

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!



Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants

Nikitin/AP



Der Spiegel

Racist cop terror enforces all-sided assault on working people, immigrants and minorities.

Break with the Democrats— For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the lead-up to the November presidential election, the Democrats and Republicans have been engaged in a grotesque competition over which party can be most vicious in attacking black people and immigrants. Last week, Democratic president Clinton signed yet another anti-immigrant bill that puts up barriers to refugees seeking asylum and

denies legal redress in the courts against arbitrary roundups and deportations by the hated *migra* cops of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). This new racist measure comes hard on the heels of last spring's "counter-terrorism" law, which vastly expands the racist death penalty and mandates draconian new restrictions on the rights of all non-

citizens, and the anti-welfare bill, which consigns millions of women and children to homelessness and starvation and denies food stamps and other social benefits to immigrants.

A march has been called for October 12 in Washington, D.C. to "defend immigrant rights." But the sponsors of this demonstration have made it clear that

they intend this march to be a vehicle not for opposing the *hipartisan* assault on immigrants but rather for mobilizing votes for the Democratic Party "lesser evil." Coordinadora 96, which initiated the protest, declared that the purpose of the march is to "get out the vote for November 5th." Instead of forthrightly

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Veronica Jones, jailed for telling the truth.

Sabo's Court: Racist Capitalist "Justice" in Action Key Witness for Mumia Abu-Jamal Arrested on the Stand

Free Mumia Now!

For the many thousands around the world who rallied to stop the execution of black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal last year, his continuing persecution by the cops and courts has been an object lesson in the racist American "justice" system. The capitalist state's intent to silence Mumia and his supporters and to kill this fighter against racism and oppression was demonstrated again last week in the Philadelphia court of "hanging judge" Albert Saho, who presided over Jamal's 1982 frame-up "trial" and death sentence.

In a supplemental evidentiary hearing on October 1 ordered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Veronica Jones, an eyewitness in the 1981 shooting of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner for which Jamal was falsely convicted, gave powerful testimony pointing to Jamal's innocence. In retaliation, in front of scores of Jamal's supporters who had filled the courtroom, Jones was dragged from the

witness stand and taken to jail. Jones, a black mother of three, had taken the stand to testify that in 1982 she was coerced by police to retract

her eyewitness account of having seen two men run from the scene of Faulkner's shooting while Jamal lay wounded on the ground. After two hours of browbeating Jones, Assistant District Attorney Arlene Fisk declared, "I'm promising to lock you up." Moments later, Jones, while under oath, was placed under arrest for an outstanding bench warrant issued more than

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Again on Norden: Truth, Lies and Centrism

September 28, 1996

Dear Comrades,

I am sending to you the copy of a letter I am mailing to Norden's Internationalist Group. They contacted me a few weeks ago, and have been aggressive in trying to "recruit" me. I must say, as the accompanying letter details, that I have reason to be dismayed by your recent actions regarding their expulsion and your split from the Brazilian group. Nevertheless, I find that there is good coin in your concern over the opportunist appetites of this group. It is very unfortunate

that this battle did not take place in the party. Could it be that the party leadership was too afraid of the numbers Norden et al. would take with them after a bitter factional fight? If I were in the party leadership (a very presumptuous thought on my part, I know) I would have said "so be it." Such a loss, though draining in a long slow period of seeming capitalist ascendancy, would have been salutary for those who remained and most importantly, would have clarified things much better for the long-time fence-sitters like myself. In any case, a fuller presentation of my case is enclosed

(the copy of my letter to the Internationalist Group).

Fraternally,
Jeff K.

former member of the Bay Area, Detroit and Los Angeles locals

September 28, 1996

Internationalist Group

Dear Norden, Stamberg, & Negrete,

I am sending you a check for \$20. Eight dollars should cover the cost of the bulletin you mailed me. Two dollars is for the copy of *Vanguardia Operaria*, and another \$10 is a small contribution to help offset the cost of phone calls from Negrete to myself. It is partly due to these conversations with Negrete, and no doubt to his dismay, that I have been forced to think hard regarding my reactions to the recent fight/expulsion/split in the SL.

There are two reasons why I am not sending you more money at this time. One, as I explained to Negrete, I make very little money, as I am still in the last months of a years long training program. And two, and more substantively, I am not sure, upon considerable reflection, to what degree I am in political sympathy with your current. While I disagree with your bureaucratic expulsion from the SL, and am appalled at the treatment of Socorro outside a recent SL forum, I have recently come to have serious doubts about where you are politically headed. While I do not agree with the SL, recent perusal of your literature leaves me in some doubt as to where your group is politically headed. (In particular, recent defense leaflets by your group seemed to have an opportunist slant, e.g., the 9/22 leaflet which demands that "The courts must cease their intervention in the union and their attempt to block Ribeiro etc.") This formulation without anywhere in the leaflet stating that you have no faith in the courts, the bourgeois state, etc.) In short, I share some of the SL's cautions regarding your centrist appetites (without sharing their final formulation of yourselves as new order Pabloites). In addition, I share your doubts about the SL's political direction.

At this time, I believe the SL has degenerated under the pressure of the world historic defeat of the deformed and degenerated Soviet and Soviet-allied workers states into two unstable, centrist-tending components. Neither component, the SL or the Internationalist Group, will remain where it is for long, politically speaking. I do not pretend to know either

in which direction either is headed. I do not share Negrete's view, and I assume that of the whole group, that the SL is dead for the revolution in Latin America, and by implication, everywhere. On the other hand, I do not share the new SL regime's bureaucratic outlook, and blame the current muddy waters on their own organizational insecurity, stemming from centrist wobbling. (As an example of proto-centrism, I ask, along with the IG, why the SL has buried for so long an emphasis upon the transitional program.)

It is a very undialectical and unMarxist view to believe that in reality an organization is one day revolutionary and the next day centrist or reformist. The turn from quantitative change to qualitative change is not a magical one which transforms essences, but in historical terms is usually worked out over fairly long stretches of time¹. The SL abandonment of the Brazilian group, which seems to have been precipitous and wrong, was not equivalent to a Trotsky-like declaration of organizational and political Thermidor, as the Internationalist Group seems to maintain. Nevertheless, the Brazilian events, the SL confusion in the aftermath of the fall of East Germany and the USSR, and the frenzy to find scapegoats within the party and resort to overly bureaucratic measures is a serious sign of danger in what was formerly, and still may be, the only seriously revolutionary international organization on the current world scene.

