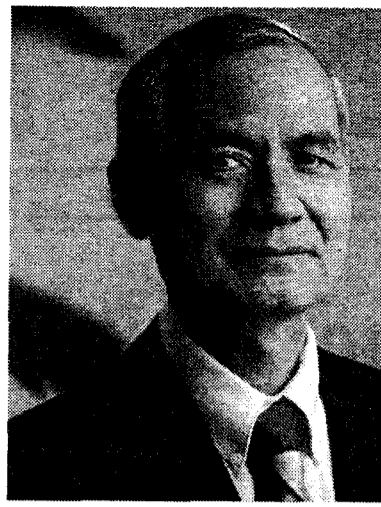
# Free Wen Ho Lee!

On December 10, FBI agents hauled nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee from his home in New Mexico as federal prosecutors indicted him on 59 charges of "mis-handling" classified materials. Last February, the Taiwanese-born U.S. citizen was hounded out of his 20-year government research job at the Los Alamos National Laboratory on charges of "spying" for the People's Republic of China which were based solely on his ancestry. While even a former federal spycatcher admitted that the espionage case against the 59-year-old Lee was "built on thin air," the Feds have now charged him with violations of the Atomic Energy Act and Foreign Espionage Act. Branding Lee a "clear and present danger to the United states," the court has ordered him held without bail even though he has lived under 24-hour surveillance for months and has volunteered to take polygraph tests and submit to searches to clear his name. We demand: **Free Wen Ho Lee! Drop the charges! Give him back his job!**

Lee's persecution—for handling documents the same way that hundreds of non-Asian scientists handle them—has

sparked outrage from a broad spectrum of Chinese American scientific, legal and business organizations. A number of these groups have collected money for Lee's defense. "If you look at the indictment, this looks like 59 counts of downloading," commented banker Henry Tang. "He looks like a scapegoat." At Lee's bail hearing, federal agents admitted that he had never copied data he didn't have official access to and that there is no evidence that any data ever left his possession. Downloading classified data for home use is a common practice among government workers and officials. Recently retired CIA director John Deutch admitted he regularly copied "top secret" data onto his home computer. But while Deutch merely lost his security clearance, Lee now faces possible *life in prison*.

While the witchhunting of Lee has been led by the Republican right in league with a wing of the Democratic Party and the "liberal" *New York Times*, at the core of his victimization lies the determination of the entire American ruling class to foment capitalist counterrevolution in China and to overturn the



David Strick

### Nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee.

remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution. As we wrote in "Chinese Spy" Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism" (WV No. 719, 17 September): "The manufactured hysteria over Chinese espionage is patently aimed at increasing belligerence toward the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Even if Lee had, with purpose or not, given military secrets to the People's Republic of China, this is no crime from the standpoint of the international working class."

The peasant-based Chinese Revolution was a historic gain for humanity, throwing out the imperialists and the domestic bourgeoisie and ushering in a planned economy with jobs, food, housing and education for one-fourth of the world's population. As Trotskyists, we give unconditional military defense to China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam—against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. This defense includes their right to amass and test nuclear weapons technology by whatever means necessary. At the same time, we recognize that the peasant-based 1949 Revolution was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy which excluded the working class from political power. We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, which is today setting the stage for capitalist counterrevolution through stepped-up "market reforms" and mass privatizations.

Lee's persecution takes place amid intensifying anti-Asian racism in the U.S. Along with the government's continuing crackdown on desperate Chinese and other immigrants, "Yellow Peril" chauvinism has been stoked through the years-long Congressional investigation into "illegal" Chinese campaign contributions to the Democrats. Chinese students and technical workers are having the doors slammed shut when they apply for jobs or promotions. Adding fuel to this anti-Chinese chauvinism is the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which on the heels of the recent protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization (WTO) is teaming up with the Republican right and elements of the Democratic Party to torpedo China's entry into that body when it comes to a vote in Congress.

The brutal police crackdown on the WTO protests was an ominous warning to the entire labor movement, blacks

and other minorities. Yet at bottom, those protests were a grotesque celebration of "democratic" American imperialism, marked by racist protectionist mobilizations against Mexican and Asian workers and chauvinist anti-China demonstrations. Unions dumped Chinese-made steel into the Seattle harbor, while some youth rallied for "Free Tibet," a cause created and financed by the CIA as a battering ram against the Chinese Revolution. The trade-union misleaders work to chain American workers to their capitalist masters by pushing "Made in the USA" protectionism, embracing the counterrevolutionary designs of U.S. imperialism and supporting the Democratic Party of racism and war.

The labor tops, environmentalists and reformist left all proclaim a "victory" in Seattle. Now Mike Dolan, the chief organizer of the protests, bellows, "China, we're coming atcha," while AFL-CIO spokesman Denise Mitchell trumpets that "the China vote is going to become a proxy for all of our concerns about globalization" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 December). Meanwhile, Washington continues to brandish American military might against the Chinese deformed workers state, including through its proposed "theater missile defense" system in East Asia which might include capitalist Taiwan.

The push for protectionist trade sanctions and increased military pressure against China is in no way counterposed to the policy of "engagement" with the Communist Party regime favored by most of American big business and symbolized by the WTO agreement. The U.S. ruling class is united around the goal of overturning the 1949 Revolution and regaining the "right" of untrammelled exploitation of the country's working masses. China's WTO entry would entail the elimination of what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, further subjecting the economy to the pressures of the imperialist-dominated world market. In pushing for entry, the Beijing bureaucracy seeks to utilize the pressure of intensified foreign competition to ram through further privatizations.

At the same time, the imperialist bourgeoisie understands that restoring capitalist slavery in China would first require breaking the resistance of the Chinese working class, which has repeatedly launched strikes, occupations and other actions to defend their jobs and social benefits. What is urgently needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party to direct such struggles toward the overthrow of the hated Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of workers, peasants and soldiers councils.

The struggle of the Chinese proletariat against capitalist counterrevolution must be linked to a perspective of socialist revolution in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast. It is necessary to break the American proletariat from the Democratic Party of war and racism and to forge a revolutionary internationalist workers party, one which would seek to mobilize the labor movement in struggle against every manifestation of racist chauvinism and every act of imperialist aggression as part of the fight for workers rule. ■

### There Is No Partnership of Capital and Labor

The class collaboration of the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders has led to a string of broken strikes and busted unions over the past two decades. As seen in the 1997 UPS strike, last year's walkout against GM and the anger of New York City transit workers in the face of government assault and the union bureaucracy's capitulation, the working class is in a fighting mood. What is needed for victory is the kind of



TROTSKY



LENIN

class-struggle perspective laid out by Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon at the time of a bitter maritime strike on the West Coast in 1936.

A good deal is said about strike "strategy"—and that has its uses within certain clearly defined limits—but when you get down to cases this strike, like every other strike, is simply a bullheaded struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's dam is the strategy that begins with this conception.

The problem of the strikers consists in estimating what their strength is, and then mobilizing it in full force and pressing against the enemy until something cracks and a settlement is achieved in consonance with the relation of forces between the unions and the organizations of the bosses. That's all there is to strike strategy. You cannot maneuver over the head of the class struggle....

From our point of view the workers have a perfect right to the full control of industry and all the fruits thereof. The employers on the other hand—not merely the shipowners; all bosses are alike—would like a situation where the workers are deprived of all organization and all say about their work and are paid only enough to keep body and soul together and raise a new generation of slaves to take their places when they drop in their tracks.

Any settlement in between these two extremes is only a temporary truce and the nature of such a settlement is decided by power; "justice" has nothing to do with it. The workers will not have justice until they take over the world.

—James P. Cannon, "The Maritime Strike" (November 1936)

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# NYC Democrats Prey on Plight of Homeless

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's latest vicious attacks on the homeless have provoked widespread disgust among working people, with 77 percent of all New Yorkers polled opposing the cops' roundups of homeless people found sleeping on the streets. Two weeks before the police sweeps were launched, Giuliani announced plans to evict homeless families from city shelters, throw them onto the streets and rip their children away from them if they don't work at slave labor or pay extortionate "rents." That plan was put on hold on December 8 by a state court order.

The plight of the expanding, desperate homeless population in the financial center of the world throws into the starkest relief the divide between the handful of super-rich who rule this capitalist society and the working and dispossessed masses on the bottom. Late-19th-century author Anatole France remarked that under bourgeois "democracy" the rich and the poor have equal right to sleep under a bridge. The rulers of American capitalism in its death agony now deny the downtrodden even that "right." And then there is the bourgeoisie's other "solution" for homelessness: incarceration. With two million people rotting in prison hellholes, the U.S. now accounts for *one-fourth of the world's entire prison population.*

Homelessness, like desperate poverty, is a direct product of an economic system based on the exploitation of the many for the profit of the few. Analyzing the housing shortage, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's comrade in arms, wrote over 125 years ago in "On the Housing Question":

"It cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great labouring masses are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, upon the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the machinery, etc., continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial fluctuations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive the mass of the workers from time to time on to the streets unemployed."

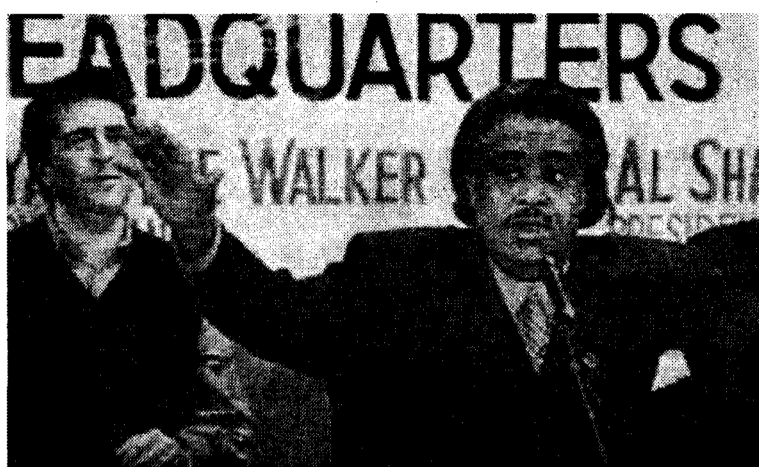
As Engels concluded, the housing problem can only be solved with "the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself."

## Bipartisan War on the Poor

Giuliani's attacks on the homeless express the class interests of the capitalist rulers, represented by both the Democrats and Republicans. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party has, with utter duplicity, seized on the plight of the homeless in NYC to boost its electoral fortunes, particularly Hillary Clinton's Senate bid next year against presumed Republican contender Giuliani. Joined by former mayor David Dinkins and Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel at a November 30 gathering, Clinton intoned that Giuliani's policies "punish poverty rather than helping to lift people out of poverty."

Indeed! But Giuliani's policies simply continue those of the Clinton White House. The bipartisan anti-welfare law signed by Bill Clinton in 1996 has driven millions of impoverished families off the welfare rolls and, in many cases, onto the streets, while forcing remaining welfare recipients into slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" programs in order to maintain their starvation-level benefits. And in San Francisco under black Democratic mayor Willie Brown, as the *New York Times* (7 December) reported, "police sweeps and crackdowns on homeless people have become so well known that in October, the National Coalition for the Homeless chose the city as the site to open a national campaign for civil rights for the homeless."

