

## For a Fighting Workers Party!

# Soweto to Harlem:



Rojo/Cambio 16



AP

Botha's cops smash march of Cape Town residents demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela, August 1985. Koch's cops smash blacks protesting closure of west Harlem's only hospital, September 1980.

# Smash Racist Terror!

On September 24, a Spartacist forum titled "From Soweto to Harlem: Smash Racist Terror!" was held at Memorial Baptist Church in Harlem. The speakers were Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg, for New York City mayor, and Ed Kartsen, for Manhattan borough president. We print below their edited presentations.

**Marjorie Stamberg:** From Soweto to Harlem, it's a system of racist terror. The harassment, intimidation, terrorization, and now the bombing of black America goes back to the system of chattel slavery in this country. It took the Civil War, the second American revolution, to topple slavery in the South, and it will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution to emancipate black people from their double oppression, as wage slaves segregated at the bottom of American society.

In South Africa today, a civil war is looming—and it will take nothing less than that to do away with the system of

## South African Revolution Awaits Its Lenin

apartheid slavery. But for there to be a progressive outcome, for the hour of liberation of all the oppressed to strike, this must be a class war. It's the black proletariat in that country which has the power to bring the gold mine owners, the industrialists, the bankers, their politicians and their army, the whole apartheid system to its knees. From South Africa to the U.S., we're fighting for that workers revolution, and that is what the Spartacist Party campaign here in New York is all about.

In this country, the bourgeois politicians from the Teddy Kennedy liberals to the Reagan Republicans are scrambling around looking for their Bishop Tutus, looking for "moderates" in order to save South African capitalism for the "free world." They've deluded themselves into thinking it's just a simple question of reforms—maybe a South Africa-style civil rights movement. But formal elimination of Jim Crow in this country still did not free blacks from their oppression which is rooted in the racist capitalist economy. And particularly in South Africa, where there's a four-fifths black majority, it's crystal clear that the question is power. It's something Botha understands—and that is why they're digging in. In that society, "one man, one vote," a simple democratic principle, means the end of white domination, and the Afrikaners are prepared to fight to the death to defend their privileges.

For a full year now, intense apartheid repression has been unable to suppress the black revolt, which continues. "We are slaves now and we cannot be slaves any longer," a leader of the Crossroads

township near Cape Town said recently. So the bourgeoisie from here to South Africa is asking despairingly, like this issue of *Newsweek* did, "What can be done?" But South African blacks are asking another question, they're asking "What Is to Be Done?"—echoing the title of Lenin's book that laid the foundations for the Bolshevik party in Russia. They're asking what is to be done because they're looking for the road to revolution. The *Newsweek* article went on to say of the young anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa: "Their revolution awaits its Lenin." And in fact, building a revolutionary workers party is the burning question of the South African revolution today.

As Leninists and Trotskyists, one of our cardinal principles is to face reality squarely, to speak the truth to the masses no matter how bitter. And if the bourgeoisie is trying to delude itself that it can get by with a couple of reforms, most of the left in this country is also trying to delude itself that revolution is just around the corner in South Africa, that the ANC [African National Congress] has got Botha on the run. But the

bitter truth is that as long as the struggle continues along purely national lines, just white vs. black, with justice on one side, and the guns on the other, it is not going to be apartheid that is buried, but the oppressed black, "coloured" [mixed-race] and Indian masses. Because, brothers and sisters, those townships were built so they can be easily sealed off; the whole structure of apartheid is designed to perpetuate massacres and they are preparing to carry them out. But without black labor, which created South Africa's golden riches, the apartheid system cannot function. That is the key.

### Double-Barreled Imperialist Hypocrisy

The struggle against white supremacy in South Africa has shaken up black America like nothing since the civil rights movement. The reason is clear, because black people here see in apartheid slavery a magnified mirror of their own oppression. I don't need to tell the people in this room about the racist police terror in New York City. Mary Bumpurs is in this room tonight. Oh no, there's no apartheid in this country, like in the Crossroads township where they send the army in to evict black township dwellers. No, in this country they just send in the police emergency squad with a double-barreled shotgun, *both barrels*, to evict a black grandmother

*continued on page 6*



Campbell/Sygma

South Africa's 600,000 black miners are the powerhouse for workers revolution.

**Mary Bumpurs, Veronica Perry  
Victims of Racist Terror  
Speak Out at Spartacist Forum**

SEE PAGES SIX AND SEVEN



# Racists Pretending to Be PLers? Hard to Tell the Difference

## Letter to PL

30 September

Milt Rosen, Chairman  
Progressive Labor Party

Dear Comrade Rosen:

We enclose photographs of vandalism against our New York public office on September 21, which show obscene slogans and a number of Progressive Labor stickers over the entrance (glue was also poured into the locks and other damage was done). On the face of it, we must assume that some deranged supporter of your organization did this to our office, although of course this is utterly not proven. It could conceivably be the work of a deranged racist anti-communist driven into a frenzy by our election campaign opposing racist cop terror, if such an element had a way to get a large supply of PL stickers. In the event this act arose in or around your organization, we are certain you will want to look into it and we are confident you will deal with the parties involved in a way you deem proper.

We enclose the brochure published for our working-class communist campaign for Mayor and Manhattan Borough President. As a self-declared working-class communist organization, you might wish to consider critically supporting our candidates.

Fraternally,  
Spartacist League



WV Photos

## Who Was Marcus Garvey?

When we found the repulsive remark "Trotsky sucks Garveys dick" scrawled on our New York public office door among a plastering of Progressive Labor Party (PL) stickers, we naturally gave the political significance of the act some thought. While the political gulf between Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" nationalism and revolutionary Marxism is very wide, we must recognize that in a period of social reaction Garvey gave black people a platform to

protest their miserably oppressed position in the world the imperialists created out of the carnage of World War I. He had millions of followers around the globe then, and many still revere him as the leader of the first mass black nationalist movement in America and as the father of modern black nationalism. For example, Malcolm X's father was a Garveyite preacher. Whatever the vandal's intended purpose, the content of his calling card is an anti-gay and anti-communist racist slur.

Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887. Moved by the grinding exploitation and miserable living conditions of Caribbean black workers, particularly on the vast sugar and banana plantations, Garvey tried in vain to organize unions and to appeal to the Jamaican government to ameliorate black labor's misery. In 1914 Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The UNIA was motivated by a vision of worldwide racial pride and unity. According to Garvey, "The only wise thing for us ambitious Negroes to do is to organize the world over and

build up for the race a mighty nation of our own in Africa" (*Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*).

The end of the war brought recession and mass unemployment, compounded by the return of millions of soldiers, black as well as white, to civilian life. Organized labor, with a few honorable exceptions like the Wobblies, was hostile to the black worker. The Jim Crow labor movement increased employers' ability to set white against black and to exploit blacks as scab labor. However, black participation in industry and the armed forces generated enhanced self-confidence, and for the first time since Reconstruction there was mass black resistance to racist terror.

The defeat of the militant postwar strike wave and the 1919 race riots paved the way for government reaction and the rise of Ku Klux Klan terror. But in a period of defeat and reaction, Garvey's nationalist perspective appealed to tens of thousands of American blacks precisely because it caught the disillusionment and demoralization that leads to both anger and escapism. It was no coincidence that the height of Garvey's influence in the reactionary 1920s corresponded to the peak of Ku Klux Klan activity.

Garvey's "Back to Africa" fantasy embodied a defeatist acceptance of segregation and his emphasis on "racial purity" led to his notorious 1922 meeting with leaders of the KKK. However, the profoundly racist American government saw any mass black protest movement as a threat. The feds framed up Garvey for "mail fraud," put him behind bars and deported him from the country in 1927. It was the labor movement's duty to defend Garvey against government victimization. Would PL have come down on the side of U.S. imperialism on this one?

We do not claim to know exactly what was bothering this presumed PL supporter when he vandalized our office (Trotskyism? oral sex? homosexuality? miscegenation? Jews?). We do not know the real source of this vandalism or in whose service it was committed. But the racist slur about Garvey and Trotsky amidst the PL stickers brands the perpetrator. ■



TROTSKY

## Closer to the Proletarians of the "Colored" Races

Writing of a letter from black South African supporters, Trotsky underlined the danger of Stalin's policy of class collaboration which led to the beheading of the 1927 Chinese Revolution by Kuomintang strongman Chiang Kai-shek. Trotsky stressed that for the enslaved toilers the achievement of genuine democracy and national emancipation requires the proletarian conquest of power.



LENIN

I have received a copy of the letter dated April 26, 1932, sent by an organization of Negro comrades from Johannesburg. This letter, it seems to me, is of great symptomatic significance. The Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) can and must become the banner for the most oppressed sections of the world proletariat, and, consequently, first and foremost, for the Negro workers....

In their letter, to which 24 signatures are appended (with the notation "and others"), the South African comrades expressed particular interest in the questions of the Chinese revolution. This interest, it ought to be acknowledged, is wholly justified. The working masses of the oppressed peoples who have to carry on the struggle for elementary national rights and for human dignity, are precisely those who incur the greatest risk of suffering the penalties for the muddled teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship." Under this false banner, the policy *à la* Kuomintang, that is, the vile deception and the unpunished crushing of the toiling masses by their own "national" bourgeoisie, may still do the greatest harm to the liberating cause of the toilers. The program of the permanent revolution based on the incontestable historic experience of a number of countries can and must assume primary significance for the liberation movement of the Negro proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, "Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races" (1932)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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4 October 1985

## British Ghettos Explode

### "Workers Must Defend Brixton, Handsworth"



Black Yorkshire miner speaks at emergency Spartacist League of Britain meeting held September 18 in police-occupied Handsworth ghetto of Birmingham. Blacks, Asians and whites defied siege conditions to attend "Racist Cops Out Now" meeting, giving the lie to the bourgeoisie's attempt to alibi cop provocation as black vs. Asian communalism. Within three weeks of the Bir-

mingham outrage, London cops invaded the home of Cherry Gruce, 38-year-old black mother of six, and shot her in the back while she was sleeping! Now integrated crowds of angry protesters in Brixton have taken to the streets again against Prime Minister Thatcher's murderous thugs. The SL/B is fighting for integrated trade union-centered defense guards to smash racist cop terror.

WORKERS VANGUARD



# NYC Campaign Notebook

"We're building a revolutionary workers party, a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky. That's what this campaign is all about," say the Spartacist Party candidates, Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president.

In 1920 the Communist International declared that a truly Bolshevik election campaign "must be conducted not as a drive for the maximum number of parliamentary seats, but as a mobilization of the masses around slogans of proletarian revolution."

Today, whether it's soapboxing at Woolworth's at 125th and Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, speaking to union meetings and college classes, or mobilizing for demonstrations against racist cop terror, the Spartacist election campaign in New York City 1985 is in the Bolshevik spirit.

\* \* \* \* \*

Marjorie Stamberg was a telephone operator and member of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) for nine years. On September 17, she was invited back to speak at a union meeting of Local 1150, where president Jimmy Pratt announced, "I want to introduce someone that's a candidate for mayor of New York. We don't have Ed Koch here or Carol Bellamy. We have a former member of our local that is on the ballot."

Marjorie said she had just been down on the picket lines of striking CWA Western Union workers: "I pass by their strike lines on the way to my office every day. You see maybe a handful of picketers there, and then five security guards, and then five or ten city police who are supposedly there to protect the security guards.... This gives you an idea of the nature of this government."