I am, I am afraid, too far from much of these events, to be able to accurately and convincingly understand what is going on. I do not, however, wish to have any more organizational contact with either the SL or the IG at this time. I have not actually been politically active for a number of years, especially since I resigned from the SL for personal reasons over ten years ago. In reality, I am probably representative of a large amorphous circle of long-time, interested SL supporters, who follow the party press, and contribute small sums of money now and then, either to the SL, the PDC, or PDC-supported causes. The recent expulsions of Norden, Negrete, Stamberg and Socorro, have shaken me, and to be honest, have made me wary of turning toward a greater degree of political commitment at this time. And yet—strange contradiction—I remain in formal agreement with the program of revolutionary

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¹ I have thought over these matters for a long time in the process of my own work researching the development of Charles Darwin's thought. Darwin's own decades-long study of species, hybridism, and transitional forms of plants has convinced me that the change from one form to another is usually longer, more complex, and historically conditioned than the classic dialectics example of water transformed into steam at the boiling point.



TROTSKY

On the Revolutionary Press

Marking 25 years of Workers Vanguard, we reprint below an excerpt from a November 1958 speech by James P. Cannon on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Militant, the paper of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. Weakened by, among other things, its isolation during the Cold War, by the mid-1960s the SWP had degenerated into reformism. This departure from Trotskyism was fought by the Revolutionary Tendency, the precursor of the

Spartacist League, which was expelled from the SWP in 1963. Workers Vanguard has been guided by the principles Cannon laid out for the revolutionary press since its inception in 1971. For most of that time, Jan Norden served as editor of our paper. Uniquely on the left, we continue to make available bound volumes of all the back issues of WV. Just as Cannon pointed, with rightful pride, to the crucial role of the American-based Militant in extending the Trotskyist movement internationally, so Workers Vanguard has been central to the development of the International Communist League and its struggle to reforge the Fourth International.

We did not pretend, when we started *The Militant*, that we were producing a great mass paper, simplifying everything to the lowest common denominator. On the contrary, our paper was devoted to the education and reeducation of the vanguard militants of the Communist movement. It was primarily a cadre paper, the educator and guide of the cadres. The people who hold the party together and keep it going in all kinds of weather. The people who never quit, who never float down the stream like dead fish, but swim against the current no matter how rough it may be. That is the meaning of "militant," and that was the meaning of the paper we started to represent such people.

We had learned a good deal by then, although we have learned a great deal more since, and were applying something from Lenin's program for *Iskra*. Many of you have read in his great pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?*, what he considered to be the role of a national paper. As Lenin conceived it, the role of a revolutionary paper is to function not merely as an agitator dealing with protest issues, not merely as a propagandist concerned with educating people and dealing with questions of theory and politics, but as the best organizer of the party....

From its first issue *The Militant* was an internationalist paper. It has always been concerned with the great problems of the world, and has done all it could to help the world movement of revolutionary socialism. It was through *The Militant*—and in this we take special pride—that the message of the Russian Opposition was carried to all corners of the world and even penetrated the Soviet Union itself.

In Europe, Latin America and Africa, Ceylon, India, China, and many other parts of the world, the message of *The Militant* sparked and inspired the organization of the first cadres of the International Left Opposition, so that when Trotsky, six months later, was deported to Turkey, he found a forum all ready for him in *The Militant*, and groups and organizations springing up throughout the world very largely as the result of the preliminary message of *The Militant*.

— "Revolutionary Journalism," *Speeches for Socialism* (1969)

WORKERS VANGUARD



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Nation of Islam: Bodyguards for Hitler Apologist David Irving

Oakland, CA
1 October 1996

To the Editor:

Workers Vanguard has repeatedly warned that Louis Farrakhan is bad news for black people [see, for example, "Louis Farrakhan: Apologist for Slavery in Sudan," WV No. 651, 13 September]. Just how bad was demonstrated recently here in Oakland, California, where about 43 percent of the population is black and another 28 percent is Latino and Asian. Many black people settled in Oakland during and after World War II, moving here from the Deep South to work in the Richmond shipyards and other industries. Many black families had firsthand experience with the night-riding Ku Klux Klan race-terrorists. So if the hooded Klansmen ever tried to have a rally in downtown Oakland, you can bet they wouldn't last five minutes.

But no less of a racist provocation occurred here on the night of September 10, when one of the world's most notorious Hitler-loving Nazi organizers and propagandists, named David Irving, slipped into downtown Oakland to give

by all the people—many of them trade-union members—who would be the intended victims of this dangerous racist? The answer is that *Irving's meeting took place in cooperation with and under the protection of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam (NOI)* on the basis of their shared program of Jew-baiting anti-Semitism!

The time and location of the meeting was kept secret until the day it occurred, when an ad appeared in the *Daily Californian* at the University of California-Berkeley. On site at 24th Street and Telegraph Avenue, six of the NOI's Fruit of Islam (FOI) stood guard at the front door of the hall where Irving spewed his anti-Semitic filth. Other members of FOI security stood on nearby street corners with communications devices and more were seen going into the meeting. Oakland police also mobilized to guarantee Irving a platform. A racist white-supremacist like Irving should have been run out of Oakland. The fact that instead he had the protection of the Nation of Islam is a condemnation of Farrakhan's program of black separatism, which puts the NOI in a bloc with racist segregation-

as *Untermenschen* ("sub-humans") were gassed in Hitler's concentration camps. He is the star attraction at meetings of European fascist terror gangs which have carried out murderous campaigns against dark-skinned immigrants and Jews: the British National Party, the Hitlerite "Nationale Offensive" in Germany, the white-supremacist Heritage Front in Canada.

Irving has twice been denied a platform by militant demonstrations here in the Bay Area for his fascist recruitment meetings. In October 1994, an integrated protest of 300 students, leftists and workers initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club broke up a fascist rally outside UC Berkeley. Irving was reportedly flattened on the floor, sprawled amongst his Nazi paraphernalia. In February 1995, the grotesquely misnamed "UC Berkeley Free Speech Coalition," a front group of anti-Semitic, gay-baiting, racist Islamic fundamentalists, organized a second provocation on campus with UC administration support. This time Irving's intended meeting site was surrounded by a spirited 400-strong demonstration that stopped the Hitlerites from daring to enter the building.

Humiliated, Irving and his cohorts have been probing for a way to get a foothold in the Bay Area. It is an outrage that Irving was given this opportunity under the auspices of Farrakhan and the Fruit of Islam, thus setting up a potential scenario of integrated anti-racist demonstrators clashing with black nationalist security squads protecting the meeting of a white-supremacist in heavily black Oakland.

This is not the first time the Nation of Islam has joined with fascists. In 1961, Elijah Muhammad invited a delegation from the American Nazi Party to an NOI convention. In 1985, Farrakhan invited California Klan leader Tom Metzger to an NOI rally in L.A. and accepted a \$100 donation from this racist terrorist! Farrakhan also recalls with nostalgia the Jim Crow era: "When civil rights broke down the segregation laws we began to lose black businesses and spend our money with white businesses. So throughout the South the economic advancement that we gained under Jim Crow is literally dead" (*Emerge*, August 1990). The Farrakhanites use anti-Jewish, anti-Arab or anti-Korean bigotry to create scapegoats and divert black people away from the struggle for equality. For the Farrakhanites, their program for black capitalism requires the continued existence of segre-

gated black ghettos to guarantee a market for blacks exploiting blacks.