In New York City, liberal Democrat Dinkins ordered the bulldozing of shantytowns and even sought a federal court order to ban begging when he was mayor. And while current City Council head Peter Vallone denounces Giuliani's attacks on the homeless as "something out of Charles Dickens," when fellow Democrat Ed Koch was carrying out similar attacks on the homeless as mayor, Vallone could have written the script for Giuliani, ranting in 1987: "I don't care whether you're a Harvard physicist and perfectly sane or anything else, you do not have the right to occupy the sidewalk or the street. Otherwise, we have a total breakdown of law and order."



NYCLU lawyer Norman Siegel and Democrat Al Sharpton promoted KKK's "rights" on October 23, now posture as defenders of the homeless against Giuliani's attacks. December 5 homeless protest was rally for Democratic Party.

The cynicism of the capitalist Democrats now posturing as champions of the downtrodden and destitute was on full display at a December 5 Coalition for the Homeless protest, which was little more than an election platform for the Democrats. The credentials of the three featured speakers as fighters for the poor

D'Amato, a vile bigot who described black housing project residents as "animals." After serving as an FBI informer, wearing a wire to help entrap black politicians, Sharpton enlisted in the racist "war on drugs" which has led to hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth being thrown into prison. He staged vigilante raids against "crack houses," feeding into the mass eviction of black families from housing projects for supposed drug offenses. More recently, posing as an opponent of racist cop terror—and as a defender of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—Sharpton helped deliver the black vote for the election last year of racist "law and order" death penalty proponent Charles Schumer to the U.S. Senate.

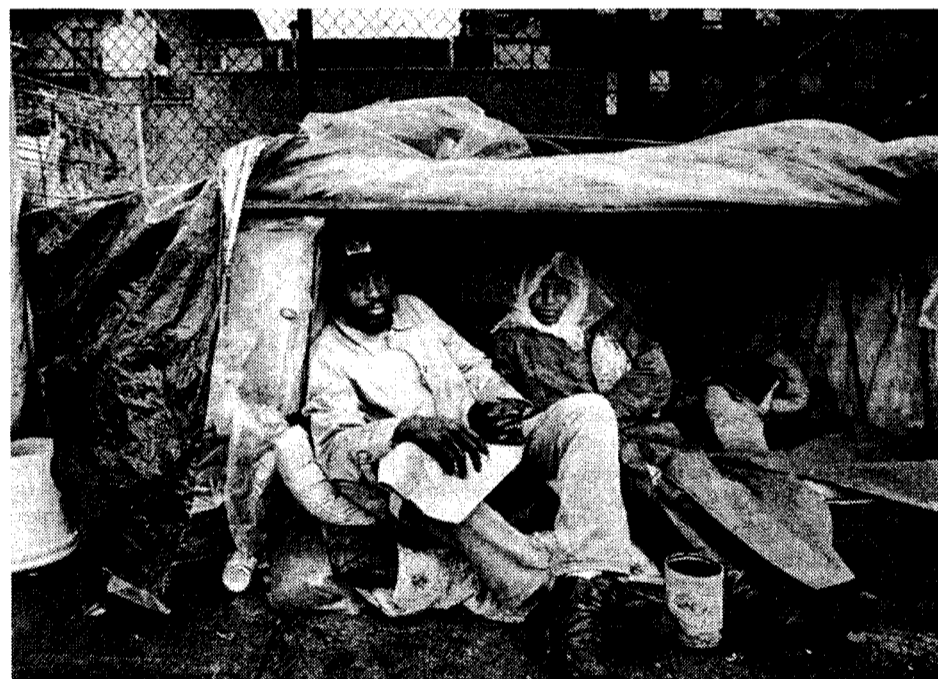
Even as Sharpton masqueraded as an opponent of then-mayor Ed Koch, he worked in tandem with that racist pig. While Koch stoked the fires of racist

earlier this year into the confines of electoral pressure politics to opposing the labor/black mobilization against the Klan, Sharpton's purpose as a front man for the capitalist ruling class is to contain the anger of the ghetto masses and prevent any challenge to this system of racist oppression. And the reformist left assists Sharpton in this shell game.

The Workers World Party (WWP) openly supported Sharpton's 1997 bid for the Democratic mayoral nomination. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) acted as the open servants of Sharpton and Stringer in building their demonstration of "tolerance" for the Klan on October 23, which was aimed at demobilizing the many thousands who wanted to *stop* the racist nightriders. While formally opposing electoral support to the Democratic Party, the ISO joins the WWP in building the anti-Giuliani coalition for the Democrats. In an article on the December 5 homeless protest, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (10 December) wrote that "it's time to put an end to Giuliani's cruel attacks on the poor" without so much as a word of criticism of the Democrats.

In building the December 5 protest, the reformists teamed up with those who are a part of the bourgeoisie's own cutback machinery. Heavily funded by the government and by corporate interests, many homeless "advocacy" groups have their own stake in capitalist misery and are currently thriving as a result of Clinton's axing of welfare. The Coalition for the Homeless boasts of its expertise in "cost effective" solutions, stating in its 1997 annual report: "We see the public outcry about the failings of the welfare system not as a country turning its back on the poor, but rather as a call for greater efficiency." Nominally "non-partisan," the Coalition praises the policies of former Democratic NY governor Mario Cuomo and Mayor Dinkins, while its executive director, Mary Brosnahan, got her start in Michael Dukakis' 1988 Democratic presidential bid.

The fight against homelessness can only be waged as a fight against the entire capitalist profit system. As we wrote in "Giuliani Bashes the Homeless" (WV No. 724, 26 November), "Against the joblessness, poverty and homelessness endemic to capitalism labor must fight to: *Expropriate the greedy landlords! Seize luxury housing and give it to the homeless! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and poor! Unionize 'workfare' workers with full union wages, benefits and protections! For union-run recruitment and training programs that will provide union jobs for all those who have been thrown on the economic scrapheap of this system! Jobs for all—For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!*" To mobilize the multiracial proletariat around such a program requires forging a workers party in irreconcilable opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital and committed to the overthrow of this brutal system through socialist revolution. ■



Homeless and hungry on streets of NYC. Axing of welfare under Democrat Clinton made many more homeless nationwide.

badly needed mending: black Democrat Al Sharpton, state assemblyman Scott Stringer and New York Civil Liberties Union head Norm Siegel. These are the very people who did their utmost to ensure a free ride for the KKK racist terrorists when they raised their hooded heads on the streets of New York on October 23.

## Al Sharpton: FBI Informer, Defender of Klan's "Rights"

Sharpton's bogus credentials as an opponent of racist injustice were utterly discredited by his defense of the "right" of the KKK to rally for racist terror. He and his fellow Democrats were defeated as at least 8,000 trade unionists, black people and other minorities turned out for the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and rode the lynchers out of town.

In fact, Sharpton's defense of the Klan is fully in keeping with his whole sordid history. In 1986, he endorsed the reelection of Republican U.S. Senator Al

reaction, Sharpton acted to channel black plebeian rage away from the capitalist exploiters and at Jews, Asians and Arabs. Having ridden black anger into a place for himself at the Democrats' table, Sharpton has now embraced Koch as "an influential figure," ostentatiously inviting the former mayor to his birthday party at Harlem's Canaan Baptist Church. In an article titled "Brothers in Arms," Peter Noel writes in the *Village Voice* (19 October), "Embracing Ed Koch at Canaan was intended to reinforce recent calls by Sharpton for black leaders and their supporters to forget past disputes.... [Koch] is gaining viability as an anti-Giuliani firebrand and winning back their hearts." This is the same Koch whose record as mayor was an unmitigated trail of racist horrors punctuated by the names of black people killed by his cops: artist Michael Stewart, black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, 17-year-old Edmund Perry.

From channeling the protests over the police killing of Amadou Diallo



## October 23 Anti-Klan Mobilization: Labor/Black Power in Action

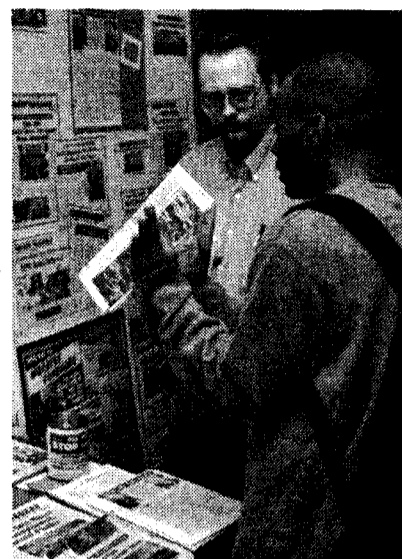
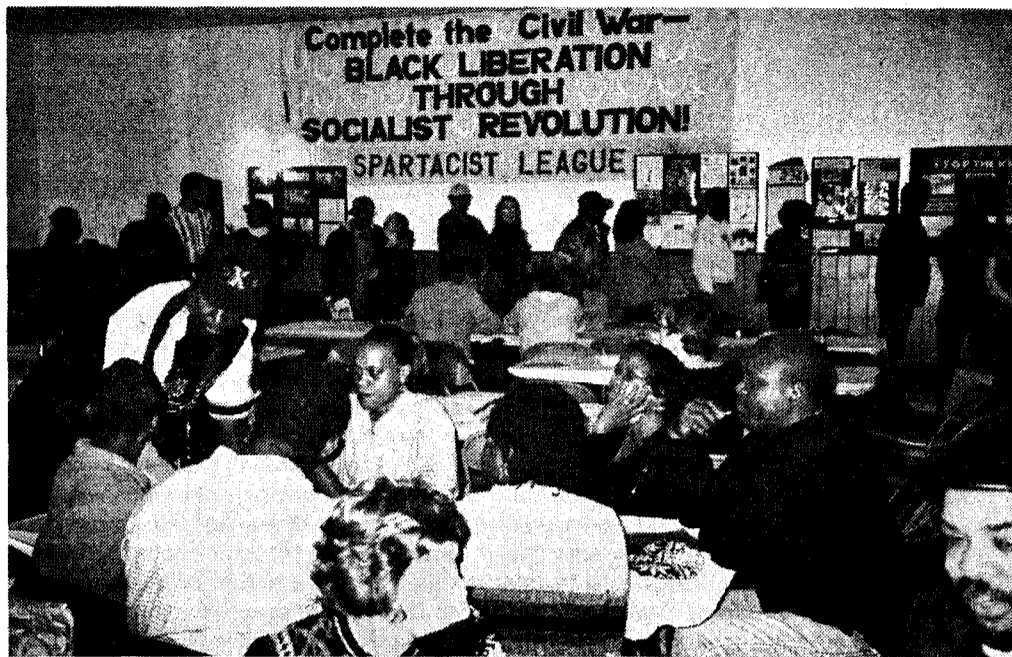
This year's Holiday Appeal benefits for class-war prisoners were energized by the October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the Ku Klux Klan out of New York City. Held in San Francisco and Chicago on December 5 and in New York on December 10, the benefits marked the 14th year of the Holiday Appeal, organized by the Partisan Defense Committee to raise extra funds during the holiday season to support our program of regular stipends for those imprisoned for their struggles on behalf of the working class and the oppressed. Drawing on the example of October 23, where labor's power was mobilized independently of the capitalist government and political parties and on behalf of all the oppressed, the gatherings pointed to the kind of class-struggle fight urgently needed to win freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners. Mumia remains in grave danger from the police and other government forces seeking his execution.