We need a workers party, she said, to fight for racial equality and defend minorities against racist attack. Marjorie denounced the recent incident where a Confederate flag was carried in the Labor Day parade, right here in New York City:

"Brothers and sisters, that flag is a provocation and a threat, it is historically the flag of slavery, it is the flag of the Ku Klux Klan, a threat to all working people, the Jewish people, the black people, and has no place in the workers movement in this country.... It is no accident that there are Confederate flags turning up in New York in an atmosphere where Ed Koch and his police are running rampant in a wave of racist police brutality."

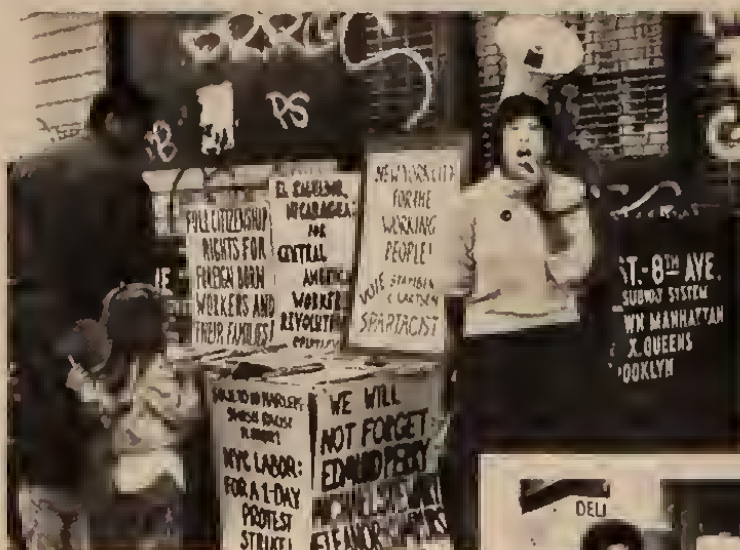
A number of black CWAers nodded in agreement. Marjorie emphasized, "That's one of the reasons we're running in this campaign—to mobilize labor and minorities to stop this racist police terror."

\* \* \* \* \*

Ed Kartsen was a signal maintainer in the New York City subways until

recently, and a candidate for president of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 in 1983. Ed also attended City College, and on September 28 he went back to CCNY, at the invitation of black lecturer James Small who invited the Spartacists to make a presentation to his

made this an issue because they didn't want anyone independent of the racist cops to have guns. They will talk about sanctions against South Africa, but they will not talk about jailing the killer cops, about abolishing the anti-gun laws, about the right of armed self-defense of



Spartacist candidate Marjorie Stamberg soapboxing on Lower East Side (left); at CWA rally protesting layoffs (below left); Ed Kartsen campaigning at Labor Day parade (below).



WV Photos

class on the politics of the Harlem community. Kartsen pointed to the wave of police killings in NYC, indicting Koch's administration for "political lynching."

There was a pervasive sense among the students that liberal integrationism has failed. A debate ensued over the perspective of black nationalism versus the SL's Marxist strategy of revolutionary integrationism. A number of students equated nationalism with militancy. The discussion ranged over the history of the civil rights movement and the fight against slavery, coming to a head over the American Civil War. When one student argued that emancipation from chattel slavery did nothing for black people, Ed raised the heroic role of black troops in the Civil War, adding: "Probably one of your ancestors picked up a gun and shot a Confederate soldier."

Kartsen summarized the outcome of that bloody conflict as a historic, though incomplete victory for American blacks. The task today is to "Finish the Civil War!"

\* \* \* \* \*

On September 19, Ed Kartsen and Reuben Shiffman of the Partisan Defense Committee gave a forum at Columbia University on "South Africa, Razor's Edge." At Columbia, opposition came from the social-democratic League for a Revolutionary Party, who attacked the SL for our position on the subway shootist, Bernhard Goetz. Kartsen replied that "the liberals in this city made Goetz the issue, not the killer cops" because their target was gun control: "It was the issue of someone who wasn't a cop, and defended themselves."

Saying, "We don't think there's a clear issue in the case of Goetz; this guy has to take responsibility for his own actions," Ed pointed out: "The liberals

and comrades are developing into pretty good street orators. SYLer Cindy Beckum told the crowd in front of Woolworth's, on 125th Street: "I go to Borough of Manhattan Community College. That's the school Michael Stewart used to go to before his life was snuffed out by the racist cops in this city.... If you're black in this city, it's a green light to be murdered. The only organization that has been addressing the issue of cop terror in this city is the Spartacist League."

At the Fulton Mall in downtown Brooklyn, transit worker Victor Cora stressed that the fight against Koch and Reagan must be an internationalist fight. "Reagan has declared war against Nicaragua, an economic blockade and aid to the 'contras.' This is the first step towards war with the Soviet Union. And the reflection of this at home is repression against working people, against blacks and other minorities. PATCO, a union of about 15,000 members—they all got fired because they dared to strike against the U.S. government. We all have to pay for that war drive—our social services are being cut, black people are being murdered on the street with impunity.... We have to build a workers party."

\* \* \* \* \*

Spartacist supporters have been regularly coming down to 111 Centre Street, where the trial of six transit cops in the killing of black artist Michael Stewart has been going on for the last several months. The whole sham procedure exposes the nature of racist capitalist "justice." Dozens of witnesses saw the cops bludgeon the young black man, surrounding him as he lay handcuffed face down on the pavement, repeatedly kicking and choking him with their nightsticks. But D.A. Morgenthau torpedoed the first grand jury investigation, and now only six of the eleven cops in the racist lynch mob are on trial. Even they are not charged with murder, but slap-on-the-wrist counts going from reckless endangerment to perjury.

Each day Mr. and Mrs. Stewart are there in court, in the first row, as the cops' battery of lawyers beat down the witnesses. There are no objections from the "prosecution," which would rather have no trial at all. And the cops and their buddies sit across the aisle smirking. On September 14, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen attended a memorial for Michael Stewart at Underwood Park in the Clinton Hill section of Brooklyn, where he grew up. Mrs. Carrie Stewart spoke of her painful

*continued on page 11*

## DEMONSTRATE!

**Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Edmund Perry—We Will Not Forget!**

## Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go! Stop Racist Cop Terror!

**Stop New York's Racist Mayor and His Dr. Mengele! Be There!**

Initiated by Spartacist League

Partial list of endorsers:

Mary Bumpurs, Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee  
54 West 174 Street Tenant Association, Bronx  
Benny Foster, chairman, Track & Power Division, Transport Workers Union Local 100  
Ramona Hernandez, professor, Borough of Manhattan Community College  
Ray Isner, chairman, Clifton-Morenci Labor Unity Council, striking Arizona copper worker  
Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan borough president  
Richard King, writer, *The Caribbean*

Paul Labrador, president, Student Government Association, Borough of Manhattan Community College  
Conrad Lynn, civil rights attorney  
Carl Ollord, publisher, *Black American*  
Partisan Defense Committee  
James Small, adjunct lecturer, Black Studies, City College of New York  
Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist candidate for mayor of New York  
Tenants Organizers Create Safe, Inhabited Neighborhoods (TOCSIN)  
Welfare Action Coalition, Bronx

\*Organization listed for purposes of identification only

**Thursday, October 3, 9:30-11:00 a.m.**

**2 World Trade Center**

**NEW YORK CITY**

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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# FBI "Anti-Terrorist" Dragnet in Puerto Rico

## Free the Macheteros!

In a series of dawn raids in San Juan, Puerto Rico August 30, more than 200 FBI agents, backed up by local police, rounded up eleven alleged members of the pro-independence group "Los Macheteros." Two others were seized on the mainland. Dressed in camouflage fatigues, faces painted and carrying automatic rifles, the colonial political police burst into the victims' homes, holding families at gunpoint, then hauling off "suspects" who were chained hand and foot. Arrest warrants were not presented until hours after the fact, while the FBI stormtroopers searched the homes for "evidence."

The arrested Puerto Rican nationalists were accused of involvement in the 1983 heist of \$7 million from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut, an operation for which the Macheteros proudly took credit. Using the Wells Fargo case as a pretext, the FBI dragnet went after the pro-independence movement in general. SWAT teams raided more than 30 homes on the island for which they had no warrant, including that of Puerto Rican chess champion Manuel Moraza and others. The offices of the leftist journal *Pensamiento Critico* were ransacked and one of its editors, Jorge Farinacci, was among those arrested.

In a Washington press release, U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese and FBI director William Webster hailed the Gestapo-style sweep as part of an "anti-terrorist" campaign. The Reaganite cold warriors used the opportunity to fuel their anti-Soviet drive, declaring "Cuba's aggressive support of terrorism has not gone unnoticed" (*Washington Post*, 31 August). Webster claimed to have information placing the FBI's primary target in the case, former Wells Fargo employee Victor Gerena, in Cuba. But at court hearings in Hartford, where the 13 suspected Macheteros are being held under RICO "conspiracy" charges, the government is using hearsay "evidence" to justify keeping them in "preventive" detention without bail or under bails of up to \$1 million.

Hasty extradition hearings were staged on Sunday, September 1, after the arrested *independentistas* had been denied habeas corpus. The government tried to discourage protests by holding the hearings at 7 a.m. under heavy police guard, including sharpshooters on top of the federal building at Hato Rey. Nonetheless, hundreds of protesters demonstrated outside and others solidified with the pro-independence

fighters inside the courtroom. The raucous scene was punctuated by cries of "Long live free Puerto Rico!" from the chained prisoners, echoed by their supporters in the gallery. After the hearings the *independentistas* were whisked away in Navy helicopters to the huge Roosevelt Roads base and flown to the mainland.

In ironic contrast to this huge government "anti-terrorist" operation, the day before the FBI terror raids, 42 counts of perjury were dropped against ten Puerto Rican police officers responsible for the cold-blooded 1978 murder of two *independentistas* at Cerro Maravilla. Claiming that perjury wasn't defined in Puerto Rico's penal code, the district judge ruled that the state could not prosecute (*El Mundo*, 30 August). Earlier, kidnapping charges against the cop spy who set up this assassination were dropped by a district court on the grounds that he was only following orders (the case is now under appeal before a Superior Court). Thus these state terrorists, already whitewashed by two Puerto Rican and two federal Department of Justice investigations, still go unpunished seven years later.

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (Macheteros) has been active since the late '70s, mainly on the island. Unlike the FAIRN, which has engaged in indiscriminate terror such as the 1975 bombing of the Fraunces Tavern restaurant in New York City, the Macheteros have carefully targeted the imperialist government apparatus. They have landed some effective blows, such as the 1981 attack on the Muñiz air base in San Juan, which destroyed nine jet fighters, the bulk of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard fleet. The Puerto

Rican National Guard has played a prominent role in the numerous U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras and Panama, part of Washington's counter-revolutionary war in Central America.

The Macheteros have also scored some publicity coups, such as distributing thousands of dollars (from the Wells

Fargo job) worth of toys to children in Hartford and San Juan last January on Three Kings Day. Indeed, even the liberal bourgeois daily *El Diario/La Prensa* (2 September) has described Gerena as a modern-day Robin Hood. While the Macheteros militantly oppose colonial rule, their nationalist guerrillaism offers no way forward for the Puerto Rican workers. They stand in the tradition of the 1950 Nationalist Party revolt at Jayuya and similar forlorn gestures. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League seek to unite Puerto Rican and American workers in common struggle against Yankee imperialism, from Central America to the Caribbean and the U.S.