In this period of open racist reaction, a racial demagogue like Farrakhan gets a certain hearing among black workers and youth because he appears to be anti-racist. But as the NOI's defense of the notorious racist David Irving shows, this "leadership" is based on smoke and mirrors, designed to conceal its reactionary accommodation to the racist capitalist exploiters.

The acceptance of separatism has historically meant accommodation to oppression and renunciation of struggle.



Eve Arnold

Nation of Islam invited American Nazi Party delegation to 1961 convention.

The separatist doctrine is the cover for the black nationalist misleaders' program of peace with the racist ruling class. In fact, the fundamental truth of the race question is that the interests of the working class and those of blacks—an oppressed race-color caste—are not antagonistic but go hand in hand.

As an oppressed racial minority, blacks find a driving force in their struggle for emancipation in the demand for full equality, the right to complete integration and assimilation into American life. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black Leagues fight to mobilize the working class on the program of revolutionary integrationism—complete social, political and economic equality in an egalitarian, socialist society. Achieving that goal requires the building of a multiracial, revolutionary vanguard party which can lead the multiracial working class to the seizure of state power. The road to black freedom lies here—in proletarian emancipation, the building of a society in which those who labor rule!

Comradely,
Deborah Maguire



Young Spartacus

When David Irving tried to speak in Berkeley in October 1994, militant protest initiated by Spartacus Youth Club broke up his fascist rally.

an organizing speech titled, "Freedom of Speech and Adolf Hitler's Final Solution Finally Solved"! His presence here was an insult and a threat not only to the majority black, Latino and Asian population, but to every person who hates racism and fascism. How could this have happened without a massive mobilization

ists and violent terrorists like the KKK and Nazis, since they all believe in the "separation of the races."

This British fascist Irving seeks to use "academic" credentials to deny that six million Jews, and hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, homosexuals, Catholics, communists and others designated

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Young Spartacus

Fascist Duke Spews Racist Filth at Cal State Northridge

David "Klan in a suit" Duke, flanked by armed campus cops, strode into the Student Union at Cal State Northridge (CSUN) on September 25 to engage in a "debate" on affirmative action with black civil rights activist Joe Hicks. Liberal student bureaucrats, many of them minorities, had invited the fascist Duke in the hopes of discrediting the right-wing forces behind the racist, misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative" (CCRI—Proposition 209 on November's ballot), which is designed to dismantle affirmative action programs. This sui-

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Duke Demonstrators!

dal "electoral tactic" has given Duke both the mainstream "respectability" he craves as well as a national platform to recruit to his program of lynch-mob terror.

In the weeks before the debate, Duke spewed obscene racist filth on radio and TV talk shows throughout California. And while he continued to agitate for race-terror from the "debate" platform, with armed cops on both sides of the stage to prevent any disruption, nearly 200 LAPD and state university cops maced and beat protesters outside, six of whom were arrested. Drop the charges against the anti-fascist demonstrators!

There is nothing "ex-Klan" about David Duke, who highlighted his Klan history in the bio provided for his introduction before the debate. A known Nazi as a youth, KKK Grand Wizard in the 1970s and current head of the "National Association for the Advancement of White People" (NAAWP), Duke's active role as a racist terrorist cannot be disguised by donning pinstripes. Duke seeks to sow his seeds of fascism in the fertile ground tilled by the Democrats' and Republicans' savage gutting of welfare and all-sided attacks on immigrants, which have left millions of blacks, Latinos and the poor in desperate need of the basic means of survival—food, housing and medical care.

With the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 already passed in California, and the local Democrats and Republicans vying with each other in proposals to further militarize the border, Duke thinks he has an audience for his brand of raw nativist race-terror. "I don't want California to

Savage Cop Attack on Anti-Racist Protesters



Kevin Eng

Riot cops assault anti-Duke protesters at Cal State Northridge, September 25, to prevent "disruption" as Klansman Duke agitated for race-terror.

look like Mexico," he railed on one talk show. "I don't want to have their pollution. I don't want the corruption. I don't want their disease." Duke left no doubt that he represented a deadly threat to the multiracial working class of California, ending his Northridge presentation with a steely-eyed stare into the TV cameras and a call to action for whites to join the battle "for their civil rights" lest they become "second-class citizens in their own country."

What an obscenity that Duke was given a platform on this heavily minority campus 30 miles northwest of downtown L.A., with the area's powerful multiracial proletariat including tens of thousands of militant Latino workers. It is only due to the utter prostration of the current trade-union leaders, who loathe social struggle and preach the electoral

"lesser evil" of Clinton's Democrats as the only alternative for working people, that this provocation was allowed to happen. Members of the heavily minority Service Employees International Union locals 399 and 660 have a real interest in fighting against the likes of Duke and his natural constituency, the skinhead gangs which plague the L.A. area, regularly meting out racist violence to immigrants and blacks. But the labor fakery leading Southern California's unions—who are willing partners in the capitalist offensive of wage-slashing and job-cutting, and who figured big in a red, white and blue Labor Day fundraising event for Clinton/Gore—did *nothing* to counter Duke's incursion.

The working class in L.A. was not always so prostrate. In 1945, American fascist Gerald L.K. Smith attempted to set up a headquarters in Los Angeles. Smith hoped to establish a mass base among the discontented middle class, aiming to demonstrate to big business that he could aid in settling accounts with the labor movement. Smith sought to organize anti-union combat forces by manipulating race antagonisms and provoking race riots against the growing black population of Los Angeles. It was communists, our forebears of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who skillfully initiated a united-front campaign to stop Smith and his forces. As summarized in an SWP document analyzing the campaign, "Our task was to hammer home the meaning of the fascist threat and to organize the pressure of the workers to force the organization of labor onto the road of struggle." The result was a mass counterdemonstration of 17,000

largely industrial workers—many of them blacks, Latinos and Jews—which dwarfed Smith's turnout and sent him scurrying out of town without a headquarters on the West Coast. This mass mobilization of the labor movement in alliance with minority organizations is exactly the response the fascists should meet whenever they rear their ugly heads.