In New York, supporters of the Spartacist League, Labor Black League for Social Defense and Spartacus Youth Club built the Holiday Appeal by bringing the lessons of the October 23 victory to workplaces and union meetings, to the campuses and the streets. Those lessons took on added urgency for transit workers whose union contract was expiring in mid-December, posing a potential strike which would pit them directly against the capitalist state.

At the San Francisco benefit, which raised over \$3,600, a speaker for the Labor Black League counterposed our call to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty to the reformist left's demand for a "new trial" for Mumia. The speaker continued: "That the capitalist courts are an integral part of this racist frame-up system is amply demonstrated by Jamal's case."

The Chicago benefit, which raised some \$3,500, drew people from several Midwestern states and featured lively discussion over the government's role in protecting the KKK terrorists on October 23 as well as over black Democrat Al Sharpton's despicable defense of the Klan's "free speech." One of those attending was Bill Hampton, the brother of Fred Hampton, a Black Panther Party leader gunned down 30 years ago by the Chicago cops and FBI as part of the government's COINTELPRO campaign of terror against black and leftist militants.

We print below, slightly abridged, a



WV Photos  
Holiday Appeal benefits in Chicago, December 5 (left) and New York, December 10.

speech by Spartacist League spokesman Ed Kartsen at the New York benefit.

\* \* \*

Less than two months ago, 8,000 participated in an anti-Klan demonstration which insured that the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were driven off the streets of downtown Manhattan. At the core of the October 23 demonstration were militant, disciplined workers who played a major role in staying the hand of the NYPD killer cops.

This was a significant victory for the working class and all the intended victims of the Ku Klux Klan. This was a victory for the workers in their class war against the capitalist class. It stands as a victory for all of those who we call class-war prisoners.

This victory could not have been possible without a leadership that was class-conscious. It would not have been possible without a leadership that knew that the courts, Republican mayor Giuliani, the cops, the Democrats, the black Democratic political establishment, the fake left would all do their part to try to insure that the KKK would get away with their deadly provocation.

Class consciousness starts with the understanding that the interests of labor are fundamentally counterposed to the interests of the capitalist class. The capitalist class constantly strives to drive down the living standards of working people. Class consciousness means understanding that the capitalist political

parties, the courts, the police all act to enforce the rule of capital. It means understanding that the capitalists cultivate the fascist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan in order to unleash them on workers and the oppressed under conditions of sharp social and economic crisis.

The Republican Party bares itself with Giuliani threatening to thrash the powerful Transport Workers Union (TWU). The Republican Party represents the blatant and open rule of capital. They show with very little deception their intentions to attack the unions, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, women and the poor.

The Democrats present a cunning and more deceptive image to working people and the oppressed. The October 23 victory showed that working people and the oppressed can win if they are mobilized independent of the Democratic Party and the government by a class-conscious, revolutionary leadership.

### Break with the Democrats!

On the eve of the expiration of the TWU Local 100 contract, it is clear that this workforce, which has the power to shut down Wall Street—the nerve center of international imperialism—can win if their fight is led by a class-struggle leadership, the type which led the October anti-Klan victory. That is, a leadership that would not only fight for a living wage protected by a full cost-of-living adjustment, but a leadership that would attack head-on the union-busting divide-and-rule tactics of the capitalists and their politicians with the demand for free public transportation.

A leadership that would rally all of New York City labor around the demand for jobs and decent living conditions for all! A leadership that would unleash the power of labor and blacks and fight for jobs at union wages for workers forced to slave under "workfare."

A leadership that would bring the social and economic power of labor to bear in the fight to free class-war prisoners and abolish the racist death penalty. A leadership that would mobilize the strength of labor to protest every act of cop terror.

A leadership that would demand an end to homelessness and poverty and fight to establish a meaningful program of public works to build quality, integrated public housing, schools, libraries and hospitals. A leadership that would rip industry out of the hands of the racist, corrupt, incompetent capitalist rulers and rebuild society on a socialist plan.

In order for the unions to be effective in the struggle to win gains, they must break free of the stranglehold of the capitalist Democratic Party. Labor must get the courts out of the unions and take responsibility for cleaning its own house. The cops who are the first-line enforcers of strikebreaking, who play the role of an occupying army in the ghettos and the barrios, who defend the KKK killers, are not part of the labor movement. Labor must demand: Cops out of the unions!

So the Democratic Party pretended to be concerned about the Ku Klux Klan coming to downtown Manhattan on October 23. They announced a rally that claimed to be "anti-KKK." But the first indication that this was a diversion was the fact that no one heard about this demonstration until the united front initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee around the demand to stop the Klan had gained widespread support. The second indication was the language they used to promote their diversion. They counterposed to the call to "Stop the KKK" a call for a demonstration of "tolerance." The third indication was the collusion between Giuliani, the police and the Democrats. First the city administration changed the location of the KKK rally from 100 Centre Street, where the PDC had called for an anti-Klan rally, to 60 Centre Street, where the city gave the Democrats, who publicly announced their rally after the PDC, a permit.

They then denied a sound permit to the PDC for 60 Centre. By taking away a sound permit, they had hoped to politically dissolve and destroy the discipline of the anti-Klan protesters in a situation ripe for provocation. But they failed. The leadership of the anti-Klan mobilization didn't give in to the tricks and the pressures of the NYPD and lead the political center of the mobilization from 100 Centre Street into a police trap. With sound blasting from 100 Centre street, over 8,000 protesters spread across several blocks were enough to force the cops to cut the KKK rally short.

Since October 23, the fascists have shown what they organize for. In addition to cross-burnings and racist graffiti, on November 17 a 19-year-old black man, Sasezley Richardson, was shot dead by members of the fascist Aryan Brotherhood. This is the so-called "free speech" that Democrats like Al Sharpton fight to defend! Al Sharpton, along with the black establishment *Amsterdam News*, went all out to protect the Klan,

continued on page 12

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**Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of NYC**

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Partisan Defense Committee

The power of labor was evident as 8000 Local 371 members led march toward Foley Square under labor/black mobilization banner, October 23

The Legal and Political Battle to Build for Anti-Klan Mobilization

PDC Leaflet and Call for Labor/Black Mobilization

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# Build a Workers Party, Tribune of the People!

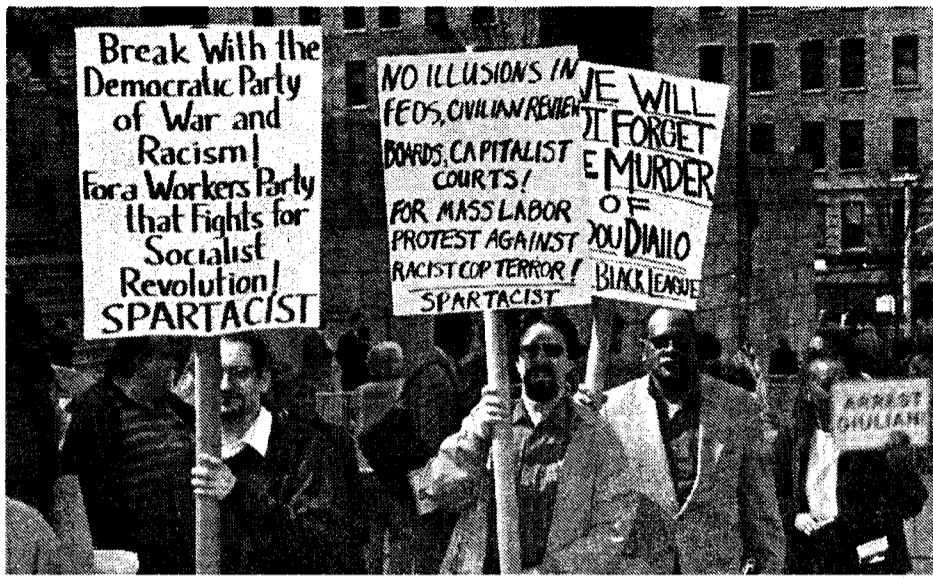
The following is a slightly abridged speech by Xandra Baxter of the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense at the December 10 Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners.

We fight for the freedom of all class-war prisoners. Their fight is our fight! The laws that have imprisoned these brave men and women are the same laws that the racist ruling class uses against striking workers, blacks, immigrants, homosexuals, the homeless and all those who struggle and fight against this brutal system that is capitalist America.

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense was built in 1986 around the defense of black transit worker James Grimes, who faced a gun rap for defending himself on the job against an assault by three muggers. The Labor Black League helped mobilize members of the powerful TWU to come out in his defense during the trial—the charges were dropped! Today we demand the freedom of Joshua Edwards, a black man who was charged with manslaughter in Pennsylvania for defending himself against two gun-toting racist thugs. We say: Gun control kills blacks! For the right of armed self-defense!

We stand for mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against racist terror. On October 23, the Labor Black League took part in running the KKK out of New York City. I see a lot of people here tonight that came out to that demonstration. We should give ourselves a round of applause! That was an important victory. We stopped the Klan!

We also raised our banners and voices on October 23 to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty. The death penalty in this country is a



Above: LBL and SL supporters at March 31 Bronx protest against cop execution of Amadou Diallo. Left: SEIU Local 32B-32J building maintenance workers on the strike lines, 1996.

legacy from black chattel slavery, it is the lynch rope made legal. In taking up Mumia's cause, the working class would strike a blow against an entire system based on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of

black people. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a symbol of what the capitalist *injustice* system is all about, what the racist barbarity which is the death penalty is all about.

October 23 gave working people a real

taste of power and showed that we need a party of our own—a workers party that will be the tribune of all the oppressed and fight for a workers revolution. A party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian Revolution, the first time in history workers took power in their own hands!

The LBL has participated in demonstrations against racist cop terror—the killing of Amadou Diallo and Gidone Busch, the sadistic torture of Abner Louima. We seek to mobilize the working class in defense of blacks and minorities. Our program stands for the fight for women's rights, for free abortion on demand! We are for full democratic rights for homosexuals. Government out of the bedrooms! We demonstrated in defense of the Chinese immigrants on the *Golden Venture* when that ship ran aground off Queens in 1993—they were locked up like criminals for trying to immigrate into this country. We say: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Several years ago, when SEIU service employees Local 32B-32J was on strike, the Labor Black League joined the thousands of immigrant, black and Hispanic workers on their picket lines. Tonight we are on the eve of a transit strike. We say to New York City transit workers: You have the power—Shut down the city! Bring Wall Street to its knees! Cops and courts out of the union!

In this country, the ruling class has used the race question to divide the working class. As Karl Marx said, and as we have printed on our LBL membership card: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It's time to finish the Civil War! Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution! ■

## Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against

the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

### If You Stand For—

- 1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!
- 2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!
- 3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on de-

- mand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!
- 4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!
- 5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!
- 6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!
- 7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!