As we noted in our article, "Militarism and Repression in Puerto Rico" (*WL* No. 373, 22 February), "the FBI has chosen Puerto Rico as the testing ground for its 'anti-terrorist' guidelines of infiltration, disruption and provocation." The Spartacist League has fought the FBI's sinister "terrorism guidelines," and won a small but significant victory in our suit which forced the FBI to drop their terrorist-hating "definition" of the SL and recognize us for what we are, a Marxist political organization. This attack on the Puerto Rican *independentistas* is a threat to all opponents of U.S. imperialism. Defenders of democratic rights demand: Free the Macheteros! FBI, CIA out of Puerto Rico! Immediate, unconditional independence for Puerto Rico! ■

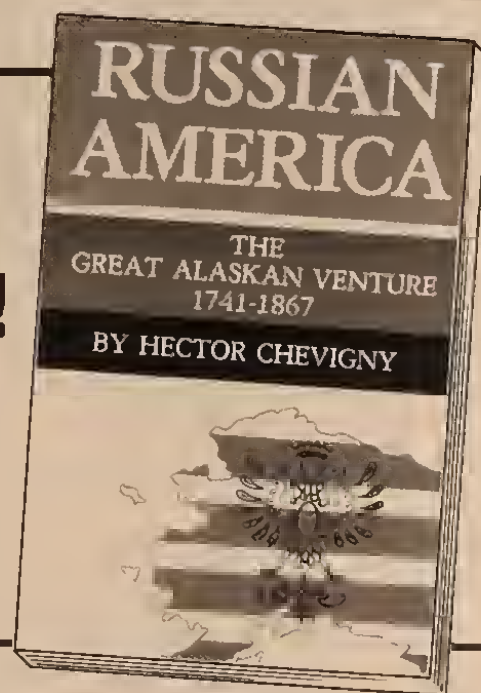


Puerto Rican demonstrators proclaim: "FBI, the Real Terrorists."

## The Russians Did Come!

Published by Binford & Mort, Portland, Oregon  
Printed in U.S. 1979

Order from:  
Spartacist Publishing Co.  
P.O. Box 1377 GPO,  
New York, NY 10116  
Price: \$9.00 postpaid



### From the book:

"The Russians were, moreover, given to mating quickly with the women of lands they penetrated. Always the children were baptized."

"The first of the promyshlenniki [treppers and traders] to come to the Aleutians, where the Tsar was indeed far away, illustrate the view that ultimate frontiers draw the psychopaths."

"Yet [Catherine the Great] took real if spasmodic interest in Russian America and did more about it than her predecessors.... [She sought to] 'impress upon the hunters the necessity of treating their new brethren and countrymen, the inhabitants of our newly acquired islands, with greatest kindness....' Though at the time of Catherine's accession the advance on America had been in progress nearly twenty years, no word of it had reached the governments of the West.... Catherine... let out the truth.... Spain had the sharpest reaction, ordering her viceroy in Mexico to prepare forthwith for defense and to occupy more of the western coast. Upper California came quickly into being, as Franciscan missions and military presidios were built, beginning with San Diego in 1769."

"[Baranov, the new manager of the colony] was old for this kind of life, forty-four. As he was showing, he had been unable to take even six weeks in an open boat, eating only raw fish and sleeping on wet beaches at night."

"...a beginning of a relationship was made when a leading Kenaitze chief pledged himself to support a Russian, giving hostages, as was the custom. On his part, Baranov had had to promise to take the chief's daughter to wife. He may not have thought the price too high. Though not yet a full-grown woman, she was darkly beautiful of eye, features, and carriage."

"By means he had often had to devise himself, [Baranov] had put Russian America on the political map, formally enlarging the empire by nearly a third."

"The Aleuts were now to be classed as civilized, though they still lived by many of their old primitive ways. As was symbolized by the samovar that stood in each of their half-buried dwellings, they were Russian subjects, so defined in the second charter."

"A nation [Russia] having small desire to sell did so to a nation [the U.S.] that was not eager to buy, their motives the belief they would please each other. History does not invariably make sense."

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# Sinister Farrakhan and Racist Pig Koch Whip Up Race War

LOS ANGELES—When black nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan spoke at the Inglewood Forum here September 14, he created a political storm. The frequently cheering audience of almost 15,000 mainly middle-class blacks heard him say, "I have a problem with Jewish people... because I am declaring to the world that they are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the Black people of America and the western hemisphere, are... God's people" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 19 September). Pushing his latest "black capitalist" scheme, Farrakhan called blacks who patronize businesses owned by Arabs, Koreans and Vietnamese "the mummies of America." He concluded that "40 million blacks can be as wise and manipulative as the Jews in America are today."

The sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan declared last year that Adolf Hitler, the bloodiest racist murderer in history, was a "great man." His admiration for fascist killers is not just historical. In the audience at the Forum, as a personally invited guest, was none other than KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger. Farrakhan's obscene overture to the Ku Klux Klan, whose burning crosses and lynch ropes have spread racist terror in this country for the last century, is suicidal for black people. Even as Farrakhan was spewing his anti-Semitic filth inside, outside the Forum, the Jewish Defense League, Guardian Angels and a small group of Nazis in full regalia were screaming for blood.

When Farrakhan takes his Jew-baiting big mouth to New York October 7, the situation threatens to be even more explosive than in L.A. The rabid Zionist mayor, racist pig Ed Koch, is inciting people to "speak out" against the man he characterizes as a "Nazi in a clerical collar." While piously saying he hopes there would be no protests, Koch gives the green light for racist violence, saying "there will be people... who in justifiable anger—indeed, fury—will do that." In New York City, with its huge Jewish and black populations, Koch is setting the stage for murderous race riots.

## Farrakhan: Shill for Black Democrats

Elements of the white bourgeois establishment as well as his supporters portray Farrakhan as a present-day version of Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth. Malcolm was a courageous fighter against the American ruling class, who attacked its black front men like Martin Luther King as harshly as he did the white racists. A year before he was killed, Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam and denounced all forms of racism. For example, he repudiated his earlier opposition to interracial marriage.

Elijah Muhammad's sect wanted to destroy Malcolm, and one of the leading hatchet men in their hate-Malcolm campaign was Louis X, better known today as Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan wrote in *Muhammad Speaks* (4 December 1964): "Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape.... Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death." Two months later Malcolm X was, in fact, killed. Whether or not Elijah Muham-



Black demagogue "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan, above. Koch hails Israeli would-be führer Sharon, architect of Shatila butchery. Koch and Farrakhan want to turn New York into Beirut West.



Conrad/NY Times

mad's people actually killed Malcolm—which they may have—they wanted him dead. And Louis Farrakhan was the No. 1 fingerman.

Where Malcolm appealed to militant black youth, Farrakhan appeals to would-be black capitalists. In Los Angeles he announced that next year his organization "POWER" (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth) would begin producing and marketing a line of soaps, toothpastes, detergents and other toilet and household goods aimed at capturing \$200 billion in black spending. A retired civil servant who attended the L.A. talk said that what appealed to him and those like him about Farrakhan was "the promise of financial stability for blacks" (*New York Times*, 16 September).

Farrakhan is no more a champion of black liberation than Johnson Publications, owners of *Jet* and *Ebony*, who presently have a big chunk of the segregated ghetto market the Black Muslim demagogue is trying to get his hands on. To be sure, there are some militant blacks who take Farrakhan's blowhard talk of "independence" from the white capitalist masters as good coin. Don't be fooled. Remember, when Farrakhan gained national attention last year it was as a supporter of Jesse Jackson's campaign in the Democratic Party presidential primaries. It was on Jackson's behalf that he made his notorious "Hitler was a great man" speech.

Phony leftists in this country rallied to Mr. Black Capitalism and even

defended the anti-Semite Farrakhan. But not the Spartacist League. We said at the time that Jackson's role was to hustle the black vote for Walter "Big Loser" Mondale. And that's exactly what happened. Farrakhan was the shill of the shill for Mondale. And he's still shilling for the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism. In L.A. Farrakhan declared, "I think we need a change of governor. Maybe we would do better with Mr. Bradley."

For the last dozen years, ex-cop, pro-cop "Uncle Tom" Bradley has been the Democratic mayor of Los Angeles. Twenty years after the Watts "riots," conditions in the L.A. ghettos are worse than ever. For young blacks, a job is like Halley's comet—something you've heard about but never seen. Cop terror against black people in Southern California is notorious even in this violently racist country. Among the victims was five-year-old Patrick Mason, the black child who was killed while watching TV in his own home. Killer cop Anthony Spurlin was awarded a \$30,000 bounty pension for this racist murder. Bradley also helped keep the Russians out of the '84 Olympics, using a "terrorist" scare to justify unleashing the LAPD with their Blue Thunder high-tech weaponry on the population.

Farrakhan's "anti-establishment" rhetoric is a ploy for the black Democratic mayors, who have been loyal front men, hatchet men and firemen for Reaganite austerity. And now they're running scared. The black revolt against apartheid in South Africa has electrified black America and awakened a desire to struggle against Reagan racism and reaction at home. The BEOs (black elected officials) are naturally anxious to keep the heat off themselves. Farrakhan's "black capitalist" and anti-Semitic demagoguery is useful in deflecting black struggle against the real enemy.

Significantly, Bradley resisted pressure from Jewish groups to denounce Farrakhan before his L.A. speech. Commenting on the relationship between the local black establishment and the nationalist demagogue, the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (22 September) wrote:

"Local black leaders have a problem. They have committed themselves to conventional politics as the primary means for improving the lot of black constituents and they have raised

*continued on page 11*

## Farrakhan—The Man Who Wanted Malcolm X Dead

Death threat (right) by Farrakhan (Louis X) against Malcolm X (below). Black Muslims whipped up frenzy against Malcolm when he came out for militant anti-racist struggle.



Don Charles

**Muhammad Speaks**  
—4 December 1964

By Minister Louis X  
(Boston, Mass.)

### "TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.



# Soweto to Harlem...

(continued from page 1)

behind on her rent in the Bronx. And by the way, that triggerman cop Sullivan is back on the job—we saw him August 13 at the big anti-apartheid demonstration at the UN. The triggerman has turned fingerman, and he was up there on the police surveillance unit shooting videotape of the demonstrators. Of you and of me.

And we don't need to tell the people in this congregation about police terror. This was Edmund Perry's church. And of course, there's no apartheid here—but Edmund Perry had the misfortune of being on the "wrong side," the Columbia side of Morningside Drive without a pass. And there may be some Haitian brothers here, who were there at that demonstration August 3 when Koch, to back up his pal Duvalier in Port-au-Prince, sent a cop horseback charge wading into a crowd of peacefully demonstrating people in midtown Manhattan. And you know also about the system of police cover-ups in this city. There is a blue wall of silence all right, and it extends right up to the mayor, and into the district attorney's office, and to Koch's coroner, Dr. Gross the ghoul, the one who gouged the eyes out of Michael Stewart.

Right now, that cover-up is continuing into the so-called trial of the transit cop lynch mob who murdered Michael Stewart, which is going on down at Centre Street. To date, a hearing scheduled for October 3 on state charges against Elliot Gross is still supposed to take place. We say Gross is not just incompetent or negligent—we say he's a criminal and he ought to be in Attica along with those cops who murdered Michael Stewart. And we're calling a demonstration outside the hearing, and we would hope everybody here would



Schiasson/Gamma

**Black youth defiant. Anti-apartheid revolt needs proletarian leadership.**

come down to that.