The ostrich-like attitude of today's labor tops and black and Latino "leaders" toward the race-terrorists has resulted in a real lack of understanding, especially among young people, of the deadly threat posed by fascism. Though the audience of some 800 was, by all accounts, not sympathetic to Duke, the "debate" was conducted in a nauseatingly polite manner. Three Latina students actually sought Duke's autograph after the event, and the liberal idiot Hicks shook Duke's hand and posed with him for the camera. Even those students who opposed the invitation to Duke didn't see him as a particular threat. Many students who argued with Spartacus Youth Club supporters saw Duke simply as part of a continuum of racist bourgeois politicians spanning the gamut from Clinton and Dole through the reactionary populist "militia" movement to Duke.

While Duke's newfound respectability certainly reflects a social climate which has made his virulent racist nativism almost mainstream, there is a difference between the bourgeois electoral parties represented by the Democrats and Republicans and fascist paramilitary groups like Duke's NAAWP. The fascists seek to build a mass movement, based on the panicked petty-bourgeoisie squeezed by the convulsions of a deteriorating capitalist economy, which aims for the total atomization of the working class through the destruction of labor unions and any other organizations by which the proletariat could struggle for its own interests. In the name of "racial purity," fascists play on backward racist consciousness to deflect discontent toward Jews, blacks and immigrants. It is the paramilitary *action* program of fascist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, Duke's NAAWP and the Nazis that distinguishes them from reactionary bourgeois propaganda societies like the John Birch Society or the virulently nativist and anti-communist "Voices of Citizens Together," currently active in Southern California.

Fascists prove their effectiveness not through arguing their racist "ideas" but through their murderous *actions*. Stopping them is a matter of *self-defense* for working people and the oppressed. Just a week after Duke's appearance at Northridge, skinheads in Newport Beach spouting "white pride" garbage and carrying white-supremacist literature attacked a Latino fisherman with a knife. From the recent wave of black church burnings in the South to L.A.-area skinhead attacks on a Native American in Huntington Beach and black youths in nearby Lancaster, fascism is about racist terror.

A leaflet distributed by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club (reprinted in WV No. 651, 13 September) explained why the fascists are integral to capitalist society:

"Despite not wanting to now be too closely associated, the ruling class actually needs to keep the fascists around. If there



Guinevere L.A. Daily News

Liberal idiot Joe Hicks shakes hands with David Duke, sworn enemy of blacks and all the oppressed.

Bronx Killer Cop Livoti Walks

OCTOBER 7—Cries of outrage rang out in the Bronx courtroom of Judge Gerald Sheindlin today as he found New York cop Francis X. Livoti not guilty of "criminally negligent homicide" in the December 1994 killing of 29-year-old Anthony Baez. Everyone in the courtroom knew Livoti was guilty as hell. Baez died because Livoti, who has a record of racist abuse and brutality a mile long, choked him to death. After a tossed football happened to hit a couple of police cars, Livoti arrested Anthony's younger brother David. When Anthony questioned the arrest, Livoti seized him in an "illegal" chokehold. Anthony died moments later.

Knowing the propensity of Bronx juries to sometimes rule against the cops, Livoti had opted to be tried by a judge. In testimony at the trial, three of Livoti's cop partners that night offered the cover-up story that Baez had been "struggling" with the police and that he was able to get up and walk after being seized by Livoti. But a fourth cop testified that when she arrived on the scene, Anthony was lying motionless and face down in the street. And while Livoti's attorney argued that Anthony, who suffered from chronic asthma, might have died from an asthma attack, a medical expert who reviewed the autopsy reports testified that there was no indication that Baez died of anything but asphyxia, i.e., from being choked to death. Judge Sheindlin's decision virtually admitted that the cop went after Anthony and his brother with contemptuous, racist bullying. During the trial, the judge showed he knew Livoti's brother cops were committing coordinated perjury. All the same, Judge Sheindlin let Livoti walk.

Anthony's widow, Maribel, said the whitewash ruling meant Livoti will now be "walking the streets to do this over again. He's a murderer!" For three weeks, members of the Baez family and other families who have been subjected to police violence in recent years had filled one side of the courtroom, while Livoti's fellow police thugs sat on the other side. After the verdict, hundreds gathered outside the Bronx Supreme Court building to show their opposition. Ringing the area were scores of cops in riot gear who whisked Livoti to a waiting

Anthony Baez Will Not Be Forgotten



Anthony and Maribel Baez at their wedding, 1992.

car while police helicopters flew overhead. Police commanders provocatively dispatched squad cars to the street where the Baezes live, as family and friends gathered there to show their sympathy and solidarity.

Marches and rallies continued throughout the day. This evening, hundreds of protesters, overwhelmingly Hispanic youth, rallied outside the Bronx 46th Precinct building, chanting, "Policía: Asesinos!" Margarita Rosario, who founded Parents Against Police Brutality after her son and nephew were killed execution-style by the NYPD, lashed out at the whitewash proceedings, telling *Workers Vanguard*, "I could tell that the trial was a farce from the beginning." At least three protesters have been arrested. We demand: Drop all charges against them now!

The vile killing of Anthony Baez and the judge's acquittal of the guilty cop is not some aberration, as most any black or Hispanic New Yorker knows. Last year, killings by New York City cops increased by 34 percent, and the rate has kept climbing. Most recently, black residents of suburban Westchester County were shaken by the killing of 37-year-old Charles Campbell, a black White Plains sanitation worker and recreational worker at St. Christopher's Children's Home. Campbell was beaten and then shot to death by a white off-duty New York cop for the "crime" of parking his Corvette, legally, in front of the Dobbs Ferry deli owned by the cop's father.

In the midst of the escalation of cop violence against minorities, the United Nations Human Rights Commission felt compelled to announce plans for its own

inquiry into New York police abuse after a June report by Amnesty International detailed the NYPD's "ill treatment of suspects, deaths in custody and unjustified shootings." But liberal investigations and civilian police review boards are utterly powerless to stop the epidemic of racist cop terror. The last time a New York City cop was convicted for homicide while on duty was 1977. While the cops rail against any investigation into their actions, at bottom these inquiries are aimed at whitewashing the police as an institution by singling out a few "bad apples." As we wrote in "Lynch Law U.S.A." (*WV* No. 631, 20 October 1995): "There can't be any real civilian 'review' of the police because they are the armed fist of state repression: they have the guns, and the courts, and the jails."

The cops act as an occupying army in the ghettos and barrios. The kind of racist viciousness that resulted in the death of Anthony Baez is standard operating procedure. And it doesn't fundamentally matter which capitalist political party runs City Hall. While the New York cops have felt even more emboldened under Republican mayor Giuliani, whom they helped propel into office by staging a racist cop riot against his predecessor, black Democrat David Dinkins, it was Dinkins who hired thousands more cops even as he slashed city workers' jobs.