WV Photo

- 8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!
- 9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!
- 10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all

the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

### —Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is \$3/year unemployed; \$10/year employed. For more information, write:

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Labor Black Struggle League  
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

**NEW YORK** (212) 267-1025  
Labor Black League for Social Defense  
Box 2502, Church St. Station  
New York, NY 10008

**OAKLAND** (510) 839-0851  
Labor Black League for Social Defense  
Box 29497  
Oakland, CA 94604

# Young Spartacus

## Down With Mexican State Repression Against UNAM Strikers!

We print below a translation of a leaflet put out by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, and its youth group, Juventud Espartaquista on December 12. On December 11, some two hundred UNAM student strikers rallied in front of the U.S. embassy in Mexico City in sympathy with the Seattle demonstrations against the World Trade Organization (WTO) and protesting the mass arrests there. The demonstrators were also rallying on behalf of death row political prisoner and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal. They were attacked by the Mexican police, and 98 protesters were arrested. As we go to press, all of the arrested students have been released on bail, but they still face criminal charges that would leave them with a criminal record for life if they are convicted.

On December 13, the Spartacist League/U.S. participated in a demonstration in front of the Mexican consulate in New York City initiated by the Internationalist Group (IG). The IG consists of a coterie of ex-members of the International Communist League who defected from Trotskyism in the face of the pressure from the collapse of the USSR and East European deformed workers states. Since their defections more than three years ago, the IG has moved further to the right, tailing bourgeois-nationalist forces in Mexico represented by the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. While correctly defending the student demonstrators against the brutal cop assault, the IG says not a word of criticism about the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, which in the main were filled with protectionist "Buy American" poison and anti-Communism directed against China (see WV No. 725, 10 December).

An anti-WTO protest in Mexico is necessarily of a different character than the protests in Seattle. Moreover, all over the world, including the U.S., there have been demonstrations denouncing the state repression against the Seattle protesters. But what is necessary is to bring to the student protesters in Mexico, including the courageous UNAM strikers who have been out for nine months in defense of the right to higher education, the under-

standing that only the working class led by a communist program has the power to smash imperialism through workers revolution. In order to do so, the proletariat must recognize that the state is its enemy. The cops who beat the Seattle protesters and the cops who beat protesters in Mexico are the armed thugs of their respective states. The capitalist state is an instrument of repression that cannot be wielded by workers and the oppressed in their own interests. It must be smashed through workers revolution.

But the Seattle protests, which included a mishmash of everything from tree-huggers to trade unionists, were based on the premise that American imperialism can be a progressive force in the world. Imperialism is not a "bad" policy that can be reformed, but the highest stage of capitalist development. Capitalist property can only be expropriated and replaced with a planned socialist economy by a workers revolution which brings to power a workers government. This is the understanding and the program that our comrades in the GEM and the JE fight to bring to the UNAM strikers, the working class and the oppressed people of Mexico.

### PRD Government Attacks Student Protest Again

### Free The Arrested Students Now! Drop All the Charges!

Using riot police against the UNAM student strikers again, the PRD government in Mexico City launched massive repression against a demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy yesterday. This demonstration was called in solidarity with the recent demonstrations in Seattle against the WTO meeting and in protest of the mass arrests of hundreds of demonstrators in recent days in this U.S. city under a state of siege. Yesterday, at the end of the demonstration in Mexico City, riot police intervened and arrested 98

December 11:  
Mexico City riot  
police attack protest  
opposing mass  
arrests at Seattle  
WTO demonstrations  
and demanding  
freedom for Mumia  
Abu-Jamal.



demonstrators. The bloody riot police brutally went after the students and started a manhunt in the area, beating many students hiding in stores and restaurants. At least six students who were severely beaten had to be taken to the Red Cross Hospital before they were taken to the police station. This brutal repression is reminiscent of the Cardenista government's bloody attack against a student demonstration on the Periférico highway on October 14. *We Spartacists demand: Free all the arrested students now! Drop all the charges!*

At the same time that we demand the immediate release of all the demonstrators in Mexico and Seattle, as proletarian internationalists we explain that the recent protests in Seattle, led by the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and liberal and reformist organizations subordinated to the Democratic Party, were a circus-like spectacle of nationalism and chauvinist protectionism in solidarity with their "own" bourgeoisie. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. refused to participate in any way in these protests given their anti-Communist character and their explicit support to chauvinist protectionism against economies of less developed countries, like Mexico. A particular target of this notorious nationalist and anti-Communist campaign was the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, which we Trotskyists militarily defend against capitalist counterrevolution. For years, this

same AFL-CIO union bureaucracy has been leading a chauvinist campaign against immigrant workers. The U.S. working class needs to break with these pro-capitalist union misleaders. In contrast, an example of the working class intervening in its own name was the recent united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which brought together thousands of workers in New York City on October 23 against the racist Ku Klux Klan.

The repression which took place yesterday underlines the points that the Grupo Espartaquista de México has insisted on: that the PRD is a bourgeois-nationalist party dedicated to the defense of the interest of the capitalist class and that students must not have illusions that the capitalist state can be reformed in the interests of the workers. Cops are not "workers in uniform" but the armed fist of the bourgeoisie! We call for workers defense of the student strike and for workers strike actions to extend the strike beyond the campus walls. Students must orient themselves to the proletariat, which has the social power to stop the privatizations and the attacks against public education. The GEM fights to build the Leninist-Trotskyist party that the Mexican working class urgently needs in order to break with bourgeois nationalism and to rule this country with its own workers government, through socialist revolution. No illusions in the bourgeois PRD! Break with nationalism! ■

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# Gusanos, Feds Abduct Six-Year-Old Child

On November 25, the U.S. Coast Guard picked up Elián González in the Florida Straits, two days after the 17-foot aluminum boat he'd been in sank, killing his mother and ten others. Having watched his mother drown and survived two days clinging to an inner tube, this six-year-old child is now being forcibly separated from his father in Cuba so that he can be used as a political football by the American bourgeoisie to stoke the fires of its anti-Communist crusade against Cuba.

Behind all the hysteria around this kid is U.S. imperialism's 40-year drive to reverse the gains of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, which led to the expropriation of the imperialist exploiters and their local capitalist henchmen. The creation of a collectivized economy brought enormous gains to the Cuban people, such as free medical care, jobs, housing and education. As Trotskyists we call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state—just as we defend China, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution.

Elián's father, Juan González, demands his son's return. On December 10, over two million demonstrated in cities and villages across Cuba demanding that he be sent home. Meanwhile, the American rulers, who never miss an opportunity to promote the "sanctity" of the family and decry "deadbeat" dads, have effectively abducted the boy. They intend to keep him here at least until a December 23 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) hearing, supposedly to determine "his best interests." Now, the INS is demanding that his father "demonstrate his active participation in the boy's upbringing" (*Washington Post*, 10 December). Obscenely, Attorney General Janet Reno has been appointed Elián's "official guardian." Reno ordered the 1993 Waco massacre in which at least 25 children were murdered, and her specialty as Florida attorney general was breaking up families under the pretext of prosecuting "child abuse."

## Let Elián Go Back to Cuba!



Cuba: Over two million take to the streets on December 10 demanding return of Elián González, held in Miami as part of anti-Communist campaign against Castro's Cuba.

In the forefront of the forces who want to keep Elián in the U.S. are the counter-revolutionary Cuban *gusanos* (worms), who have carried on an unrelenting campaign of sadistic terrorist activities ever since they fled the Cuban Revolution. Any Cuban anti-Communist who gets here is automatically welcomed with open arms and paraded around as a "freedom fighter." In contrast, those fleeing right-wing terror regimes are often denied asylum while other immigrants are being deported at a record rate. And while keeping Elián from his family, the U.S. rulers are more than happy to send back the *marielitos*, criminals from Cuban prisons who the U.S. took in by the thousands nearly 20 years ago. As the recent prison protest in Louisiana highlighted—before it ended with Castro agreeing to take back the prisoners—many of the *marielitos* remain behind bars in the "land of freedom" long after

having finished their sentences.

There have been increasing signs that the Clinton administration may agree to send Elián back to his father. Clinton has maintained, and even reinforced, the economic embargo imposed against Cuba under Democrat John F. Kennedy in 1962. We say: Down with the imperialist starvation blockade! Recently, with Canadian and European firms investing heavily in Cuba, growing sections of the American bourgeoisie have argued for a less belligerent line toward the Castro regime. These imperialists seek to flood the Cuban economy with U.S. dollars and strengthen the forces of counterrevolution from within. In October, Illinois Republican governor George Ryan joined a large group of Chicago businessmen in a five-day visit to Cuba. As the London *Guardian* (27 October) reported: "It is the lure of a new marketplace which has led an increasing number of delegations to Cuba

to call for an end to sanctions."

Wedded to the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"—which means opposition to socialist revolution internationally—the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy under Fidel Castro conciliates the imperialist enemies of the revolution. With the end of Soviet economic assistance and the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the Castro regime responded to intensifying economic pressures by increasingly opening the country to imperialist economic penetration. This has meant a large increase in inequality, particularly targeting the black population. We call for workers political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and put political power in the hands of the working class. Key to the defense of the Cuban Revolution is the struggle for proletarian power throughout Latin America and internationally, especially in the U.S. Above all, we fight to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S.

The case of Elián González is not the first time the U.S. has abducted children to whip up anti-Communist hysteria. In 1980, 12-year-old Walter Polovchak was taken from his family, who wanted to return to the USSR after moving to Chicago and discovering that the "American dream" wasn't all it was cracked up to be. "Little Walter," as he was called, became the poster child for Democratic president Jimmy Carter's warmongering "human rights" crusade against the USSR. The bourgeoisie professed that "poor little Walter" wanted to stay in the U.S. because he had a new bicycle! We said: "Give Walter back to his parents! Let him have his bicycle, if he wants" (*Young Spartacus*, No. 84, September 1980).

Unlike the Polovchak case, about half the American population thinks Elián should be sent back to Cuba. For our part, we would like to see him go back to Cuba and grow up to be a partisan in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Let Elián González go home! ■

# Victory to King City Teamsters Strike!

For more than five months, 750 members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 890, mainly Latino women and immigrants, have been on strike against the Basic Vegetable Products garlic and onion processing plant in King City, in the heart of California's Salinas Valley. The strike began when Basic threatened to slash wages and benefits and contract out the best jobs to non-union labor. Basic has since hired scabs to permanently replace the strikers and continues to operate the plant at partial capacity, while adding demands such as a two-tier wage scale and the dumping of the union pension plan.

The Basic workers have stood solid against this union-busting, facing the full brunt of the bosses and their cops and courts. Picketers have been threatened with \$500 fines; company goons and *coyotes* (scabherders) constantly videotape them on the picket lines. Strikers who leafletted a scab bus were beaten by goons, and a dozen workers face bogus criminal charges, outrageously including trumped-up felony charges of making "terrorist threats." One arrested striker whose bail conditions included not engaging in further strike activities was arrested again because he allowed his truck to be

driven with union flags in the Mexican Independence Day parade. California labor must take up these strikers' cause: Smash Basic's union-busting! Drop all the charges! Victory to the Basic strike!

Teamsters at UPS stopped two decades of labor defeats through their 1997 national strike victory. With 12,000 members organized in Central and Southern California, Local 890 has the power to win the King City strike. That power must be brought to bear through building mass picket lines that scabs don't dare cross, mobilizing workers from throughout the Salinas Valley and beyond to shut down the King City plant and extending the strike to other Basic plants in California, Washington state and Idaho. Teamsters locals have continued working at these other plants, playing into the company's strategy of busting the union one plant at a time. Shut down all Basic operations!