So over South Africa, we see the staggering, consummate hypocrisy of the American ruling class. Today Ed Koch was on the radio calling on Reagan to get him to ban all South African planes from landing in this country, and to ban all South African ships. Ed Koch is the bosom buddy of General Sharon; Koch walked in a parade in Queens with this general who organized the massacre at Sabra and Shatila. The hypocrisy of him condemning South African apartheid is really beyond belief. And besides the hypocrisy, we are not for a standing ban on all things South African. It is not as if the revolution is about to seize power and a little shove would push it over. In these conditions, who would be hurt most from such a standing ban? It would be the black workers.

And yet these people—Reagan, Koch—are the people the liberals and reformists today are appealing to for "sanctions" against South Africa. It is their government that was responsible for My Lai, that turned South Vietnam into a moonscape, that dropped the

atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The American ruling class exterminated the people who were here before they came. And don't forget the many millions killed by slavery and the slave trade. Don't forget how the American ruling class mowed down the black power militants in this country, to wipe out that movement. "Divesting" themselves from South African stocks won't wipe the blood from their hands. It is a monstrous lie to tell black people that they have a friend in Chase Manhattan, or Edward Koch, or Ronald Reagan.

Moreover, the whole liberal strategy of pressuring Washington and Wall Street to pressure their junior partners in Pretoria and Johannesburg will not help the struggle for the South African revolution one whit. In the last month we have seen "divestment" on a billion-dollar scale. Reagan has decreed sanctions, which was the program of the Democrats. You have seen just about as much imperialist pressure on the apartheid regime as you're going to get, and the regime has dug in. And while divestment hasn't helped South African blacks one whit, it has helped Chase

Manhattan's bottom line. Right now, with the South African economy in trouble, divestment is good business.

The United States is certainly propping up its anti-Soviet ally. They don't want that key naval base at Simonstown to fall into the "wrong hands." The U.S. needs a regional gendarme to police southern Africa. And there is a strategic consensus on South Africa in the American ruling class, Democrats and Republicans alike, based on the anti-Soviet war drive. They both demand withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Well we hail the Cuban troops in Angola as the main line of defense against apartheid imperialism. Real solidarity with our South African brothers and sisters heroically struggling against apartheid means class struggle at home. We say: from Detroit to Durham, workers to power!

**For a South African Bolshevik Party!**

The *New York Times* has a perceptive reporter in South Africa these days by the name of Alan Cowell. There was a story in the paper about a week ago where Mr. Cowell had met several young anti-apartheid fighters in a black township near Cradock, in the Eastern Cape province, where a huge Soviet banner was unfurled at a funeral attended by tens of thousands last July. Unfurling that Soviet banner was a sign of defiance against the apartheid regime. Now that hammer and sickle tells a lot about the present radicalization of South African black youth. One young man Cowell interviewed, "Comrade Memory," told him that victory meant release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Mandela was jailed under the Suppression of Communism Act, and for more than three decades South Africa's rulers have been saying the only alternative to apartheid is communism. That's okay by us, black youths in the townships are saying.

## Veronica Perry: "We Will Not Stand for KKK in Blue Uniforms"

Veronica Perry is the mother of Edmund Perry, the 17-year-old black scholarship student, graduate of Exeter Academy, who on June 12 was shot to death by a plainclothes cop on Morningside Drive near Columbia University. Mrs. Perry addressed the following remarks to the audience at the Spartacist forum, September 24, at Memorial Baptist Church in Harlem.

I'd like to say good evening to everyone and giving honor to God because He is the forerunner of all struggles and all battles. And I would like to thank each and every one of you for supporting me and my family on behalf of my son Edmund Perry. As you all know and are fully aware, it is a

black boy, that he was a very special and unique individual, that he had earned scholarships that sent him to the best places that this world has to offer. He had touched so many people in such a positive manner to let them know that we must all stand together as sisters and brothers, that there is no such thing because the color of my skin is different than yours that I should be superior or inferior to you. He let them know at Phillips Exeter Academy that he was a strong young black man who was determined to come back to his community and to let others from his community share some of the advantages that he had.

It was very hard for me back in July to even think about him being gone. But now time does make it easier. He is in Heaven so I am rejoicing because I had the privilege of having a son like Edmund Perry who, most mothers can't say, but I can say, never gave me a moment's problem. He never had problems at home, in school or in the street. And here where I stand he was baptized at 13 and gave his life over to Christ. So I am sure that when he went on his way, the way that the Lord would have him, he spoke up strong and courageous.

I was told just recently that Exeter will be a different place because of Edmund Perry. He made the young people up there with all of their money stand back and respect him as a black man. Because he could intellectually be right on target with them, athletically be superb to them, and socially have all of the women that they would like to have. So he didn't leave lacking for anything. As one of his schoolmates said,



WV Photo

**Veronica Perry, mother of Edmund, at Spartacist forum.**

"Ed won't miss us, but we will definitely miss him." Because he touched so many. I've had people from all races contact me for condolences and lend me their support in anything that they could do to help.

There is one thing that all of you in this room could do to help. Make sure that this never ever happens again, that a young black, Hispanic or white youth—which we haven't heard of yet—gets shot and have the officer told by the system that he works for "you did nothing wrong." Any time anyone takes a life, you've done something wrong. So keep on with your struggle. And remember that it does not take a lot of money, it takes a lot of people saying the same thing on one accord, knowing that we will not stand for the KKK in blue uniforms, we will not stand for the KKK as our mayor or as our president, that we will not stand for our sisters and brothers in South Africa being ruled by a few. We will not stand for it.

Only by standing up and saying "No more, Mr. Reagan. No more, Mr. Koch," and Governor Cuomo, you have to stand up and say also that I'm with the people of New York who say no more of this police brutality. We don't want those middle-of-the-road people, because if you're middle-of-the-road you may split and not know what you're doing and we don't need any more of that. We have enough splits and polarizations in this New York City.

So I thank you for being here, for allowing me to speak, and I do apologize for having to run out on you, but as I am chairperson of District 3 School Board, I do have other obligations. It's real important that you know that not only in the struggle against police brutality, but in our schools we have a lot of things that are needed. We need people like yourselves who are interested in making a system change; you have to change the ideals and the thoughts of those people who teach your children.

So the young man who's sitting here, take in what you hear tonight. Because in your later years, when you become their age, you will need to know all there is about politics, about the Democratic system, about the Republican system, about the socialist system, about the Right to Life. You have tons of political people, and in the United States of America, the only thing that counts is the power to vote. So make sure that when you reach 18 you have a voter registration card in your hand. And when it comes time to go to the ballot, even if you don't know who you want to vote for, go and vote against who you don't want. Then you'll more than likely make the right choice. ■



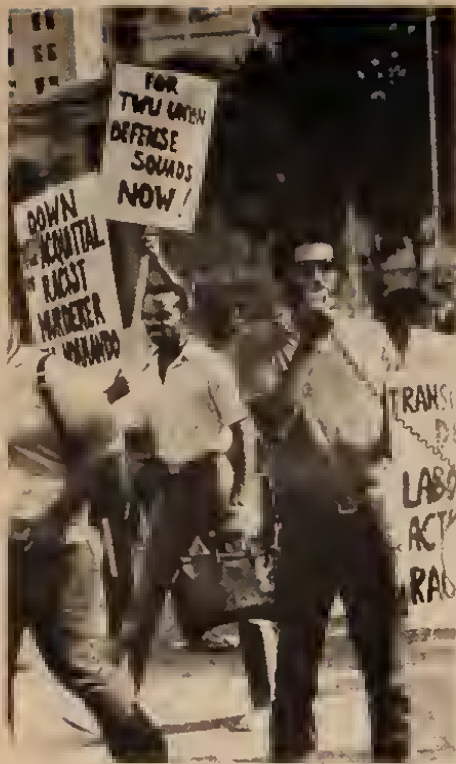
**Edmund Perry**

The Perry Family

struggle, and it is the system that I and others out there have to fight against.

Because I am black and poor and live in Harlem they thought my son was just another "nigger," no one to be cared about or thought about. They found out that he was not only not just another





WV Photo

**Brooklyn courthouse, July 1983: Kartsen rallies transit workers against whitewash of lynch mob murderers of black TWUer Willie Turks.**

"South Africa is a capitalist country, and that has oppressed us," 14-year-old Lucas told the *Times* reporter. "So now, all of us, in Cradock, are Communists."

They may not know much about communism; however the most conscious elements are clearly groping for a road to revolution. A banner at a recent funeral called on the ANC, "We are ready, give us AKs." But it will take more than a few thousand Soviet assault rifles to bring down apartheid capitalism. *Business Week*, an organ of American capitalism, recently ran an editorial on "What Pretoria Fears More than Rioting in the Streets"—namely, the power of black labor. Marx said of capitalism that it created its own gravedigger in the proletariat. And the six-million-strong black working class of South Africa, which extracts the diamonds and gold, which runs the industry, will be the gravedigger of apartheid.

A two-day general strike last November brought the Transvaal to a grinding stop. And last month the threat of a gold mine strike was met by an army mobilization as if for war. Yet in the past 12 months of rolling revolt in South Africa the black working class has been limited to isolated skirmishes. Both the ANC and AZAPO, the leading black nationalist organizations, talk a lot about how the workers are the "principal force," the "fundamental force," and so on. But then the ANC sits down in Zambia to talk with Anglo American Mining Corporation. And just to make sure the talks are not snagged, Anglo American was exempted from the aborted gold strike. So the proletariat is still pulling the cart of nationalism.

Even if the Afrikaners were to crack this time around, what would you get? Some kind of Zimbabwe solution, where Nelson Mandela's picture would be on the currency, they'd cut a deal with Anglo American and supposedly it's "non-racial" capitalism. Meanwhile you've set the stage for all-sided genocide between the Afrikaners, the English, the coloureds, the Indians, the Xhosa, the Zulus, just as Mugabe sets the Shona against Nkomo's Matabele in Zimbabwe. But the difference is, comrades, that South Africa doesn't have to go the nationalist road. A racially integrated internationalist workers party, forged in struggle against all forms of nationalism, could create a black-centered workers republic in which there would be a place for whites as well, which could marshal South Africa's tremendous resources on behalf of the entire starving continent.

The hallmark of British imperialism was the policy of "divide and rule," and the apartheid rulers have sought to recreate tribalism which was weakening

with the emergence of a modern industrial economy. So the ANC and United Democratic Front are based on the Xhosa, and include the Indian Congress, while [Zulu] chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha goon squads do the dirty work for Botha. Last year Botha's scheme for phony Indian and coloured "parliaments" backfired, and instead there was a massive boycott that united them with the black population. So what happened in August of this year was Buthelezi's Zulu Inkatha launched pogroms against the Indian community in Durban, including tearing down Gandhi's house which had been a museum.

So when this happened what did the UDF do, what did the ANC do, what did AZAPO do? They wrung their hands. Nationalism cannot overcome communalism and tribalism because it does not attack capitalism at its roots. The meeting place for the proletariat is the mines and the factories, where Xhosa and Zulu, the Mozambicans and Botswanans and coloured are thrown together, and there's even been the occasional basis for episodic unity with the white skilled workers in some of the plants. What should have happened during the Natal pogroms is the formation of racially integrated workers defense guards to protect the Indian community. But approaching the working class would have required a *proletarian* perspective.