The struggle against racist cop terror is a critical issue for the entire labor movement, whose own struggles on the picket lines time and again run up against the scabherding cops and courts. In response to the brutal beating of a 21-year-old Long Island black man, Shane Daniels, by an off-duty NYPD cop, the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense issued a protest leaflet in June which explained:

"The cops' job is to terrorize working people, especially minorities, and they share the same mentality as the white-robed Klansmen. Against the labor bureaucrats who seek to increase their dues base by 'organizing' cops, we say: cops and prison guards out of the unions! There is no justice for working people and minorities in the capitalist courts! The capitalist state is not reformable. It must be swept away by workers revolution." ■

were a serious challenge to capitalist class rule, the bourgeoisie would seek to unleash them against the working class. For now, it's enough for the bourgeoisie to use the cop terror which is daily meted out to black and Hispanic youth and workers—from the videotaped beatings of Rodney King in 1991 and of Mexican immigrants in Riverside last April, to the brutal cop attacks on those protesting anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in Van Nuys in 1994.

"Before 1933, many people in Germany felt that Hitler was just a semi-comical weirdo and that the Nazis were an insignificant fringe group which could be ignored.... To ignore the fascists or to attempt to use them as pawns will only allow them to grow more powerful."

Today the Socialist Workers Party, which has purveyed an increasingly eccentric brand of civil-libertarian reformism since it abandoned a revolutionary perspective over 30 years ago, simply capitulates to the current backward consciousness which sees fascism as a question of "bad ideas." An SWP leaflet handed out at Northridge the day of the debate enthused, "Debates, like that of veteran Los Angeles civil rights leader Joe Hicks and former [sic!] Ku Klux Klan leader and Louisiana Republican politician David Duke at Cal State Northridge, can serve to clarify important issues." According to the latest *Militant* (7 October), an SWP spokeswoman on campus actually saluted the Northridge student senate for inviting Duke to campus!

Encouraging a platform for fascist scum is nothing new for the SWP. In

1991 their organization appeared on TV in a "candidates' debate" with KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger. The following year, members of their youth group went to a Duke rally in Texas to sell their paper and chat up the fascist fringe. For the last two decades, the SWP has championed the "rights" of the Klan and fought against those who tried to stop the fascists from spewing their racist filth, even as the SWP sought government protection from fascist attacks. The civil-libertarian pabulum of the SWP is exactly that purveyed by the bourgeois liberal Hicks, who argued that "good will triumph over evil in the marketplace of ideas." Such drivel is suicidal because it ignores the class division that is central to capitalist society—fascism is the last line of defense for a ruling class made desperate by a militant working class.

The fascists will not be stopped by "debating" their genocidal program. Nor will they be defeated through calls on the racist capitalist government to act against them. The state, which exists to defend capitalist property, is not neutral, but coddles and protects the fascists. For socialists, the fight against the murderous fascists is a job for the labor movement, not the capitalist government. Laws against "extremists" have historically been used not against the fascists but against the left. What is desperately needed is the conscious mobilization of the multiracial working class leading all of the fascists' intended victims in a fight to crush the race-terrorists while they are still small.

The role of the state was crystal clear at CSUN the day of Duke's visit. A few hundred protesters, ranging from the sinister Jewish Defense League (JDL) to pro-CCRI right-wingers to pockets of anti-fascist protesters with dueling bullhorns, demonstrated outside the debate site with about a thousand student onlookers. The left groups protesting Duke included the Progressive Labor Party (PL), the Workers World Party, and the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN), a pro-affirmative action group led by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). In the presence of nearly 200 cops armed to the teeth, the JDL (with Klan robes tucked under their arms!) taunted anti-racist protesters, provoking a fight. After the debate ended, the cops rioted—spraying pepper gas in the faces of demonstrators, lobbing tear gas and using batons, rubber bullets and horses to beat a path clear for Duke. Several protesters were bloodied; six were arrested on phony charges of "assault with a deadly weapon" and "attempting to harm a police horse."

Two protesters remain detained and all six face a hearing October 11. It is urgently necessary that the entire labor movement take up the defense of the anti-Duke protesters! The predictable but ugly "outside agitator" baiting of BAMN is part and parcel of the state's attempts to isolate and railroad into jail those who protested Duke's obscene appearance.

Groups like PL seek to substitute their

own meager forces for the necessary mobilization of the power of the labor movement. While small hands of leftists can occasionally land a few blows to scum like the Ku Klux Klan, more often, as at Northridge, they confront a phalanx of police protecting the fascists. Meanwhile, the RWL/BAMN, which also despairs of mobilizing working people and minorities, regularly herds people into police pens at anti-fascist protests, revealing their liberal illusions in and reliance on the bourgeois state.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to link the outrage of anti-racist students to the social power of the integrated working class. Through mobilizing against racist and anti-immigrant terror, the working class can be made more aware of its power and its historic interests in fighting the racist exploiters on behalf of all the oppressed. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, has been successful in initiating labor/black demonstrations that have stopped the Nazis and Klan on several occasions, including a rally of 1,500 which drowned out a speech by Duke in Boston in 1991. The SYCs seek to win youth to the fight to build an integrated, revolutionary workers party which can lead the workers and oppressed in overturning the rule of the ever more desperate and repressive capitalist class and to stop once and for all the fascist scum it breeds. Join us! ■



Fight against anti-immigrant racism is key to mobilizing workers against capitalist attacks. Left: Workers of North African descent played prominent role in French Peugeot auto strike, 1983. Right: 1992 march in defense of immigrants in Italy.

— Immigration and — Racist “Fortress Europe”

We publish below, in slightly edited form, the second and concluding part of an article which first appeared in Spartacist (French edition, No. 29, Summer 1996) under the headline "Immigration and Racist Oppression in Europe." The first half of this article appeared in WV No. 652 (27 September).

Why have large numbers of non-Europeans entered and settled in West Europe over the past few decades? Why have second-generation immigrants (North African and African youth in France, Turkish and Kurdish youth in Germany), many of whom do not even speak the language of their parents' native land, not assimilated through widespread intermarriage as did the children of Italian and Spanish foreign workers in

PART TWO OF TWO

France in the late 19th and early 20th centuries? Why has anti-immigrant racism increasingly dominated West European political and social life in recent years? The answers to these questions are rooted in the post-1945 Cold War division of Europe which ended with capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union.