Basic Vegetable is owned by the powerful Hume family, which epitomizes the California agribusiness tycoons who reap huge profits off immigrant labor while whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria the better to cow and exploit these workers. The Hume family has long been a pillar of Reaganite Repub-

lican reaction and a financial backer of the campaigns for the racist Proposition 209, which barred state affirmative action programs, and Proposition 227, banning bilingual education in California public schools. Now the company is drawing scabs from among non-union farm workers, while many Basic strikers are taking grueling farm jobs to support themselves during the strike.

The struggle to defend union food processing workers like the striking Teamsters must be linked to the fight to organize the deeply exploited migrant farm workers in California's Central Valley heartland. Central to that is mobilizing labor against the bosses' anti-immigrant attacks. Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

United Farm Workers (UFW) and Teamsters flags can be seen side by side on the Basic picket lines, a step forward from the 1970s, when the Teamsters bureaucracy organized goon squads to raid UFW locals in service to the bosses. But nationally the Teamsters bureaucracy undermines labor solidarity with immigrant workers by pushing its vile chauvinist campaign to keep Mexican truckers off the U.S. highways. And anyone nostalgic for the

UFW leadership under "progressive" Cesar Chavez should remember that he organized union border patrols to stop Mexican immigrants.

Some years back, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy declared that bringing migrant farm workers into the labor movement was going to be its major union organizing drive. At a 1997 Watsonville, California rally supporting the UFW drive to organize strawberry pickers, AFL-CIO head John Sweeney turned over the platform to Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson. Then the labor bureaucrats brought in Washington, D.C. investor David Gladstone to purchase Coastal Berry, ostensibly because he would be "friendly" to the organizing drive. But earlier this year, the UFW lost the election vote to a company union supported by the Western Growers Association.

The Coastal Berry fiasco is an object lesson that the labor bureaucrats' strategy of "partnership" with the bosses and allegiance to Democratic Party "friends of labor" is the kiss of death to labor's cause. The Teamsters Local 890 bureaucrats push the same strategy of class collaboration, turning a November 14 union rally into a platform for

*continued on page 12*

# Defend Labor's Right to Strike! Bust the Union-Busters! Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

Immediately after the capitalist courts handed down their injunctions against New York's Transport Workers Union Local 100, the Spartacist League/U.S. issued and widely distributed the following leaflet to transit workers and others throughout the city.

DECEMBER 14—In going after Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, the ruling class of New York City, through the agency of Mayor Giuliani, the Democratic Party state attorney general and the courts, is outlawing the right to strike. If you don't have the right to strike, you don't have unions! The court's diktat says that any worker who walks off the job or even talks about, or votes for, strike action is a criminal—they'll steal whatever pittance you might have saved and throw you in jail! And they'll bankrupt the treasury of any public workers union that calls for a strike.

Even before any strike, the court has ordered the TWU to shell out more than a million dollars to send out a mailing to all its members telling them not to strike. If this anti-union decree goes down in New York City, it can and will be used against workers around the country. But it doesn't have to go down. The TWU and the rest of the NYC labor movement have the power to roll back this assault on the unions through massive strike action.

Giuliani wants to turn the clock back to when organizing for the rights of labor and the unions themselves were illegal. But it's not just the Republican Giuliani. Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer filed a separate lawsuit against the union on behalf of the MTA. And Ed Koch, the strikebreaking Democratic mayor during the 1980 transit strike, has urged Giuliani to be even tougher against the transit workers Koch denounced as "bastards."

Giuliani thinks he can treat the unions with the same police-state vindictiveness that he metes out to desperate homeless families, the ghetto and barrio poor and anyone else he perceives as getting in his way. But the unions, and especially the crucial transit union, have the organized power to shut this city down.

The TWU is directly up against the capitalist state, its courts, its cops, and ultimately its military force which was recently unleashed against protesters in Seattle. How do you fight to win? The working people's struggle must not be driven underground. Without the right to act as a union, the plain consequence of Giuliani's action would be to make the only recourse ineffective guerrilla struggle. What is urgently posed is the independent industrial and political mobilization of the working class. The key is unleashing the power of the multiracial labor movement in New York City in mass, militant action in a thought-out way, one which minimizes the damage in terms of jail sentences and other consequences.

Labor's power has been shackled by the union misleaders who tie the unions to the capitalist class enemy, its government and political parties, particularly the Democrats. Hospital workers Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, former co-chairman of the state Democratic Party, throws hundreds of thousands of dollars in union dues into the Democrats' coffers, including for Hillary Clinton's election campaign. From Bill Clinton's destruction of welfare to Democrat Spitzer's lawsuit against the TWU, it must be clear that the problem is not just Giuliani and the Republicans. Indeed, Giuliani's slave-labor "workfare" scheme—which wields impoverished and heavily minority welfare recipients as a club against the unions by forcing them to work in for-

## Spartacist League Leaflet

merly unionized municipal jobs to maintain their meager benefits—is simply lifted from Clinton's anti-welfare program.

The Democrats represent the interests of the capitalists no less than the Republicans do; and in some ways they are more dangerous, like wolves in sheep's clothing, because they posture as "friends of labor." Don't be fooled! Working people need their own party—not a party of electoralist reformism but one which fights for the class rule of the workers. Such a party would lead workers in struggle and also serve as a tribune of the workers in the capitalist legislature, opposing laws which attack union rights.

No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-

black robes, and we would not call off the strike." That strike won, and the Condon-Wadlin Act became a dead letter. The only illegal strike is one that loses!

But current Local 100 president Willie James has already pledged not to defy the union-busting order against the TWU. This performance shows where his loyalties lie: with the bosses. Now Giuliani has launched a witchhunt against James' opposition, the New Directions wing of the local bureaucracy, as a ploy for going after the union as a whole. New Directions has brought the union-busting courts into the TWU repeatedly throughout its history and shares all the same class-collaborationist policies as the James leadership, including supporting the presence of transit security cops in the union. Both James and New Directions made clear their opposition to a strike in



TWU Local 100 members and other NYC unionists formed backbone of labor/black mobilization which rode KKK out on October 23.

fought struggle on the picket lines. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The capitalists are winning because the power of labor, its strength to stop production and profits and decisively cripple the enemy, has been hamstrung by the labor tops.

When Giuliani was a U.S. Attorney for the Reagan administration in 1981, he helped bust the PATCO air traffic controllers union. The entire union membership was fired for exercising its right to strike. Now Giuliani thinks he can get away with the same tactics against NYC transit workers. But not even Giuliani can arrest all 33,000 transit workers, and Wall Street knows it can't run the center of American and world finance capitalism without the subways and buses.

Remember what happened when the government tried to break the 1966 transit strike using the Condon-Wadlin Act and a judge had union president Mike Quill arrested for violating a court injunction. Quill retorted: "It is about time that someone, somewhere along the road, ceases to be respectable. Many generations of great Americans before us have taken this road, and if they didn't take this road, half of you would be on home relief.... The judge can drop dead in his

the crucial weeks leading up to the contract deadline. Today, an attorney for New Directions announced in response to Giuliani's threats that he had "advised them that they should be very careful about using the word strike." Nonetheless, it is imperative to close ranks as a union and defend New Directions and all TWU members who come under attack from the capitalist state. Disputes among different elements in the union must be argued out within the union. Against the capitalist class enemy, the union must have a united stand. Labor must clean its own house! **Cops, courts out of the union! Hands off New Directions!**

Government intervention is aimed not at "cleaning up" the unions but at weakening them and reinforcing the capitalist state's grip on labor. Meanwhile, Giuliani is flooding the subway system with thousands of cops to enforce his union-busting decree. The cops are not workers, as the labor misleaders who enroll them in the unions assert, but the strike-breaking thugs of the capitalist class.

The bosses' state—the cops, the military, the courts—is nothing other than the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. Its purpose is to repress the struggles of the working class and, ultimately, to prevent the workers from smashing the system of private property and taking power themselves. What you're seeing now is bourgeois "democ-

racy"—that is, the dictatorship of the capitalist class. You may have the right to vote every four years, but when you move against the bosses the velvet gloves come off and we're up against the iron fist.

The injunctions pushed through by Giuliani and Spitzer in fact outrageously threaten *anybody's* right to advocate strike action! Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the Spartacist League, announced: "I will *not* advise my client to bow to Giuliani's diktat. The Spartacist League is a Marxist organization. We defend the democratic right to speech and advocacy and the workers' right to strike. We stand on the principles of the class struggle and the understanding that the rights of the working people cannot be defended except through struggle against the capitalists and their government."

The AFL-CIO tops mobilized thousands for the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle to denounce "slave labor" conditions...in China, still a bureaucratically deformed workers state. This anti-Communism and protectionism is in the service of the interests of the American imperialist rulers and their drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China. In this the AFL-CIO bureaucracy demonstrates how its primary concern is defense of the "national interest" of the American capitalist class. Yet meanwhile, right here in New York City, labor is being threatened with prison and union-busting fines for exercising the elementary right to strike! **Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!**

The kind of workers party we need was seen in action on the streets of New York on October 23, when over 8,000 working people came out in the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—which is associated with the Spartacist League—to ride the KKK out of town. Nobody should forget the role of the Democrats, who opposed the working-class mobilization and defended the Klan's racist rally and even made back-room deals to share a sound permit with the racist terrorists. Al Sharpton, who once served as an FBI informer just like Ronald Reagan, went so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the KKK! The capitalist Democrats feared the independent mobilization of the workers more than they feared the Klan. The capitalists hold the Klan and Nazis in reserve to be unleashed as shock troops as a last recourse in the war against the unions, blacks and other minorities.

The NYC rulers' attack on the heavily black and Hispanic transit workers union underscores a basic truth. In racist capitalist America, the fate of organized labor and that of the black masses are closely bound together. There will be no effective defense against union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights.

Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the continuation of the labor bureaucracy's acquiescence to what is possible and "practical" under capitalism, which time and again has led to defeat and disaster. Or there is the revolutionary strategy proposed by us Marxists. We seek to forge a revolutionary party that brings to the working class the consciousness of its historic class interests, to fight for its own state power through workers revolution. The realization of even the most basic necessities of life for the mass of the population—employment, education, health care, housing—requires the overthrow of capitalist class rule and its replacement by a workers government which rips the means of production from the bourgeoisie and creates a planned, socialist economy. Those who labor must rule! ■



# Transit...

(continued from page 1)

police-state-style assault on the TWU showed, is somewhat elastic.

Giuliani rants that Marxism has "been disgraced all over the world," vituperating against "the whole notion of class warfare, which really comes out of the teaching of Karl Marx, trying to divide people into different classes." If Marxism is so "disgraced," then why is Giuliani screaming about it so much? The ignorant Giuliani to the contrary, Marx did not invent the idea of class warfare. Marx's contribution was to recognize that the class struggle must lead to the working class seizing state power and through that to the abolition of class society.

If the working class is to fight back against the one-sided class war being waged by the bosses, some ABCs of Marxism are very much in order. The fundamental starting point must be the understanding that capitalist society is indeed divided between two major classes: the working class which is forced to sell its labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom its labor power is sold. As Marx stated more than 150 years ago in *Wage Labour and Capital*: "The interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed to each other."