That is the program of a revolutionary workers party. In tsarist Russia every time there was mass unrest, they would try to make the Jews the seagoats and they unleashed the Black Hundred pogroms against the Jewish ghettos. But during the 1905 revolution the workers' soviets from Moscow to Petersburg and Warsaw organized proletarian defense guards to protect the Jewish community. There is a book, *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary*, which talks about how in Warsaw in 1905, Jewish and Polish workers stood guard together 24 hours a day, block by block, house by house, defending the ghetto. They waited for those race-terrorists to come, and when they did they gave them a lesson they would never forget. A Bolshevik party, as Lenin said, must be the tribune of the people. And this defense of the most oppressed by the class-conscious proletariat was key to breaking open the tsarist prison house of peoples, laying the basis for the 1917 October Revolution.

#### The Question Is Power

So Reagan calls for "constructive engagement" with Botha. The Democrats want constructive disengagement. But both of them are trying to reform apartheid. So last week the U.S. embassy in Pretoria came up with a new proposal to solve South Africa's problems: they said Botha ought to establish a civilian review board! You know, after the army busts down your door, drags you off to prison, tortures you, murders you and dumps your body on the roadside, then you'll have some place to appeal to! What's next, residency requirements for the SS?

Of course you laugh, because you see the absurdity of such a proposal in a situation where it's clear that police brutality is not the acts of a few "rotten apples" but of a system. But let's apply that lesson to the United States. One of our opponents in this election is the Communist Party, which is running on the "People Before Profits" ticket, and they're calling for the "democratization of the police"...through a civilian review board. But it's ludicrous to think that you can "democratize" the cops. As Marxists we understand that they are the armed fist of the capitalist class. They exist to keep the ghettos down and to crush strikes.

We do not look to the capitalist state, but to building the power of our own forces. The Spartacist League calls for

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## Mary Bumpurs: "They're Not Going to Get Away with What They Did"

*Mary Bumpurs is the daughter of Eleanor Bumpurs, the 67-year-old black grandmother who was shot to death by an NYPD "Emergency Service Unit" in her Bronx apartment last October 29. We print below her remarks at the recent Spartacist forum in Harlem.*

Good evening to everyone. I'm surprised, I am. You know, it's not easy standing before you or anyone else, since what happened to my mother almost a year ago. But through the grace of God, and I have to say that—if it wasn't for Him, I wouldn't be standing here or anyplace else. Because that was an experience that I've never experienced before, death. For 39 years I didn't know what death was about, and to lose your mother in that kind of a way, that's pretty painful.

I would like to just clear up a couple of things. In the papers they used this, she being psychotic or something or other. This woman had seven children, she raised them without my father being in the house. She raised us to the best of her ability, she made us go to school. We went to school, acknowledged the 12 years that the system gives you. We accepted that, we started our own families. She was of age that she didn't need us to live with her, she lived by herself, she could take care of herself. As I heard, as you read, she was supposed to be behind in rent. Well, if you're behind in rent one month or two months, they're going to take your lives for it. Whoever's been behind in rent better catch up quick, because they're going to get you next! Believe me.

Other than that, they did not try to locate some of the family. Their first point was, I believe, and it couldn't have been anything else, they thought this woman had no one but herself. They thought there was no one to stand behind her whatsoever. But they got a big surprise when they went in on her, and I believe this to the bottom of my heart—my mother was a very aggressive woman.

My mother told me a story, when I was about 13 years of age, about the



NY Daily News

**Eleanor Bumpurs**

experience that she had with the Ku Klux Klan. This was in North Carolina. I know nothing about North Carolina. She saw homes burnt down by these men in white sheets. When we use sheets, we put them on the bed, we don't put them on our bodies. She saw these homes being burnt, she saw black people being taken in the woods and beaten to death. This is something she told us. I've never experienced, so all I can say is, I felt the pain, I was not there.

She sat and she told us all the dreadful things that happened to her in her lifetime. She did not instill hatred in us. It was for us to come to that conclusion by ourselves, which I am standing here to say, no, I can't, I won't find time to hate anyone. Because that's a big word. When you start hating people, to me you end up killing people. Now this is how

# ACIST



WV Photo

**Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary.**

the Ku Klux Klan to me is, in disguise in my city, which is New York City, in the blue uniforms. I don't hate them either at this point. But there's a big dislike, because they did take something from me that they or no one else can replace.

I've been fighting, I'm going to continue on fighting, because there was an injustice done to me. And all I'm asking for is justice. She left seven children, she left ten grandchildren, two on the way, which she won't see, but somehow or another, I believe she will. My two brothers were in the service for this United States here. Once they heard what had happened to my mother, they immediately had no reason to serve the USA again, because why are you fighting over there when you can't get justice here? They got out of the service, they're now home, and we're all pulling together, hoping that we'll get some kind of justice out of this. The appeal came through for the 26th, this coming Thursday. If it gets thrown out again, all I can do is try to put it back in there again.

Because I'm determined that they're not going to get away with what they did. They hurt a lot of us. And it's not fair. There's no way they can ever justify it and give us anything, because there's nothing they could give us back in the place of what we lost. And speaking for my family that couldn't show up, because everybody has those different hours of working. I thank you for letting me just speak those few words to you, and as long as you keep the strength, I'll keep the strength. Because I believe as a people we will overcome whatever this is the system has become today.

Thank you. Now there was a point here that two people are dying to hear. This is what "our" mayor did. Thanksgiving Day, last year, when this happened in October to my mother, he came to my house, with his condolences as he says. He came in with a box, a white box. He offered it to me. What was in there? Two dozen chocolate chip cookies. I'm supposed to be a fool, I don't understand that he's sweetening up my mouth so I won't talk, or I won't fight this thing! You know, what the hell you bring me two dozen chocolate chip cookies for? He really thinks I'm a dummy. Listen, God gave me this. I didn't ask Him. No one can sit here and say well, listen, I'd rather be yellow than to be this color, or whatever. He didn't give me a choice. He said Mary, here it is, either you live with it, or whatever.

So, old Koch brings me two dozen chocolate chip cookies, to let me know that I'm what, a chocolate chip little "nigger"? He didn't sweeten my tongue up enough to stop me from fighting for what was mine. ■



# Soweto to Harlem...

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labor/black mobilizations, for integrated armed defense guards based on responsible union men and women, to stop the racist terrorists. This is the strategy that has kept the Ku Klux Klan off the streets, from San Francisco to Detroit, culminating in Washington on November 27, 1982, when a 5,000-strong black labor-centered mobilization initiated by the SL stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital. And this was what the Spartacist League called for in 1964 in defending the Harlem ghetto masses against the police riot.

From Robert Williams in North Carolina, and the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense, to Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party, the right of armed self-defense against racist terror has been a touchstone of the struggle for black liberation in this country. And if you read the recent book by Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression*, you will see how the Communist Party during the '30s organized mass defense squads against evictions. So when the police would go in and bring people's furniture out on the street, 500 people would be organized and they would go through the police lines and take the furniture back in. In 1964 we said that tenants councils and block organizations that already existed in Harlem could form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols which could become the embryo of the workers militia which will defend the coming American revolution.

This holds true today. We're running in this election as a platform to call for the forging of a fighting workers party, that can organize labor/black mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms, that can organize mass defense of workers' strikes, strikes that *win*, strikes that will wipe anti-strike legislation like the Taylor Law and reduce it to the piece of toilet paper that it ought to be! I see some of the brothers from the TWU [Transport Workers Union] here tonight, and everybody remembers the 1980 transit strike when all of the Democratic bigwigs, both Koch and Bellamy were on the Brooklyn Bridge organizing union-busting. You remember Koch down there, hollering "How'm I doin'?"—and Bellamy leading the joggers across the bridge to work with big smiles on their healthy faces. Well, we needed a fighting workers party to lead a mass march down there and *close* the bridge, so those yuppie joggers would have turned around and high-tailed it back to their Brooklyn Heights townhouses and stayed home for the day!

Now we are not pollyannish about this. And we know, once we start talking about strategies that bring the financial and political capital of U.S. imperialism to a halt, pretty soon we're going to be going eyeball to eyeball with the 82nd

## FROM SOWETO TO HARLEM: SMASH RACIST TERROR! SPARTACIST



Mary Bumpurs addresses Spartacist forum in Harlem. Spartacist candidates Ed Kartsen, left; Marjorie Stamberg, right.

Airborne. Just like the British *Economist* said of the recent gold strike, they called it "The strike: nobody dares to win," because it was clear that a strike at that time required revolutionary leadership and posed the question of power. That is why the South African army was ready to go in and smash that strike. Any serious class struggle poses the question of power. What the Spartacists are about is building a party to lead the working class and the oppressed, on the streets, in the factories, on the picket lines, the battle lines of the class struggle. Building a party that will be the tribune of the people, the memory of the working class, incorporating the lessons of past struggles into the strategy for socialist revolution.

The courageous struggle of South African blacks against apartheid has inspired a fight against racist oppression worldwide. Recently West Indian youth in Birmingham, England who are up against Maggie Thatcher's racist cops repeated over and over, "Soweto and Handsworth, Same Fight." And our comrades in the Spartacist League of Britain agitated for mobilizing the muscle of organized labor to defend Handsworth against Thatcher's police terror, appealing especially to the miners who had experienced plenty of the same during their year-long strike. Our comrades in the Trotskyist League of France held a demonstration in Rouen calling on port workers to "hot cargo" South African coal. Here in New York, following the imposition of a state of emergency in August in South Africa, we were calling for a one-day political strike against police brutality from New York City to South Africa.

So the struggle against white supremacy in South Africa inspired revolutionary fighters all over the world. And the bourgeoisie has noticed. You know Leon Sullivan, the black minister who sits on the board of General Motors and who designed the "Sullivan Guidelines" for good behavior by American capitalist corporations in South Africa. He recently warned the United States Congress that if South Africa explodes, "Riots would occur in Harlem and other cities all over this country." The rulers of this country fear

that revolution in South Africa could spark revolutionary struggle here at home. And how right they are. They fear it, we're for it.

From its very inception, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky closely linked the struggle for black liberation in America and Africa. "The history of the American blacks has prepared them to play a major role in the liberation struggle of the entire African race," proclaimed the Comintern's Fourth Congress in 1922. We of the international Spartacist tendency seek to continue the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, fighting to reforge the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution. We'd like you to join us. From Soweto to Harlem—Smash racist terror!

**Ed Kartsen:** The murder of Edmund Perry brings the issue of racist terror to the streets of New York City, the question of racist terror here. Racist terror in New York City as related to racist terror in South Africa is an issue that has been left out of all the major political events of the ruling-class politicians, in the form of chiefly the Democratic Party, in the last primary and around the demonstrations that they participated in.

And everyone is aware, day in and day out, of scores of people shot down in the streets. In New York City Koch carries out a policy to terrorize poor minorities and unions. That police terror is designed to keep unions passive, to keep the poor and minorities of this city passive in the face of exorbitant rents, of joblessness, of decay of all of the public services and conditions of life in the city.

The South African regime props itself up through the type of terror that you see in the newspapers every day, in order to maintain a high level of exploitation against the South African working class. Not only are demonstrators being shot down in the streets. If you look at the response on the part of the South African police and army to the threat of miners going out on strike—which was massive repression and massive terror—it's a clear indication of what that state apparatus exists to do. And that is to oppress, to pacify the unionized workers of South Africa, as well as the population at large.

Capitalism's decline is marked by heightened violence. That goes for this country as well as South Africa. On Osage Avenue in West Philly that was demonstrated very clearly in one of the most gruesome cases of legal lynching that has ever occurred in this country, where eleven members of MOVE and their children were consciously—and planned well in advance—burned to death in their home.