At the end of World War II, West Europe was pregnant with social revolution. The Soviet Union had acquired enormous new prestige from the Red Army's victory over Hitler's Wehrmacht while large sections of the European bourgeoisies were tainted by their collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces. Especially in Italy and France, the national Communist parties had also gained greatly increased authority in the working class. In order to pacify the working masses, with the indispensable help of the social democrats and Stalinists (who joined postwar "popular front" governments with capitalist parties), the bourgeoisie needed to offer a far better deal than the prewar conditions of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism. At the same time, American imperialism promoted and funded social-democratic bureaucrats in the trade unions and anti-Communist reformist parties in order to cohere the NATO alliance against the Soviet bloc. Thus originated the complex of social programs known as the "welfare state"—free or inexpensive medical care, partially government-funded pensions, unemployment insurance, four or five weeks' paid vacation annually, etc.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, West Europe experienced another period of

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People!

political instability conditioned by a series of long, losing colonial wars—Algeria, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique. A new generation of militant working-class and student youth came to the fore, hostile to the traditional social-democratic and pro-Moscow Stalinist parties. In Latin Europe, this period of radicalization culminated in the pre-revolutionary crises of the May-June 1968 events in France and Italy's "hot autumn" the following year, and later the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75. To restabilize the bourgeois order in the southern tier of NATO, greater concessions were made to the working class while social democracy was deliberately strengthened in this region.

From the late 1940s through the late 1970s, the West European bourgeoisies bought social peace and co-opted the reformist (social-democratic and Stalinist) bureaucracies by accepting a *lower rate of exploitation* than the historic norm. This, however, made it increasingly difficult and uneconomical to employ indigenous West European workers at

the lower end of the labor market—the kind of jobs historically filled by peasant youth fresh from the countryside. To induce West German, French or Dutch youth to work as unskilled manual laborers—especially at jobs that were hard, dirty, dangerous or regarded as demeaning (e.g., household servants)—would have required *ratcheting up the entire level of wages and benefits* to levels incompatible with profitability. By the 1960s, young West Germans would simply not take jobs like garbage collectors or janitors. And this attitude is now prevalent even in the more backward southern tier of Europe. According to a government official in Rome, “These days you have Egyptian cooks and Filipino maids. There are certain jobs Italians won’t do anymore” (*New York Times*, 8 September 1994).

The Cold War, the "Welfare State" and Mass Immigration in West Europe

The relative prosperity, "welfare state" benefits and increased cultural level of

post-1945 West Europe also brought about a significant change in social life and demographic conditions. Women, traditionally housewives beholden to their husbands, went to work. The birthrate fell sharply even in traditionally Catholic countries like Italy. There are now more Italians over the age of 65 than under the age of 15. Thus the economic effect of the higher cost of indigenous West European labor was reinforced by reduced supply. Short of massive, long-term unemployment and a political assault on the "welfare state," West European capitalism was able to maintain an acceptable rate of exploitation only through the large-scale importation of labor from poor countries.

The Cold War also indirectly determined that those poor countries would increasingly be Third World neocolonies, especially the traditionally Muslim regions of North Africa and Anatolia (the Asian part of Turkey). Before World War II, East Europe was an important source of foreign labor for the more developed western half of the continent. For example, in the 1920s and '30s a large proportion of coal miners in northern France and Belgium were Polish.

The rapid industrialization of the post-1945 East European bureaucratically deformed workers states, based on planned, collectivized economies, absorbed peasant and unemployed urban youth who in previous generations would have worked in West Europe or emigrated to the United States. Since the Stalinist regimes sought to maximize total national output (not the rate of profit), they also prevented emigration through police-state controls. Thus, except for Yugoslavia, East Europe ceased to be a source of cheap foreign labor for West European capitalism until counterrevolution swept across the region in 1989-91.

The first waves of immigrant workers in West Europe were from poorer European countries—Irish in Britain, Spaniards and Portuguese in France, Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs in West Germany. However, the combined effects of economic growth, rising living standards and falling birthrates in these countries reduced their pool of cheap exportable labor. By the 1960s, the main source of West Europe's imported labor was the neocolonies of the Third World—the West Indies and South Asia in the case of Britain, North Africa and West Africa in the case of France, and Turkey in the case of West Germany. Thus was introduced into West Europe a large population that was not white and not Christian.

Following the 1974-75 global economic downturn, most West European



Ligue Trotskyste contingent in Paris demonstration against expulsion of immigrants, 1993.

governments moved to cut down the further influx of foreign workers. West Germany, for example, restricted new immigration to reuniting families and a few particular professions and crafts. The Bonn government even offered Turkish workers lump-sum payments to return to Anatolia but found few takers. Since the mid-1970s, the main source of growth in the "immigrant" communities has been the European-born children of the original immigrants. In Britain, for example, new immigration has been effectively zero for many years, and half of the 2.5 million people considered members of racial minorities were born there.

These second-generation youth are taught in European schools, speak English, French, German, Dutch, etc. as their primary and in many cases only language, and grew up watching European and American films and television programs, etc. The children of Pakistani parents in Britain would be completely alien in Karachi. Yet while these second-generation immigrants are culturally European, they have not been assimilated through widespread intermarriage with their white European contemporaries.

To the pervasive racism of European society is added the Christian/Muslim divide. To be sure, many, if not most, second-generation Arabs and Turks in West Europe are not religious. And this is also true of French and German youth. But the decision to marry across racial and religious lines usually means risking the prospective couple's being cut off from both families. Mixed marriages are thus uncommon, and those that do occur—subject to hostile social pressures on many sides—experience a high rate of breakups. In 1990, only 1 percent of all children born to Turkish mothers in Germany had ethnic German fathers. The level of mixed marriages is far higher in France with its traditionally more liberal attitude toward race. In 1990, of all children born in France to Algerian mothers, one quarter had Gallic fathers. Nonetheless the underlying thrust of French society today is against integration of the Maghrebian community, as compared for example with the assimilation of the earlier Polish immigrants, who (although they included a component of Jews) were "white."

The self-conception of bourgeois French society is that France is not racist in the American sense of discrimination based on skin color. Those who assimilate into "French culture," so the story goes, will be accepted as French. This is the "secularist" rationale behind such racist measures as expelling girls from school for wearing the *hijab* (Islamic headscarf). A particular obstacle to assimilation is that racism in France is also a legacy of colonialism. The ex-colonial peoples, whom the bourgeoisie has always considered subhumans needing to be "civilized" with the gun, the Bible and the national anthem, today form the core of the immigrant workforce. And racist anti-Arab repression is further exacerbated by the bourgeoisie's hatred for the Algerian people, which defeated French imperialism



Sebastian Bolesch

German Nazis spearhead anti-immigrant terror. Right: Protest against 1993 fascist firebombing of Turkish home in Solingen, which killed five women and children.



Der Spiegel

and won national independence in 1962.

Over the past eight years, France has been repeatedly swept by massive, integrated youth protests, as "French" and "immigrant" youth have demonstrated together against cop killings and against ruling-class measures to cut costs for education and to introduce a sub-minimum wage for young workers. But the French left, which is still perfectly capable of rallying tens of thousands to

Thus the immigrant-derived youth who are condescendingly counseled to "assimilate" are in fact thrown by racist oppression and indifference back into the embrace of their families—an embrace often closer than many, especially young girls, would choose if they really had an option of integrating into an egalitarian, pluralistic, anti-racist society.