The labor bureaucrats, from the AFL-CIO tops on down, reject this elementary understanding. They oppose the very idea of independently mobilizing the unions—

Ed Koch, who as mayor worked to break the 1980 transit strike, urged Giuliani and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) to "stand firm" against the "bastards" who want to "bring the city to its knees by engaging in an illegal strike." And liberal Democrat Spitzer stood firm for *his* class, banning workers in his injunction for the MTA "from in any manner or by any means, directing, calling, causing, authorizing, instigating, conducting, continuing, encouraging, threatening, participating in, assisting in, or approving of any strike, work stoppage, sick-out, slowdown," etc., etc. In court, Spitzer ran point against the transit union.

With "friends" like these, who needs enemies? Many TWU members and other NYC workers and minorities saw the real face of the Democratic Party on October 23, when it acted as the main force *against* the massive mobilization of working-class power that rode the Klan out of town. The Democrats rally to the defense of the "rights" of the union-hating, racist terrorists of the KKK, but they come down hard against the right of labor to organize and strike.

In the anti-Klan mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which is associated with the Spartacist League, workers also saw firsthand what a class-struggle workers party would look like in action. As Marxists, we understand that the only road to victory for our class lies in mobilizing labor's power independently of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. The working people need a party that fights for *their* class interests, a workers party committed to overturning this whole system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

A workers party will be built not in counterposition to the trade unions, which are organizations for economic defense of the working class, but in the crucible of big class battles out of which will emerge a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions. Such a leadership must be based on a program of militant struggle against the entire capitalist system, beginning with opposition to any intervention into the unions by the capitalist state, its cops and courts.

## For Trade-Union Independence from the Capitalist State!

The extent of the police-state-style mobilization against the TWU is itself a measure of the potential power of this union. So, too, is the fact that even with the union held for ransom in shotgun "negotiations," the MTA came up with a wage package—12.5 percent over three years—which is being denounced by the big business Citizens Budget Commission as too generous. This takes a lot of nerve when Wall Street moguls have set aside \$13 billion for their Christmas bonuses alone this year! After three years, the annual wage raise for all 33,000 transit workers will total barely a quarter of the \$600 million the MTA currently shells out every year in interest payments to Wall Street bondholders.

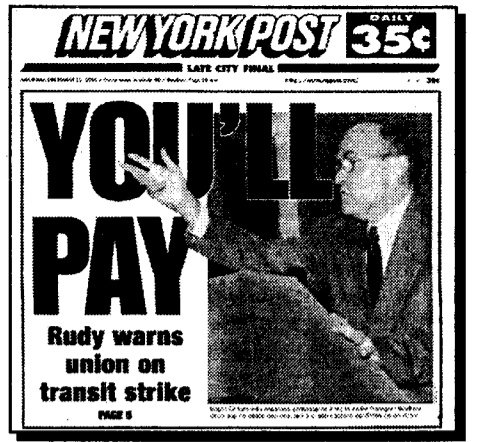
The truth is this pay raise will not even put a dent in the massive decline of NYC transit workers' wages over recent years, which average \$10,000 a year less than those of Long Island Rail Road and Metro North rail workers employed by the MTA. And the wage raise will largely

## The New York Times

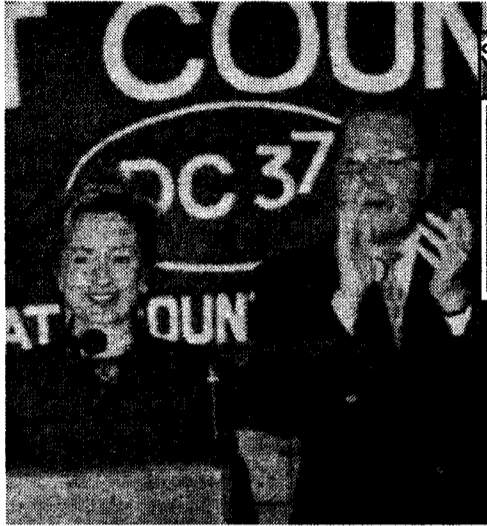


Guess which urban menace the mayor wants to stop now.

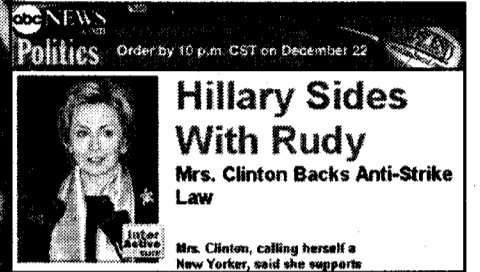
Bloom/NY Times



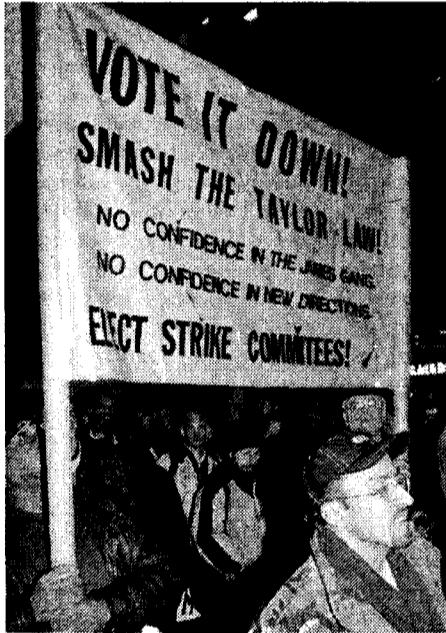
In union-busting assault on NYC transit workers, Mayor Giuliani rails against "Marxists" in TWU.



Jones/Public Employee Press



AFSCME DC 37 public workers head Lee Saunders boosts Democratic Senate hopeful Hillary Clinton, who hails strikebreaking Taylor Law. Pro-capitalist union tops chain workers to class enemy.



WV Photo

Transit workers' banner at December 15 Brooklyn protest opposes policy of capitulation pushed by both wings of TWU bureaucracy.

either economically or politically—in any serious confrontation with the capitalist order. Their entire strategy rests on a program of class collaboration, a purely electoral and legalistic strategy of lobbying for pro-labor legislation and voting Democrat. What they see as "allies" are in fact agencies of the class enemy—the government and its cops and courts. But the government, backed up by the military power of the state, defends the right of private property and is hostile to the workers. Injunctions, "cooling-off periods," anti-strike laws like the Taylor Law—these are all expressions of a *system* whose whole purpose is to prevent the unions from taking action in the interests of the working class.

The political role of the labor bureaucracy is to enforce such reactionary laws and bind the workers to their class enemy. This all-sided program of class collaboration is codified in the support of the union misleaders to the capitalist Democratic Party, to which they are tied by a thousand threads. These are the ties that the labor movement must break to free it to struggle against its class enemies.

Even as the TWU was girding for a possible strike, the NYC municipal labor tops were mobilizing union resources for Senate candidate Hillary Clinton, who hails the Taylor Law as a "wise law" because "public employees should not legally be allowed to strike." The racist

be paid through concessions involving speedup and amalgamation of job categories.

The proposed contract maintains the "workfare" provision pushed through by James in 1996, under which welfare recipients are forced to work as slave labor in formerly unionized cleaners' jobs. It undermines seniority rights by curtailing workers' job "picks," which will reinforce management's capacity to victimize union militants. Other provisions will force cleaners, for example, to do maintenance and repair work. Forcing workers to do jobs they are not trained for is a recipe for making the subways and buses more dangerous for transit workers and riders alike.

New Directions has called to vote down the James sellout. It should be voted down. But this is all empty talk since ND is opposed to the union taking any action in defiance of the Taylor Law and the courts. What this really means for ND is going along with the next step under the Taylor Law, which is binding arbitration by a government mediator, who would be as "impartial" as the courts which threatened massive fines against the union. What ND spokesman Roger Toussaint proposes is *working without a contract* to "wait out the year until members can choose a new better union leadership" and to "join the municipal unions in one grand negotiating coalition" (*New York Post*, 17 December). This stalling tactic dovetails with the line of the municipal union tops who, having refused to lift a finger against Giuliani/Spitzer's union-busting, now hope to hold off their upcoming contract negotiations until they get a Democrat to replace Giuliani in City Hall. Here we can clearly see how the labor misleaders use Democratic Party

electoralism to stop the workers from acting in defense of their own class interests.

It is such class collaboration which has set up the labor movement for decimation by the bosses and their state. As the U.S. geared up for World War II and the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt implemented an array of laws to hamstring the newly forged industrial unions of the CIO, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained that in this era in which capitalism is dominated by huge trusts and monopolies, the trade unions

"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 the superprofits of imperialist capitalism...."

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

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

Trotsky's description of the labor bureaucracy acting to discipline the workers could not be etched more vividly than in the scenes of TWU members being ordered by their own union officials to obey the anti-union injunctions. When a supporter of the SL-affiliated Labor Black League was stopped by police from distributing our leaflet defending the right to strike at a Manhattan bus depot on December 16, Local 100 vice president Gil Rodriguez came out and joined forces with the cops, urging them: "If he is advocating a work stoppage, he should be arrested. We've told our members that it is illegal to advocate a work stoppage" (see box, page 11).

It is necessary to fight for the *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions from the bosses and their state!* The union tops' bowing and scraping before capitalist "legality" is exemplified by their acquiescence to binding arbitration, which is a crucial weapon of

continued on page 10



WV Photo

In response to Giuliani's red baiting, ND draped itself in Stars and Stripes at December 15 rally while instructing workers to obey union-busting injunctions.

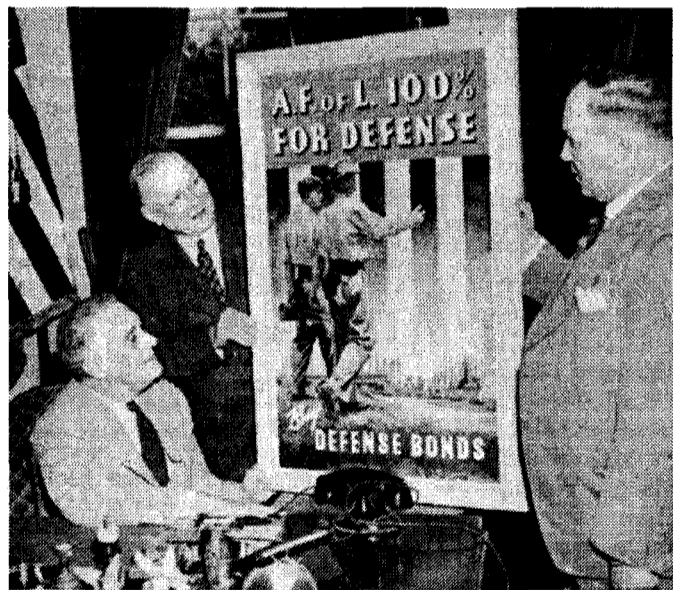
# Transit...

(continued from page 9)

the bosses to weaken and demobilize the power of labor. The same is true of the dues checkoff system, whereby the MTA deducts union dues from workers' paychecks. As was seen when the Taylor Law was invoked in the 1980 strike to cut off dues collection, the dues checkoff is wielded by management and the capitalist state as a weapon to control the union treasury and choke off the workers' fighting funds. Union dues should be collected by elected union officials on the shop-floor. Moreover, this would serve to make the leadership responsible to the members it was elected to serve.