America no longer has the ability to dictate to every country in the world what government it can or cannot have. This was the direct result of the victory of the Vietnamese workers and farmers, who smashed the American government's attempt to subjugate Vietnam to

America's imperialist domination after the Vietnamese successfully drove out the French.

Reagan is at this very moment preparing the groundwork to carry out in Nicaragua the same type of war that was carried out in Vietnam. While Reagan is trying to curb his image as an open supporter of apartheid in South Africa, he is meanwhile planning to kill Nicaraguans at the same rate that Vietnamese were murdered by the U.S. in Vietnam. In South Africa about 1,000 have been slaughtered in the last year. In Vietnam, nearly 1,000 were killed *every day*, which also involved some of the most sadistic forms of murder.

Despite the tremendous power of American imperialism, the Vietnamese Communist Party prevailed. It succeeded in driving out the U.S. army and its Vietnamese collaborators. And unlike Nicaragua today, the Vietnamese Communists in Hanoi didn't have the indigenous capitalist ruling class in their country to promote rightist generals and form a fifth column and sabotage the ability of the Vietnamese to fight successfully against the U.S. army.

The middle-class lawyers and teachers who presently run the government in Nicaragua have a choice. And that choice is either to carry forward the revolution to its conclusion, to expropriate the bourgeoisie and consolidate the armed peasants and workers in the form of a non-capitalist government; or allowing the pro-capitalist elements to successfully sabotage and destroy that country in the light of an inevitable invasion by the "contras" and the U.S. army.

### Genocidal Bloodbath or Workers Revolution

It's revolution or death there. And in South Africa the choices are very similar. That's why I raised this example first tonight. Over the next 30 years there will be three critical possibilities that South Africa will face. In the short term, the Boer-centered government may succeed in its campaign of terror and prevail again and consolidate a Boer-centered apartheid dictatorship after a bloodbath which makes the present rate of killing look minor. In the long term, there's another possibility and that is the crushing of the Boer dictatorship throughout most of the regions of South Africa by a Zulu dictatorship which will repress black workers' unions and all non-Zulu tribal and racial groups.

There is a third alternative, the alternative that we want to see in South Africa. And that is the establishment of workers rule in South Africa that will destroy the apartheid system, expropriate the mines, the industries of South Africa, and unite ethnic groups including anti-apartheid whites and establish a planned economy that will raise South Africa's productive power to the height needed not only to liberate South Africa, but also to be a center of



Apartheid state of siege. But South African black workers have power to bury apartheid and establish their own rule.

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**SAN FRANCISCO**



revolution in southern Africa that will eliminate the chief cause of poverty, which is imperialist exploitation.

Today South Africa is a stage set for an eight-sided genocidal bloodbath. The major ethnic groups are the unarmed Zulus and the highly armed Boers, who are of course in the comfortable position of holding state power. Historically, there are two groups of English speakers, English nationals and non-English nationals. There are the Ndebele tribe, and also the Xhosa. And there are of course the populations of coloured and Indians.

Boer nationalists have no love for the English and this goes pretty far back in South African history. British rule at the time of colonization of South Africa was based on the model of British rule in India, which was to integrate some sections of the population into areas of government administration. The Boers were counterposed to that idea and as the British attempted to expand their control in southern Africa, a war broke out between the Boers, who were Dutch settlers, and the British. The Boer War lasted from 1899 to 1902, and while the British were militarily successful, the Boer population retained a majority inside the country. As the British attempted to institute voting for certain sections of the non-white population, they ran hard up against the Boers' conception of white supremacy. So there was a compromise, the South African Act of 1909, which instituted apartheid. The British won the war, but the Boers won the peace.

The group in South Africa which is caught right in the middle of this multi-sided genocide is the coloured population. They're highly educated and skilled. They're culturally Western. The Trotskyist movement in fact in the past had a significant number of followers

on the western side of the Drakensberg Mountains. This area is called the Orange Free State. It does not occupy substantial territory, but it represents some of the best land on both sides of those mountains. In fact the Drakensberg mountain range has plush areas on both sides, and the Boers can leave the rest of South Africa, which is largely desert, for the Zulus and other tribal groups, and attempt to survive in that area.

The ANC's politics of reform through a compromise with the South African businessmen is more than completely utopian. Because South Africa is one of capitalism's weakest links, its future can only be more and more despotic and violent government. The South African mines are the base of the South African economy. Without gold and diamonds there is no South African economy. The working class if it withheld its productive force would bring that economy entirely down. But right now it has a leadership which is tied to the ANC. Only a new leadership based on a revolutionary proletarian perspective, which can break the workers from their political support to the ANC, can enable the working class to succeed in revolutionary struggle against apartheid.

### Koch Is Reaganism in New York City

What I'd like to do is bring this question closer to home. Reagan's support to the government of South Africa is not really conditional on how much terror or how much repression that government is carrying through, but rather is based on the determination to consolidate the South African army and its supporters as a base, for example against the Cubans defending Angola. Which is consistent with what he is



WV Photo

**April 1980: Transit strikers march across Brooklyn Bridge. Break with racist strikebreaking Democratic Party! Build a workers party!**

when the car cut in front of his bus. He had no control, it was a tragedy. Racists in that city wanted to make this an issue because the bus driver was black and the people in the car were white. Even the families of the people who were killed did not want to see this issue dragged in the mud as a black vs. white race issue. But the cops and the pro-Klan elements inside the city administration wanted to make it a race issue, and started a campaign in the newspaper about how this bus driver was incompetent and had intended to murder the people in the car through sheer incompetence and through moving at a tremendous speed.

Well, transit workers in that union got fed up. And they went to their union leadership asking for action to defend this bus driver, who had been handcuffed to his hospital bed by the police! You know, he was also injured in this accident. Well, the union leadership, like the union leadership in this city, told those transit workers that there's nothing that could be done, and this is a non-union issue. Those transit workers did not accept that and mobilized independent of that leadership and in defiance of it. Five hundred strong, outside of police headquarters, they faced down the Chicago police, who are notoriously violent. They didn't dare attack this group of transit workers, because they represented the social force that could result in that city getting closed down. And so they won. The charges were dropped against the bus driver. The handcuffs were taken off.

Democratic Party liberals and their allies in this city have used protests against apartheid as really a cover-up. The latest wave of state terror in South Africa resulted in a demonstration outside the UN. A demonstration that was primarily led by black Democrats, but also contained a lot of militant workers and black people who consider apartheid as repulsive as racist terror in this country. But the leadership of that demonstration made no attempt to link up what Koch was doing in this city to what Botha was doing in South Africa. Koch got away with demonstrating in Washington as an anti-apartheid mili-

tant! And this lie which the black Democrats let Koch get away with allowed him to march boldly on Labor Day, along with contingents which had "End Apartheid" signs.

The message of Labor Day in this city was cover-up of race-terror in New York City. This message was not lost on Ku Klux Klan and Nazi fascist supporters and fascist-lovers. A few of them were actually seen at the Labor Day march carrying a Confederate flag, in the IBEW contingent. There'd better be no room for the Confederate flag anywhere in the labor movement. It will take a united struggle of black and white workers led by a vanguard party to smash the anti-union campaign that's going on in this country, and that means it's necessary to smash those same creeps with their swastikas and Confederate flags, because they represent anti-unionism, the ideology of race war and attempts to undercut any ability of the working class to unite and carry through a class-struggle victory.

So, in conclusion, I'd like to state that what we stand for in regard to the struggle against apartheid is what we stand for in regard to the struggle against capitalist oppression everywhere. South African labor can crush apartheid if it has a revolutionary party, a party that fights to place the class power of the working class at the head of a movement to smash apartheid, and smash the economic system which supports apartheid. Such a party would break through the bloody dead end of race war.

In New York City, like Chicago, transit workers must play a chief role to lead their union out of the dead end of being tied to the Democratic Party. Black people in this city can lead the way by breaking with the Democratic Party. The ANC's policy of collaboration with the ruling class in South Africa must be broken in order for the South African masses there to be successful. So we need a revolutionary party. We need a party that will smash apartheid, and smash the policies of apartheid, from Harlem to Soweto. We need to smash apartheid with workers revolution. ■



Laurie Bloomfield

**Inkatha, thugs of apartheid's sinister Zulu chief Buthelezi, commit anti-Asian pogroms in Durban.**

amongst the coloured population. And they're going to get it from both sides. They'll get it from the apartheid government as well as Zulus who follow chief Buthelezi, who have recently carried out pogroms against the Indian population.

What looms in South Africa as one of the major forces, as I mentioned before, is the black working class. The critical question for the South African working class, in terms of using its social power to overturn apartheid, is whether or not it can get the revolutionary leadership needed in order to lead it out of its present conditions of oppression. The coloured population stands as the primary source for providing this kind of leadership. The success or failure of the consolidation of a revolutionary party that will lead the South African working class to smash apartheid will determine whether there is going to be an eight-sided bloodbath, or whether there will be socialist revolution in South Africa.

Given the overwhelming power of the Boer nationalists, they are capable of forcing a bloody settlement, if the present conflict goes in the direction of a race war. In the long run, they could occupy the only plush area that exists in South Africa, and enforce that settlement with nuclear arms. The Boers already occupy much of the plush areas

trying to do internationally—prop up his anti-communist rightist terror forces.

Koch is to New York what Reagan is to the world and America. While Reagan is preparing to go to war against Nicaragua, Koch is carrying out a war against unions and minorities in this city. Very recently Dr. Elliot Gross's case has come to the forefront of public opinion, as one of the primary elements behind covering up the latest murders that have occurred. He is the one who gouged the eyes out of Michael Stewart in order to prevent the proof that Michael Stewart had in fact died because of being beaten and kicked by eleven cops. Elliot Gross has been compared by us to Dr. Mengele, who carried out sadistic experiments against concentration camp victims.

Michael Stewart was the son of a retired transit worker. And transit workers in this city have often been the targets of racist attack. Willie Turks was another example—the black transit worker who was beaten to death just outside his work shop in Gravesend, Brooklyn. Very recently there was a group of Chicago transit workers who demonstrated what transit workers in this city could do in defiance of their union leadership. A bus driver had accidentally killed seven people in a car,

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# ET: New Name, Same Game?

SAN FRANCISCO—As we were demonstrating against apartheid here on September 7, who should show up but the so-called External Tendency? But guess what—the ET is now the BT. Their placards were signed: "Bolshevik Tendency (formerly the External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency)." Well, as Max Shachtman reportedly quipped: "The smaller the group, the longer the name."

Regular readers of *WV* are familiar with the ETs, a cliquish clot of embittered white ex-members who individually quit the SL after losing their appetite for class struggle and revolution during the Reagan years. If the ET/BT had any claim to political coherence, which they don't, they might have dubbed themselves the MT—Menshevik Tendency. For insofar as they have a political profile it is rightist: slavishly conciliatory to the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy, worse than "colorblind" on the black question, recoiling from the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union, shot through with virulent, whining, philistine anti-Leninism (see "From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning," *WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984).

Overlaying the ET/BT's general Menshevik profile are certain grossly pathological deformations. Thus, this grouping evinces blood lust red in tooth and claw, albeit of a highly vicarious sort. A grotesque recent example is their position that the innocent victims of Reagan's anti-Soviet KAL 007 provocation got what they deserved. We said the Russians were right to shoot down what looked like a military aircraft; like the Russians, we deplored the loss of life and laid the responsibility at Reagan's door. The ET would like to see us reveling in death, the better to fulfill the self-justifying fantasies of anti-communists.