Despite differences between various European countries, the basic social fact

unemployment far exceeded that under the previous three decades of right-wing bourgeois governments. The unemployment rate, which was 6 percent when Mitterrand entered the Elysée Palace in 1981, climbed to over 10 percent by the end of the decade and has continued rising in the 1990s.

Far from protecting the economic interests of the working class, the Labour and "Socialist" politicians are beneficiaries of anti-working-class "austerity": the bourgeoisie hands them the trappings of governmental power precisely when it wants to defuse resistance to its attacks. As New York City's former black mayor, David Dinkins, once promised the hankers, the working people "will take it from me."

At the same time, West European capitalists have utilized immigrant workers to hold down and reduce labor costs, often by disregarding labor laws and health and safety codes. Many foreign workers, especially "illegals," are hired "off the books" so they do not get medical, unemployment and pension benefits. In the mid-1980s, Günter Wallraff, a West German journalist of leftist sympathies, disguised himself as a Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (named "Ali") and recounted his experiences in *Ganz unten* (Rock Bottom). In one job Wallraff/Ali and his fellow *Gastarbeiter* were not only forced to work two regular shifts a day but had to clean coke dust from steelmaking equipment without wearing masks or helmets. As a result, Wallraff suffered chronic damage to his bronchial tubes.

Thus, rising unemployment among West European youth has gone hand in hand with the brutal superexploitation of dark-skinned immigrant workers. In the absence of revolutionary, i.e., genuinely communist, parties capable of uniting the working class in struggle against the ravages of capitalism, the fascists and other far-right forces have taken advantage of West Europe's deteriorating social and economic conditions. For example, Austria's Jörg Haider, whose Freedom Party received over 20 percent of the vote in the last elections, organizes rallies with Nazi SS veterans, praises Hitler's "proper employment policy" and terms Nazi death camps like Auschwitz "punishment camps." One of his standard lines is: "There are 140,000 unemployed Austrians" and "180,000 foreigners." Similarly, a cadre of France's National Front recently told American journalist Mark Hunter, "If unemployment goes down, we're finished" (*New York Times Magazine*, 21 April). While unfortunately an oversimplification, this statement expresses an important core of truth.

It is common on the European left to blame the rising tide of anti-immigrant racism on the demagoguery of "extreme" right-wing groups. But the fascists are simply expressing in an open, unvarnished and violent way the economic and political interests of the European ruling classes at the present juncture. European

continued on page 13



Dennis Morris

During 1950s, West Indian and South Asian immigrants were brought into Britain as low-paid labor.

protest nuclear testing, by and large has not raised a peep of protest as legions of cops sweep through the Métro to "check the papers" of anyone with a dark skin.

With the immigrant-derived populations increasingly isolated and vulnerable to cop terror, the second-generation youth face astronomical levels of unemployment and are stigmatized as "criminals." Racist oppression thus directly engenders segregation and the defensive compaction of the Maghrebian "community," also strengthening the hold of religious and other "traditional" values,

is that large communities of dark-skinned non-Europeans now exist within West Europe's bourgeois nation-state system. And these communities have become the main target of bourgeois reaction fueled by the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

Social Democracy: "Left" Face of Racist Reaction

The 1980s saw the efforts of the European bourgeoisies to increase the rate of exploitation which had become unacceptably low by international standards. While the Thatcher regime in Britain launched a frontal assault on the "welfare state" and the trade-union movement, the anti-working-class offensive in continental West Europe first manifested itself at the level of employment. Capitalists simply cut back on hiring young workers newly entering the job market, claiming that the prevailing level of wages and state-mandated benefits made it impossible for them to compete effectively with the Americans and Japanese. Mass unemployment, especially among the youth, has been a major feature of the West European economies since the world downturn of 1982-83.

France in the 1980s, in particular, offers clear and compelling proof of the impotence of social-democratic reformism in the face of the capitalist market, national and international. The country had a social-democratic president, François Mitterrand, while the Socialists were the dominant and at times sole party of government. Yet the level of

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Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

two years ago in New Jersey on alleged bad-check charges.

Although Jones had already testified that she was completely unaware of the 1994 New Jersey bench warrant, the D.A. rose to "ask that the sheriff's take her into custody...as a fugitive from justice," announcing that two New Jersey police officers were waiting outside the courtroom. Despite pleas by the defense attorneys that Jones be allowed to continue to testify and that an arrangement be made for her to appear in New Jersey to settle the outstanding warrant, Sabo hypocritically argued he had no jurisdiction, and Jones was dragged from the court. Later that afternoon, a New Jersey cop testified that they had known Jones' Camden address from the time the bench warrant was issued, but no action was taken to arrest her until Assistant D.A. Fisk phoned the New Jersey police last week. Following her arrest, Jones was not finally released until 5 a.m. on \$10,000 bail.

Asked why she had come forward now, Jones said that she did not want her grandchildren to "think their grandmom was living a lie." Testifying in Mumia's case for the first time since the 1982 trial, Jones described how just days before the trial began she was visited in jail, where she was facing serious felony charges, by Philadelphia police detectives and threatened into retracting her eyewitness account. Jones was later put on probation on charges which carried a sentence of up to 15 years in prison. Jones told the hearing, "I was to name Mr. Jamal as the shooter." She refused to make such a statement but did retract her original true account to avoid imprisonment. In an anguished voice she said, "It was a big decision to make, but this was five or ten years away from my kids." When threatened with arrest by Assistant D.A. Fisk, Jones responded, "You think that's going to make me change my story. It's not."

"This Courtroom Is Not for Justice"

Jamal's lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, told a midday press conference outside City Hall on October 1 that Veronica Jones "came forward to bravely and courageously tell the truth after 14 years and was set up in a courtroom." What happened to Jones, Weinglass said, illustrated the continuing "intimidation and coercion of witnesses who have come forward on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal. It's happened in the police station. Today you saw it happen in open court."

From the moment Jones took the stand



Jennifer Beach

August 1995 labor-centered protest in New York City initiated by Partisan Defense Committee to stop threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.



WV Photo

on October 1, she was subjected to a stream of threats and accusations by Sabo and Fisk. Continuing the pattern of misconduct by the police and District Attorney's office in this case, prosecutors again used the threat of arrest in a blatant attempt to coerce Jones to recant her testimony, just as they had in 1982. Even before Jones started her testimony, Sabo threatened Jones with back-to-back perjury convictions ranging up to seven years' imprisonment each. The prosecutor then dredged up an eight-year-old allegation that Jones had worked for several months while collecting welfare for her three children, snidely accusing Jones of "steal[ing] from the State of New Jersey." After patiently withstanding this gross abuse for more than an hour, Jones responded to her persecutors: "I'm the one on trial now. This courtroom is not for justice."