On all the *political* essentials, i.e., subordinating the interests of the workers to the class enemy, there is total agreement between New Directions and Willie James, as well as the rest of the AFL-CIO misleaders, who have devoted considerable effort in recent years to bringing cops and prison guards into the unions. Both wings of the TWU bureaucracy support the presence of MTA security cops in the union. James invited spokesmen for the "unions" of the NYPD killer cops onto the platform at huge TWU rallies on November 17 and December 8, even as their uniformed brothers in blue were manhandling trade unionists and imprisoning them inside cop barricades. At the December 15 New Directions rally, an ND spokesman directly appealed to the strikebreaking cops menacing the demonstration by demanding higher wages for them, saying, "They're the heroes. They deserve more." The cops are not workers; they are racist killers and armed thugs against the workers whose job is to serve and protect the profits and power of the capitalists.

Only weeks before the strike deadline



AFL-CIO

**AFL leaders William Green and George Meany with Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt. AFL and CIO union tops backed anti-labor "New Deal" administration, enforced no-strike pledge to support U.S. imperialism in World War II.**

loomed, ND launched yet another of its court suits against the TWU. As we wrote then, "It is rank treachery to go to the class enemy under any circumstances, and particularly on the eve of a class battle" (WV No. 724, 26 November). This "opposition" has repeatedly resorted to the bosses' courts against the union to boost its own aspirations for bureaucratic positions against the James leadership. Such treachery complements union-busting attacks from without, by helping to place the union ever more firmly under the grip of the government. The government's injunctions show exactly whose class interests the courts serve. Anyone who really believed that the courts can be used in the interests of the workers should ask: Why, then, were massive fines threatened only against the union and not against the MTA? The answer is simple: because the courts are part of the same capitalist apparatus as the MTA. *Cops, courts out of the labor movement!*

The cops and courts are at the core of the capitalist state. The state is not neutral, as the labor bureaucrats would have it. It cannot be pressured or "reformed" to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed, as claimed by reformist "socialists" like the Communist Party (CP) and the International Socialist

Organization (ISO). The ISO backs ND and itself has a long history of supporting court intervention in the unions, particularly by Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which basically acted as the agent for the Justice Department in the government's decades-long vendetta against the powerful Teamsters union.

The assault on the TWU is an object lesson in the Marxist understanding of the state. As the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) explained in its 1938 "Declaration of Principles":

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society, in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion. In the United States, as in all capitalist nations, we live, in actuality, under a capitalist dictatorship; and the possibilities for purely legal and constitutional changes are therefore limited to those which fall within the framework of capitalist property and social relations."

History has shown that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the existing apparatus of the capitalist state. Rather, that state must be smashed through a workers revolution, replacing the dictatorship of capital with a dictatorship of the proletariat which will usher in an egalitarian socialist society.

## Class Collaboration vs. Class Struggle

The unions which the pro-capitalist labor tops today seem prepared to hand over to the bosses on a silver platter were built at the cost of the lives and livelihoods of thousands of workers in the course of bloody, bitter class battles. The entire history of the American labor movement is one of laws broken and court injunctions defied. Otherwise there would be no labor movement.

The forging of the TWU was an enormous victory. Before that, many workers

on the subway, bus and trolley lines, which were then owned by a number of private companies, were forced to work split shifts spanning 14 hours or more a day for wages which barely exceeded the poverty level. Struggles to win a union were marked, as in 1895, by pitched street battles with thousands of cops, company

**Breaking with CP amid Cold War witchhunt, Quill (at right) organized vicious red purge in TWU in 1948. Cartoon put out by United Electrical Workers, one of the unions targeted by witchhunt.**



TWU



Fred Wright/UE News Service



Demetrius Daily News

**TWU Local 100 head Mike Quill ripping up injunction on eve of January 1966 strike. Strike rally near City Hall. Quill was jailed, but strike won and smashed anti-labor Condon-Wadlin Act.**



AP

agents and National Guardsmen. They often meant mass arrests and firings and scabberding. During a 1918 strike, a scab motorman crashed his train into a tunnel wall, killing 92 people, the worst accident in New York transit history.

The TWU was finally organized in the mid-1930s by Mike Quill and other supporters of the Communist Party and socialist-minded Irish republicans. It emerged amid the massive struggles which built the industrial unions of the CIO. That unionization drive was kicked off by three citywide general strikes in 1934—in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco—led by avowed socialists and communists. The strikes of the late 1930s, particularly in the auto industry, were virtual wars involving mass pickets, plant occupations and "secondary boycotts" against scab goods. The CIO organizing drives broke down the racist barriers of the Jim Crow system that characterized the AFL craft unions, as hundreds of thousands of black workers—many of them former sharecroppers and tenant farmers from the South—took their place as a powerful new strategic component of the industrial proletariat.

Fearing the radicalization of the working class which these strikes signaled, old-line labor bureaucrats like Mine Workers leader John L. Lewis moved to prevent the reds from leading the industrial unionizing drives. The burgeoning labor militancy reflected a broader political groundswell that could have led for the first time to a workers party inde-

pendent of the two capitalist parties. But this surge toward independent political action was instead channeled, mainly by the Stalinized Communist Party, into support for Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its "New Deal" coalition. The CP's support to the New Deal was an expression on American terrain of the "People's Front Against Fascism" line adopted by the Stalinist Communist International in August 1935, which called for political support to a supposed "democratic" or "anti-fascist" wing of the capitalist exploiters.

The class-collaborationist New Deal coalition, which literally extended from black Communist labor organizers to KKK Southern sheriffs, put organized labor into an unholy alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but with the diehard Dixiecrat segregationists of the Deep South. Before the Civil War, the Democrats had been the party of the Southern slavocracy, resting as well on the electoral support of, for example, Irish Catholic immigrant workers in the North. It was under the New Deal that they came to be falsely identified as a friend of labor and black people.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its reformist tails have long pushed the myth that the New Deal was the heyday of "progressive" politics. In fact, the aim of the New Deal coalition was to co-opt the unions through a series of government regulatory agencies like the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and,

more broadly, to buy "class peace." The 1935 Wagner Act gave the NLRB wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers, and the period immediately following saw a far more rapid expansion of company unions than real unions. Today, NLRB regulations continue to be wielded against union organizing efforts by allowing employers to stall union recognition for years.

Another key aspect of the New Deal was to ideologically mobilize the population for the impending imperialist war. It is precisely because it has historically had the support of a majority of working people that the Democratic Party has been the preferred war party of U.S. imperialism throughout the century, from Woodrow Wilson (World War I), Roosevelt (World War II), Truman (Korea), to Kennedy and Johnson (Vietnam) and on to the Clinton administration's recent war against Serbia. During World War II, the labor misleaders (especially the Stalinists) enforced a "no-strike" pledge on behalf of Roosevelt and the capitalist class and called on working people to die for U.S. business interests in the imperialist slaughter.

In contrast, 18 Trotskyists, leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters, were imprisoned under the 1940 Smith Act because the SWP—and the newly founded Fourth International of which it was a part—called on the working class in the U.S. and in all the imperialist powers to oppose their own bourgeoisies with a perspective of workers revolution. In spite of Stalin and his foreign policy, the Trotskyists' policy toward the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state still based on the working-class property forms resulting from its origins in a social revolution, was unconditional military defense against attacks by any capitalist power. Trotskyists called for proletarian political revolution to oust the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, whose collaboration with the imperialists and opposition to socialist revolution internationally undermined the workers state.

When, following World War II, U.S. imperialism launched its Cold War against the Soviet Union, its erstwhile ally against Nazi Germany, this also meant war against the U.S. working class. In 1946, the country was swept by the biggest strike wave in its history. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy feared this massive labor upsurge and joined with the government in purging thousands of Communists and other militants from the unions while acquiescing to the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which imposed anti-Communist bans in the unions and outlawed many of the militant tactics which had built the CIO. That same year, New York State enacted the Condon-Wadlin Act, which mandated the mass firing of public sector workers who went on strike.

Having loyally supported the Democratic Party throughout the New Deal and World War II, Quill was among those Stalinist trade-union leaders who opportunistically broke with the CP when the Cold War got underway, organizing a vicious witchhunt in 1948 against leftist militants within the TWU. It was then that the dues checkoff was instituted in transit by Democratic mayor William O'Dwyer, with the aim of helping Quill consolidate his position within the union in the face of a substantial base of support for the Communists. For years, Quill worked in cahoots with the city's Democratic Party machine, quelling the militancy of the membership. It is no accident that the first citywide transit strike coincided with the inauguration of liberal Republican mayor John Lindsay in January 1966.

But when it came, that 12-day strike demonstrated the power of the transit union to bring the city to a grinding halt and Wall Street to its knees. Served with an injunction a day before the walkout, Quill tore it to shreds. He was thrown in jail after defying another injunction a few days later and died of a heart attack shortly thereafter. But the bosses were reminded that they couldn't run New

## Protest to TWU Local 100 Leadership

# Union V.P. Urges Cops to Arrest Defenders of Right to Strike

December 21, 1999

Willie James, President  
Executive Board, Transport Workers  
Union Local 100

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

On the morning of December 16, at the bus depot at 11th Avenue and 41st Street, a supporter of the Marxist Spartacist League and a member of its fraternal organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, were distributing a leaflet in defense of the right to strike—and of the very existence—of the TWU and all city workers unions.

Three NYPD squad cars arrived and officers detained the LBL supporter.

The police took his ID, asked what he was distributing and threatened him under the terms of the union-busting injunctions brought by New York State attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Mayor Giuliani banning not only the right to strike but even its advocacy.

At this point, some police detectives came out of the building accompanied by Local 100 vice president Gil Rodriguez. Approaching the cops who were holding our supporter, Rodriguez urged: "If he is advocating a work stoppage, he should be arrested. We've told our members that it is illegal to advocate a work stoppage."

Rodriguez' action is scandalous for someone who claims to represent the interests of organized labor. On December 15, the *New York Times* reported that Rodriguez was telling transit workers to respect what the courts have ordered. A day later he was *urging the cops* to enforce this strikebreaking injunction. Collaborating with the cops against socialist defenders of labor is of a piece with the TWU officials' policing the union ranks for the benefit of the bankers and bosses.

Fraternally,  
Diana Kartsen  
for the Spartacist League/U.S.

York if transit didn't run. The union returned to work only on condition that there would be no reprisals against any striker. The government was forced to revoke its threats and soon repealed the Condon-Wadlin Act.

The Taylor Law—enacted in September 1967 as a replacement for Condon-Wadlin, substituting massive fines for mass firings—can likewise be turned into a scrap of paper. The 1980 strike was not broken by the Taylor Law but betrayed by the TWU Local 100 tops and the opposition "dissidents"—forerunners of New Directions—who all caved in to the capitalists' howls when the strike really started hurting.

### Those Who Labor Must Rule!

The pro-capitalist union tops who won their spurs purging reds from the unions went on to serve as CIA conduits during the Cold War and as ardent supporters of Washington's counterrevolutionary war in the 1960s and early '70s against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The anti-Communism of the union tops and their adherence to government anti-labor laws led to a steady weakening of the labor movement beginning in the 1950s.