The ET professes to find "social patriotism" and a "flinch" behind the SL's refusal to hail pointless bloodshed

in Lebanon. When Reagan sent Marines into Beirut in a spectacularly disastrous move, and a bunch of those Marines got blown up, *WV* said "U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon. Now, Alive!" This was in deliberate counterposition to our response to the U.S. invasion of the tiny black island of Grenada, where we said "U.S. Out, Dead or Alive!" Unlike in Vietnam or Nicaragua, where there is a just cause to be supported and the U.S. is the military might on the wrong side, there is no progressive side in the present Lebanese quagmire. To this day nobody

indeed have a reverence for human life. Unlike pacifists of the Gandhian tradition, who preach nonviolence only to the oppressed and offer up martyrs in the thousands upon this altar, Marxists, as Isaac Deutscher pointed out, have "laid bare the roots of violence in our society, which the others have not done."

The ET's arguments are antithetical to a Bolshevik policy toward the armed forces. As we wrote in "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984), "For Marxists there is all



ET wasn't there when thousands of black unionists and youth rallied behind our leadership to face down KKK provocation in streets of Washington in 1982. ET has plenty of energy for lying attacks on SL, no stomach for revolutionary struggles in Reagan's America.

even knows who blew up those Marines! And now that four Russians have been kidnapped and maybe murdered by one or another of those shadowy communalist groups, is the ET going to happily hail this atrocity as another blow for the self-determination of the oppressed?

The ET said we'd gone soft on American imperialism and sneered that our Lebanon slogan represented our "latest application of some longstanding Gandhian-Trotskyist tradition of reverence for life." Here the ET betrays its philistinism and cynicism—Marxists do

the difference between the men in the field and those who sent them there to die." Thus during the thoroughly squalid Falklands/Malvinas war—where we advocated the defeat of both the Tory butchers and the Argentine military junta—we unequivocally denounced Margaret Thatcher's gratuitous sinking of the Argentine ship *General Belgrano*, which sent 360 sailors to their deaths. To whom were we selling out when we deplored this war crime by the perverse Iron Lady? If the ET/BT were to apply Occam's Razor to this puzzle, they could deduce that maybe we just don't believe in wanton killing.

The ET's bloodthirstiness is usually directly proportional to their physical distance from the political events in question. But there is one exception to this rule: they have shown a real commitment and appetite to get, to damage, to destroy the Spartacist League, by any means.

Not surprisingly, this has led them, as the saying goes, to lie down with dogs and get up with fleas. The ET has resorted to COINTELPRO-style provocation against us, has embraced fascist thugs, and has tried—through lies, insinuation and provocative behavior—to set us up for state harassment and worse. The flip side is their studied indifference to the victimization of our supporters by the bourgeoisie. Clearly not worried about the possibility of repression of the tiny ET, these renegades are marked by a cavalier disregard for and attempted sabotage of our struggle against witchhunting and state terror, exposing their professed orientation toward our ranks as utterly fraudulent.

Those who are guided by intense subjective malice as a political program are just asking to be someone's tool, witting or unwitting (sometimes both). Perhaps some ET/BT supporters tell themselves that their lying allegations of "violence" against the SL are "merely" in the service of the reformists and centrists of the popular-front swamp who need excuses to seek to exclude us and suppress our Trotskyist views. But applying the criterion *cui bono* (who benefits) to the ET/BT suggests answers ranging from the merely unsavory to the downright sinister.

So far, the ET has not made any public explanation of its name change. Originally they presented themselves in

purely organizational terms, i.e., "external" to the one organization on the planet that they conceded had a revolutionary program. During its three years of posturing as upholders of the banner of genuine Spartacism, the ET has managed to win not one single recruit from the SL. Even most of our ex-members have steered clear of this vicious lash-up. The ET's German cothinkers have urged them to seek greener pastures elsewhere; perhaps the newly incarnated American BT has had some offers from somebody seeking used-up anti-Trotskyists at bargain prices.

Consider the ET's odd behavior at the SL Central Committee plenum held over the summer. That meeting was attended by the vast majority of the SL membership, ostensibly the target of ET propaganda and recruitment efforts. Upon hearing that the ET had some materials to bring to our members' attention, and concerned to avoid screaming fights in the lobby of the hotel, we urged the ET to get a room and said we'd direct interested comrades there between plenum sessions. The ET got a room, we announced it in our opening session, but when comrades headed over during the lunch break... the ET had already packed up and left! They did not return. The explanation that offers itself is that the ET is utterly demoralized and/or that their reasons for turning up at our plenum were other than to distribute literature and engage our members in polemics.

Now enter the Bolshevik Tendency. Tendency of what? Tendency to what? Presumably we will be informed in due course. But we suspect it's a change in the name to better play the ET's game: get the SL. The ET anti-Spartacists for hire may have found their original name a liability with the "left" betrayers they associate with. It reminds us of a cartoon from the sixties, which shows police beating bystanders at an antiwar demonstration. One cop is beating a respectable-looking citizen who protests. "But officer, I'm an anti-Communist!" The cop replies, "I don't care what kind of Communist you are" and continues to club his victim. The ET's popular-frontist friends' response to the word "Spartacist" is like the devil's to holy water.

So what is the ET, rechristened BT, up to? Rumors abound that they are playing footsie, at least, with the local henchmen of one Nahuel Moreno, Argentine adventurer supreme, whom we sincerely urge widows and orphans not to entrust their life savings to. We use the plural "henchmen" advisedly, as the two wings of the Morenoites in the U.S. are at each other's throats. Said ET persons overwhelmingly quit the SL of their own will, which they claim was not free (a couple were expelled for individual malfeasance, and we would only wish them on our worst enemies, which may be coming to pass). To these birds we say, have a good time in Nahuel Town, and perhaps the Peace and Freedom Party. And a word to those seeking anti-Spartacists for hire: *caveat emptor*—let the buyer beware! ■

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### CORRECTIONS

Our article "The Soccer Wars" (*WV* No. 381, 14 June) on the bloody carnage at the Brussels European Cup match incorrectly referred to the Italian team as the Milano Juventus; the Juventus are the Torino team.

In *WV* No. 382 (28 June) our article on the pope plot trial gave the date of a meeting between assassin Ali Agca and the deputy chief of Italian military intelligence as March 1981; it should have read March 1982. And the amount of funds missing from the Vatican-controlled subsidiaries of Banco Ambrosiano was not \$4 billion, but \$1.4 billion.



# Farrakhan...

(continued from page 5)

expectations with their optimism about what that politics can accomplish but they cannot deliver the goods.... In short, local black leaders are ready targets for black rage."

They might consider the fate of black collaborators of the apartheid regime. So these black misleaders alternately woo and gently "criticize" their brother Farrakhan—because they need his demagoguery to block integrated working-class-led struggle for black liberation.

## Provoking Race War

Louis Farrakhan is an enemy of black people not only because he ties them to the Democratic Party of Mondale, Ed Koch and George Wallace. As we wrote during the Jackson campaign, Farrakhan is dangerous precisely because "his rhetoric of race war can be exploited by the KKK-backed Reaganites to incite race-terror. Remember the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in which five anti-racist militants and leftists were gunned down by the Klan and Nazis (accompanied by government agents) in broad daylight! All-white juries have repeatedly freed these fascist killers, thereby providing legal sanction to racist murder. At bottom, Farrakhan has only his mouth while the white Hitler-lovers have the guns and friends in high places" (*WV* No. 355, 25 May 1984).

When Farrakhan spoke in L.A., the Jewish establishment raised a hue and cry and were joined by the Nazis backed up by their friends in high places, like California governor Deukmejian. When these "notables" attack Farrakhan for racism and bigotry, it is revolting hypocrisy. Where was the outcry when Orange County cops shot little Patrick Mason to death in his home? Where was the outcry when L.A. cops shot pregnant Delois Young, a black woman, in the stomach at her front door, causing her to lose her baby?

And while these "democratic" hypocrites were condemning Farrakhan, the Nazi scum were outside the Forum spreading their genocidal

message for blacks, Jews, Latins and all the oppressed. Powerful integrated labor/minority mobilizations should have swept these fascists off the streets! But the criminal policies of labor fakery, BEOs and Jewish leaders emboldened the Nazis to parade at a place where 15,000 blacks were gathered. The audience in the Inglewood Forum was being set up for slaughter. While Farrakhan was peddling toothpaste and detergent inside, thousands of blacks were being hog-tied in the face of the fascist threat on the outside.

Malcolm X—though he never found the class-struggle road to black liberation, the program of revolutionary integrationism—recognized the role of the Nation of Islam in hog-tying the black masses. In January 1965, Malcolm sent a telegram to George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party: "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and...that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation" (*Malcolm X Speaks*).

The racist mobilization provoked by Farrakhan in L.A. is small potatoes compared to what could happen in New York City. Los Angeles' black mayor Bradley is a semi-ally of the nationalist demagogue. But New York's Ed Koch is the closest thing to a Jewish fascist in this country, and he holds a piece of state power. He is whipping up a frenzy over Farrakhan's scheduled appearance at Madison Square Garden. Between them, the anti-Semitic demagogue and the Zionist pig are threatening to bring the murderous bloodletting of Beirut to the streets of New York.

For Koch to denounce Farrakhan for "racism and religious bigotry" is like Adolf Hitler denouncing ultra-Zionist leader Jabotinsky for the same. Koch's cops treat black and Hispanic youth like they were West Bank Palestinians. And on Koch's right flank stand the fascist Jewish Defense League, formed by Meir Kahane (a.k.a. Michael King) in the late 1960s. The JDL's first targets, before it started terrorizing Soviet diplomats, were black nationalist activists and



UPI  
**Democrats' "Rainbow Coalition": Jesse Jackson gladhands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace in 1983.**

white New Left radicals. In a city with over two million Jews, Farrakhan's shrill anti-Semitism could provide the JDL with a mass base for race war. And in a race war in this country, blacks will lose. It will be pretty ugly for Jews too.

Black America is under attack, and Louis Farrakhan is giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Not only did he in the 1984 Democratic Party primaries stump for Jesse Jackson, who then stumped for Mondale; following Mondale's defeat, Farrakhan announced he was "happy Mr. Reagan won," cheering the slashing of welfare and social programs for blacks as an opportunity to "prove that black people can make it without a handout" (*Chicago Tribune*, 12 November 1984). And now the sinister minister Farrakhan is openly allying with fascists, namely California KKK leader (and former Democratic senatorial candidate) Tom Metzger.

According to the *Washington Times* (30 September), mouthpiece of Sun Myung Moon's ultraright political-religious cult, Grand Dragon Metzger was one of ten members of a "White American Political Association" personally invited by Farrakhan to attend the L.A. rally. Metzger's outfit, also known as the White American Resistance, or WAR, made a cash donation

to Farrakhan as "a gesture of understanding." "They want their own government and their own territory and that's exactly what we want for them and for ourselves.... They speak out against the Jews and the oppressors in Washington," Metzger was quoted as saying.

## When the Fascists Were Driven Off the Streets

Since the destruction of the Black Panther Party in the early 1970s, the most significant break in the cycle of defeat, bullshit and run-around for black people in America was the powerful Labor/Black Mobilization against the Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Initiated by the Spartacist League, this mass action brought out more than 5,000 black workers and youth, stopping the KKK lynchers from marching in the nation's capital. This was one of the few occasions in recent years where blacks were not on their knees. And the Marion Barrys, Jesse Jacksons and Louis Farrakhans were nowhere to be seen.