So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which the unions were built. The *Wall Street Journal* (16 December) article noting the TWU's power was headlined, "Why Labor Unions Have Grown Reluctant To Use the 'S' Word." United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Stephen Yokich told this mouthpiece for big business: "We don't have to go out there and rattle our swords.... If you start rattling that sword, you've got to be prepared to do it." Former UAW head Douglas Fraser talked of how "workers realized that their fortunes were tied to the company's." It was not the "workers" who got a seat on Chrysler's board of directors for services rendered—like breaking wildcat strikes—but labor sellout Fraser! Now Yokich has a place on the Chrysler board.

The trade-union misleaders, who long ago separated themselves from their working-class base, see the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. For the union tops, the "national interests" of corporate America stand higher than the counterposed class interests of the workers. In his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained the material basis of the opportunism of the labor bureaucracy:

"The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the

world increases this urge. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism."

Just as they served as labor auxiliaries for U.S. imperialism in World War II, today the union tops seek to line workers up behind their "own" bourgeoisie in the face of a new intensification of competition among the imperialist powers. This was seen at the World Trade Organization summit last month in Seattle, where the AFL-CIO tops organized protectionist protests upholding U.S. corporate interests against foreign competition and fomenting anti-Communism against the Chinese deformed workers state.

A couple of years after Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, we wrote in "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (WV No. 349, 2 March 1984): "In Reagan's America it's open season on the unions, on blacks, the poor, the illegal aliens, the radicals—we're all targets of the drive to roll things back to the way they were when the robber barons rode high in the saddle, when the only business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, was business." Things are, if anything, worse in Clinton's America. Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the American ruling class acts like it no longer faces any challenge from any quarter to its viciousness and rapacity.

At the same time, the ever wider chasm between a handful of filthy rich at the top and the mass of the working population and poor has created vast discontent at the base of this society. This was reflected in the widely popular and solid 1997 Team-

sters strike against UPS and the following year's UAW strike which shut down the GM empire. In New York City, this anger has been seen in the outpouring of protest over the police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in Brooklyn two years ago and the cop execution of Amadou Diallo in the Bronx earlier this year, in the massive response to our labor/black mobilization against the Klan and in the widespread support among city workers for the TWU. The recent decision to move the trial of the four cops who gunned down Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets from the Bronx to a "safer" venue in 85-percent-white Albany is an expression not only of the rulers' racist contempt for the city's minority population but a recognition of the anger which continues to seethe among the working people.

As we wrote at the time of the protests against the Diallo killing, when the Democrats were trying to get out in front of the outrage and channel it into electoral pressure politics ("Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks," WV No. 710, 2 April):

"The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect,' but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror.

"The ranks of powerful unions like the Transport Workers Union in New York include thousands of black workers who know that it could just as easily have

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## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

**National Office:** Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860  
**Web site:** www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

### Boston

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

### Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 454-4930

### Public Office:

Tues. 5-9 p.m.  
and Sat. 12-3 p.m.  
328 S. Jefferson St.  
Suite 904

### Los Angeles

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

### Public Office:

Sat. 2-5 p.m.  
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

### New York

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

### Public Office:

Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.  
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.  
299 Broadway, Suite 318

### Oakland

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

### Public Office:

Sat. 1-5 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

### San Francisco

Box 77494  
San Francisco, CA 94107  
(415) 395-9520

### Public Office:

Sat. 11 a.m.-1 p.m.  
564 Market St., Suite 718

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

### Toronto

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

### Vancouver

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

## Statement by Death Row Political Prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

# Defend the TWU! Defend the Right to Strike!



WV Photo

How can there be a right to strike if labor is punished, penalized and impoverished for exercising it? In fact, there is no such right, for a right that is punished is not a right at all.

Rights are not something given, but something that's fought for. That is why I support TWU Local 100 and the strike that they're contemplating.

History in America teaches us that labor has fought many battles and must fight battles to win against tremendous odds. The odds, of course, are those of capital.

We now have a 40-hour workweek, you have child labor laws, you have workmen's comp. Those things were not gifts from capital, they were fought for. There were bloody wars in this country, all across the country—Haymarket in Chicago, Washington, D.C.—all across the country for simple rights of labor.

The courts are not the friends of labor, they are the friends of capital. And the police are not the friends of unions, they are the agents of capital. They will not defend the rights of labor, they will defend the rights of the rich—we saw that in Seattle in the WTO protests. The right to fight is a right that must be exercised in order to be made real.

It is time now to support this central right of TWU to strike and then to be paid fully for their labor.

Ona MOVE,  
From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal  
14 December 1999

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal!  
Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station,

New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

## Transit...

(continued from page 11)

been them as Amadou Diallo. Our call for labor protest has found deep resonance among the transit union membership. They have the power to stop the world center of finance capital dead in its tracks."

The allegiance of the labor bureaucracy, as well as a majority of the working class itself, to the Democratic Party is the main obstacle to successful class struggle in the U.S. Among the black population, this allegiance is reinforced by the likes of Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, who are representative of a layer of black middle-class politicians co-opted by the racist rulers in the wake of the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s. Beginning in the early 1970s, black Democrats were installed as mayors in big cities across the country because they were seen as better able to contain the seething discontent of the ghetto masses and hold in check the heavily black municipal unions. Typical was liberal NYC mayor David Dinkins, who assured Wall Street that "they'll take it from me" as he went on to slash the municipal workforce while adding 6,000 more cops to the payroll.

It is necessary to break with the Democrats and forge a workers party. The best workers party in history was the Bol-

shevik Party led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, creating the first workers state in history. That party was composed of the vanguard layers of the proletariat and those revolutionary intellectuals who came over to the side of the workers. It steered the working masses for the seizure of state power through political combat against the labor bureaucrats and opportunist "socialists" of the day. It was built through leading bitter strike battles against the employers and through acting as a tribune of the people in fighting for democratic rights for women, Jews and oppressed nationalities against the tsarist autocracy. It used bourgeois elections as a platform for revolutionary propaganda and sent its elected representatives into the tsarist parliament to serve as spokesmen for the working class against the political parties of the capitalists. Defending the workers' interests through industrial and political action is exactly the role that a workers party would have played here in fighting against the assault on the TWU and all of labor.

Lenin's Bolsheviks combatted illusions that the workers could come to power through parliamentary means. They fought for workers rule through elected workers councils (soviets), an aim which was realized by the October Revolution.

That is the kind of party the Spartacist League is fighting to build, a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will champion the fight for black freedom, linking the power of labor to the anger of the ghettos and wielding that power in defense of the rights of immigrants, women, gays and all the oppressed. The October 23 anti-Klan mobilization brought to life the connection between labor's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of racist American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

It is necessary to defend welfare and other existing social programs against all the vicious government rollback schemes and to defeat the union-busting "workfare" scheme which forces heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant welfare recipients to work in the subways and in other formerly unionized municipal jobs. But our aim is not to keep millions of desperately poor people consigned to permanent misery. Organize "workfare" workers and all the unorganized with full union wages and protections! Fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay!

A banner carried by MABSTOA bus

maintenance workers at the December 8 rally read, "Without Us...No Surplus." This points to a basic truth. Within this system based on private ownership of the means of production, it is labor which creates the wealth (including profit) in capitalist society. To maintain and increase their rate of profit, the capitalists must constantly attack the workers' standard of living and what rights and gains they have won through struggle. For the working class to free itself from the chains of wage slavery, it must emancipate all of society from capitalist oppression by breaking the power of the bourgeoisie, expropriating the capitalist class as a whole and creating a new state where the working class is the ruling class. It is the task of a revolutionary party to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic task as the gravedigger of capitalism.

In a socialist society, the surplus value which currently goes into the coffers of the Wall Street tycoons would be used to rebuild the decaying subway system, the schools and the hospitals; to provide free mass transit and medical care and free, quality, integrated education for all; to provide decent, affordable housing for all. But to secure all these things requires a workers revolution which overthrows the capitalist system and replaces it with an egalitarian socialist society internationally. ■

## Holiday Appeal Speeches...

(continued from page 4)

going so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on their behalf! The International Socialist Organization did its part in happily doing all the donkey work to build the Democratic Party diversion on October 23. All of these political organizations, which worked in league with the capitalist government, exposed themselves as protectors of the Ku Klux Klan and as enemies of labor, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants, Jews, gays and all of the intended victims of fascism.

### For Revolutionary Leadership

It was Philadelphia Democratic Party mayor Frank Rizzo who stood at the head of the Philadelphia cops' campaign of

racist hysteria against the MOVE organization, which led to the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal. When Jamal was in his teens, he was arrested during cop raids against the Black Panther Party carried out under the FBI's COINTELPRO, or "Counter-Intelligence Program," which was used to disrupt, harass and assassinate civil rights leaders, antiwar activists and Native American movement leaders.

The police bombing of the MOVE household in a black neighborhood of West Philadelphia in 1985, in which eleven people were killed—burned to death, including five children—was carried out by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. Under Democrat Clinton, over 80 people, including 25 children, were killed by federal agents near Waco, Texas in 1993. It was Clinton who was responsible for bombing Serbia back into a pre-industrial economy.

The Democrats are a party of racism and war. It is through the labor bureaucracy that the unions are tied to this party of the class enemy. It is the protectors of the Ku Klux Klan like Al Sharpton and the official black Democratic Party establishment who tie black people to the party of racist capitalism.

We can only move forward by forging a revolutionary leadership, that is, a workers party that has as its aim the elimination of capitalism and the construction of a socialist society. The October 23

anti-Klan mobilization showed what kind of leadership we're talking about. That leadership was inspired by the October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

Today, let us go forward with determination to tirelessly destroy the illusions the Democrats use in order to pacify and weaken the labor movement; to strengthen and deepen the struggles of the labor movement; to reinforce the revolutionary will of the working class; to fight to win workers to the demand, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty!" Break with the Democratic Party! Build a workers party that will end racism, injustice, poverty, exploitation, fascism and imperialist war by defeating every obstacle standing in the way of the working class seizing power in a socialist revolution! ■

## King City...

(continued from page 7)

Democrats like California attorney general Bill Lockyer and pushing toothless "corporate campaign" appeals to Basic's big customers like food giants Lipton and Kraft, calling on them to boycott the company's products. Like all capitalist enterprises, these companies are not the

allies of labor but its enemies, and even if they should "boycott" Basic Vegetable it would only be if it served to increase their own profit margin—e.g., if they found a cheaper non-union supplier.

Latino workers have increasingly played a combative role in California labor struggles and can provide a living link to class struggles throughout the Americas. Basic strikers, themselves targets of anti-union, anti-immigrant attack, had heard of the Partisan Defense Committee's October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the race-terrorist KKK out of New York City. Strikers snapped up the *Workers Vanguard* (1 November) supplement drawing the lessons of that powerful display of labor's power. As we noted in that supplement: "One chant in particular resonated at the PDC mobilization: 'Asian, Latin, black and white—Workers of the world, unite!'" The article concluded that to realize the aspirations of workers and the oppressed, what is needed is "a workers party, which can bring the consciousness to the working class of its social power and historic interests in fighting the rule of capital and every manifestation of the barbarity of this system."

*The Basic Teamsters strike is a battle for all labor. We urge our readers to send contributions to the Basic Striker Relief Fund, 207 North Sanborn Road, Salinas, CA 93905. ■*

### NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.

Our next issue will be dated January 14.