Ex-civil rights leader Marion Barry, now the Democratic mayor of Washington, had insisted along with Reagan's Department of Injustice that the racist terrorists should be allowed to march. But thousands were lined up at the foot of Capitol Hill to make sure the cross-burners would not terrorize D.C. "One, two, three, four—it's time to finish the Civil War!" the crowd chanted as they marched the route the KKKers had threatened to take. It was a day that black people could be black and proud, because with the red leadership of the SL they fought back and defeated those who would exterminate them.

The Spartacists are the champions of black freedom in this country, because our program for world socialist revolution is the only road to black liberation. It's high time for the working people and oppressed to take up the fight for a workers government that will put an end to this rotting, racist system, sweeping aside its defenders no matter what color of the rainbow they reflect. For labor/black defense against racist terror! Build a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party! ■

# Campaign...

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two-year struggle to expose the truth about the murder of her son.

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On September 26, Spartacist supporters picketed jointly with the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee outside the state appellate court at 25th and Madison. The appeals court was hearing a demand for reinstatement of criminal charges against Stephen Sullivan, the Emergency Services Unit cop who "evicted" the black grandmother from her Bronx apartment last November by blasting her with a double-barreled shotgun. The dozen protesters chanted, "Remember Eleanor Bumpurs—Stop the Killer Cops!"

The D.A.'s office, of course, accepts the cops' racist lie that an infirm grandmother was a physical "threat" to the police who kicked in her door. In court, the "prosecution" noted Sullivan's record as a "hero" cop and apologized, "Sometimes our heroes make mistakes." Sullivan, he argued, should be charged with "reckless manslaughter"—his "mistake" was only in firing the second blast which hit Mrs. Bumpurs in the chest, *after* the first shot had blown off her hand. Cop Sullivan's lawyer said there should be no charges, since the blast was not "reckless" but intentional. "This shooting came within police department guidelines," he emphasized.

Koch said the same when 10,000 armed cops surrounded the Bronx courthouse last February, demanding the charges against Sullivan be dropped.

Of course racist murder *is* standard operating procedure in the NYPD. So a compliant judge threw the charges out of court. The Spartacist campaign says that organized labor should be leading tens of thousands of workers in action to smash the racist terror in the streets and ghettos of New York. ■

## Fascist Attacks...

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individual. But as a spokesman of the Humanist Party pointed out: "It's a result of the political climate of the Reagan administration." Racist terrorists are emboldened when black babies are firebombed and murdered in Philadelphia, when Reagan puts flowers on Nazi SS graves. Abortion clinic bombers are officially certified as *not* terrorist by the FBI, and federal agents serve as Klan/Nazi triggermen, as in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The SFPD wondered that a small group of harmless "peace" types like the Humanist Party would be a target of the anti-Semitic bomber. Why? The Reaganites have made "secular humanism" a dirty word. The Senate voted to ban expending educational funds on it. For the New Right secular humanism is a godless conspiracy, a popular front of bleeding-heart liberals, socialists and communists who want to subvert the U.S.A. by opposing bombings, maimings and witch burnings.

But it's not just Reagan who emboldens the racist terrorists. The Democrats won't stop the fascists any more than the Republicans. They want

to maintain these crazed, Soviet-hating shock troops as a reserve to terrorize blacks and unions when "legal" means aren't enough. For "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein it's the chickens coming home to roost. In April 1980 Feinstein insisted that the Nazis had the "right" to celebrate Hitler's birthday at the Civic Center; only a 1,500-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the SL kept the Nazi vermin off the streets.

Last year the San Francisco mayor insisted the Confederate flag be flown in the Civic Center, until we tore down the banner of slavery for good. And it was Feinstein who belittled the cop display of the swastika. If the thugs in blue and fascists in white sheets think they've got a green light to terrorize blacks and Jews it's hardly surprising. Anyone who thinks Feinstein is going to clean up the fascist scum is rendering himself defenseless. It will take determined labor-centered anti-racist defense guards to crush the racist terror attacks. ■

## Spartacist Party Campaign Needs \$\$\$

The Spartacist Party Election Campaign Needs \$\$\$! Wall Street, the slumlords and kill-crazy cops gave racist mayor Koch a "war chest" of over \$5 million to "finish the job" on New York's working class and minorities. The working people's candidates, Stamberg and Kartsen, depend on your contributions to get out the Spartacist program of mobilizing New York's labor and minorities to "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Smash Racist Cop Terror!"

Election law requires reporting names of people who contribute over \$99. So because our party does not

disclose names of individual contributors, we will not accept donations over \$99 from individuals. Trade unions and other organizations, however, are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

If you want to fight Koch/Reagan reaction, get involved! Send your contributions to: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. And stop by our campaign headquarters at 41 Warren Street in lower Manhattan, Monday through Thursday, 5-8 p.m. or Saturday, 1-5 p.m., or call (212) 267-1025.

## South Africa: Razor's Edge

- Reagan/Congress Sanctions Are a Cover-Up!
- Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Ed Clarkson  
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 12, 7:30 p.m.  
Gold Room, Blackstone Hotel  
636 South Michigan Ave.

For more information: (312) 663-0715

**CHICAGO**



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Fascist Bomb Attacks Against Jews, Secular Humanists in S.F.

# For Labor/Minority Defense Against Nazi Nightriders!

SAN FRANCISCO—Less than a month after cops here brazenly displayed a Nazi swastika in a police van while “patrolling” an anti-apartheid demonstration, a fascist terrorist placed bombs at the offices of a small liberal political organization, a synagogue and the home of a rabbi.

Shortly after midnight on September 16, a bomb wrapped in anti-Semitic leaflets exploded at the offices of the Humanist Party, blowing off the door and shattering windows in nearby buildings. Fortunately the two party workers inside were not injured. The following morning a pipe bomb was found fastened to the door of a synagogue school at Congregation Beth Shalom in the city's Richmond district.

The six-inch long, two-inch diameter fragmentation grenade was intended to kill and maim. It was planted on the first day of Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, when hundreds of worshippers were gathered, including a large number of children. Later that day another bomb was found and dismantled at the San Francisco home of Rabbi Jacob Traub.

After the bombings the fanatic right-wing Zionist Jewish Defense League (JDL) offered to provide patrols to prevent further attacks. The SFPD and liberal Jewish organizations were aghast, seeking instead to promote confidence in the police—the same cops who only a few weeks before flaunted a Nazi poster at a demonstration against the execution of South African militant Benjamin Moloise. The SF “swastika” cops are going to protect Jews against terrorist attack?!

The Spartacist League says anti-racist

labor-centered defense guards drawn from all those on the fascists' deadly hit lists are urgently necessary to stop this murderous anti-Semitic nightriding. In 1976 racists repeatedly firebombed the home of black International Harvester worker C.B. Dennis, a member of the UAW, when he attempted to move into a white suburb of Chicago. The cops did nothing to stop the terrorists. But SL supporters and other militants in the UAW initiated a union-sponsored defense guard outside Dennis' home. It was not bombed again.

The latest bombings are part of an escalation of rightist terror attacks in San Francisco. In November 1984 a Holocaust memorial in Lincoln Park was desecrated. Last May a bomb was discovered in a classroom in the School of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University shortly before a black history class was to meet in that room. That same month the offices of rock impresario Bill Graham were destroyed by a firebomb just after he led a protest against Reagan's trip to Bitburg to salute Nazi stormtroopers. In July, a bomb was left hanging on the door of the Congregation Adath Israel synagogue.

Repeated police “investigations” resulted in nothing. But this time Mayor Feinstein and the cops were embarrassed. The firebombing spree got wide press coverage, following the August newspaper and television accounts of the cops' swastika, exposed and publicized by the SL. Suddenly a cop remembered that all of these attempted bombings bore a striking resemblance to a case he had worked on in 1980, when a rightist thug, Coy Ray Phelps,



Knowland/Oakland Tribune

May 1985: After anti-Nazi rock promoter Bill Graham protested Reagan's salute to Hitler's SS at Bitburg, fascists firebombed Graham's office.

had used the same kind of pipe bombs with egg timers as detonators.

Phelps has now been charged for four of the bombings, including the SF State attempt. This scum has a track record a mile long: his arrest in 1980 followed an investigation of a death-threat telephone service which agitated callers to “kill niggers and white traitors.” He now claims to be the head of a virulently anti-Semitic, anti-black, violence-mongering organization called the “Holy Brotherhood Church.” Publications of the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations Church and other racist filth were found in his garage.

Phelps claims to have been “unem-

ployed” for 26 years (!), yet had enough extra cash to print and distribute fascist literature, manufacture bombs and cart them around in his van. He had an arrest record, but was always released. How did he support himself and stay out of jail? We are reminded of Gary Rowe, the killer of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo, and other informer/provocateur types used by secret police agencies of the capitalist state.

The FBI, of course, says they believe Phelps acted alone. In cases like this, especially where there is widespread outrage, the state always tries to prove that these are the acts of a single sick

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## Nassau D.A. Marches with “Right-to-Life” Bigots

# Defend Abortion Rights!

*The following press release was issued September 16 by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee.*

On Saturday, September 14 “right to life” bigots targeted the Bill Baird abortion clinic in Hempstead, Long Island, intimidating women patients inside with ghoulish effigies and cries of “Murder, Inc.” and “butchered babies.” Ominously, Nassau County D.A. Dennis Dillon was leading the protest, even as Baird was reporting death threats and calls that “this building will be firebombed before the day is out.” The

Spartacist candidates today denounced this outrage, saying: “Abortion is supposed to be legal in this country. D.A. Dillon's presence on the picket line offers open solidarity of the state with the anti-abortion terrorists.”

Marjorie Stamberg, candidate for mayor, said: “From D.A. Dillon to the NYPD ‘off duty’ cop who attacked and arrested a woman outside a Brooklyn abortion clinic last March, this official state terror against working people and minorities must be stopped! In scores of firebombings and hundreds of other attacks on abortion clinics, it is pure

chance that no one has yet been killed. But death is written all over the ‘right to life’ campaign of terror, as vicious reactionaries seek to drive working-class and poor women back to the rusty coat hangers in the back alleys.”

Ed Kartsen, candidate for Manhattan borough president, noted, “The anti-abortion terrorists have felt the wind in their sails and the nod of approval from the White House. It is no accident that the fanatics who seek to roll back women's rights are the same vicious racists who would drive blacks back to slavery, like Ku Klux Klansman John

Burt, convicted bomber of the Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic.”

These are no hollow threats against Bill Baird, pioneering advocate of abortion rights. Six years ago, Baird's clinic was firebombed with 50 women inside. Yet D.A. Dillon let off the murderous arsonist with a ludicrous seven months in a mental hospital! Baird's clinic in Hempstead was the first in the country. It was in large part due to his militant efforts that the right to abortion became a national issue in the 1970s. Baird has been shot at, beat up, spat on, arrested and jailed eight times by his count.

Stamberg pointed out: “Of course, it's never the wives, daughters and mistresses of the rich men who rule this country who suffer—they've always been able to get their abortions, whether legal or not, in plush privacy with every consideration. No, poor, young teenagers and working-class women are most hurt by this violent reactionary offensive. Free safe abortion on demand is a desperately needed fundamental right.” ■