Overruling all defense objections to the Assistant D.A.'s outrageous persecution of Jones, Sabo threatened Jamal's attorneys with removal from the court. The antics of Sabo and Fisk were a replay of Jamal's post-conviction relief (PCRA) hearing in the summer of 1995, when Sabo repeatedly ruled against every defense motion and objection and had Jamal co-counsel Rachel Wolkenstein briefly arrested.

As Veronica Jones was hauled off to jail, Mumia's supporters immediately began collecting funds for her bail. After her release, on October 3 Jones returned to the hearing, demonstratively sitting with Jamal's supporters. The evidentiary procedure ended that day, following a

morning session in which Sabo responded to defense appeals for the release of prison logs from the time Jones was imprisoned in 1982 by screaming at Wolkenstein to "shut up" and threatening to remove her from the court. From beginning to end, the latest hearing was marked by the same kangaroo-court behavior that has been rampant throughout the 15-year attempt to "legally" lynch Mumia Abu-Jamal: continuing cover-up of evidence showing Jamal's innocence, intimidation of defense witnesses, massive cop and prosecutorial misconduct.

State Apparatus of Racist Repression

In reporting the events last week, even the *Philadelphia Daily News* (2 October) felt compelled to express its exasperation at Sabo for "exhibiting his usual prejudice against the defense.... Such heavy-handed tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing." It's not as if the pro-cop *Daily News* has now come out for Jamal. Ever since the beginning of last year's PCRA hearing, the bourgeois media and other ruling-class elements—including Republican "law and order" types like Pennsylvania Senator Arlen Specter—have feared that Sabo's flagrantly biased conduct was threatening to undo the state's trumped-up "case" against Jamal. In blatantly teaming up with prosecutors and cops in the face of widespread public attention, Sabo's actions were serving to tear off the veil of "impartiality" which is central to the myth of "blind" bourgeois justice.

Many liberals and reformists who joined the campaign to save Mumia's life buy into the illusion that the capitalist court system can dispense "justice" for Jamal. Thus, many of them have focused on the call for a "fair trial," which they argue would necessarily result in either a reversal of the 1982 verdict or the voiding of the death sentence. A more "radical" take on this position is offered by Refuse & Resist activists, who showed up in the Philadelphia court last week with buttons reading "Sabo Must Go." But then what?

Jamal's defense team has rightly called for Sabo's recusal from the case. But as Rachel Wolkenstein, who is also counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, pointed out at the October 1 press conference: "Every day, Sabo and the prosecution have made it clear that it is impossible for Jamal to get a fair trial in the city of Philadelphia. Our legal papers call not only for a new trial but call for his freedom based on the history of prosecutorial misconduct."

The openly pro-prosecution Sabo simply exhibits in a blatant fashion the real workings of the frame-up system that is bourgeois "justice." The cops and their Fraternal Order of Police have waged a frenzied campaign to kill Jamal. The

courts on every level have turned a truly blind eye to the overwhelming evidence of Jamal's innocence. The prisons lock up fighters for black freedom like Jamal and Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). All of these are the essential components of the capitalist state, which is not some "neutral" body but exists to administer the exploitation of the working class by the handful of rulers who own the wealth of society. From the very origins of the U.S., when black enslavement was enshrined in the U.S. Constitution, racial oppression has been built into the foundations of American economic and social life, enforced by deadly cop terror. At the summit of this apparatus of racist repression is the institutionalized barbarism of the death penalty.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted by the state for death from the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party. This continued when Jamal was a widely known journalist who exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly and later became a supporter of the MOVE organization. As Wolkenstein said at the October 1 press conference: "We have an innocent man who's on death row, an innocent man who's been framed up by the police and prosecution. Mumia was subject to daily surveillance from the time he was 15 years old by the FBI, part of the COINTELPRO program," which sought to "neutralize" the Black Panthers and other black and leftist activists.

What saved Jamal from execution last year was the powerful wave of protest that broke out on his behalf around the world. As we wrote last year in the PDC pamphlet *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*:

"In Clinton/Gingrich's America, what possibility is there for a valiant fighter against oppression like Mumia Abu-Jamal to find justice in the criminal court system?..."

"Jamal should not have spent a day in jail in the first place, and he should not be in prison now. He should be allowed to join his family and to join all those who seek and struggle for a society in which there will be no racist frame-ups and legal lynchings. While Jamal's lawyers pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom, what's urgently needed is to mobilize millions of workers and the oppressed worldwide to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

* * *

Funds are urgently needed! Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For more information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, October 19: *Marx's View of Economics*; November 2: *The State*; MIT, 77 Massachusetts Ave., Building 3, Room 343. Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m. Next classes, October 23: *The Marxist Understanding of the State*; November 6: *The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power*; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106, 5811 S. Ellis. Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m. Next class, October 23: *The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power*; UCLA, Boelter Hall, Room 5514. Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Wednesdays, 1:30 p.m. Next classes, October 16: *Genesis of Marxism*; October 30: *Marxism: A Guide to Action*; Hunter College, 68th St. & Lexington Ave. (IRT No. 6 to 68th St.), Hunter West 506. Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SANTA CRUZ, CA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 22: *Marxist Economics*; UCSC, Student Center, Third World Lounge. Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, October 17: *The Marxist Understanding of the State*; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room B116. Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 17: *Defend Cuba! For Workers Political Revolution!*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street. Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Alternate Thursdays, 12:30 p.m. Next class, October 24: *The State and Revolution*; UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B222. Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturdays, 12 noon. Next class, October 19: *The State*; University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Union, Room 2146. Information and readings: (202) 872-8240

Capitalist Rulers...

(continued from page 1)

defending the rights of undocumented immigrants, these pro-Democratic Latino misleaders plead only for a "streamlined citizenship application process and an extension of the date of eligibility for amnesty for all those who have entered the U.S. prior to January 1, 1992." This call is expressly tailored to be acceptable to the yuppie racist in the White House, promoting the capitalist rulers' distinction between "legal" and "illegal" immigrants.

And, as we noted last issue, this attempt to line up Hispanic and other immigrants behind the racist Democrats is being uncritically supported by a number of reformist groups—primarily the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers World Party—who are doing the donkey work for the October 12 march organizers. Workers and minorities do not need a "lesser" evil party of racist capitalism but a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, fighting for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants!

We present below an edited transcript of a presentation at a September 21 Spartacist League forum in Chicago by Don Alexander, a member of the SL Central Committee and a veteran of the militant black struggles of the 1960s.

* * *

Around the world today the capitalist rulers are waging ferocious class war against workers and immigrants. From Germany to France to Italy the social welfare programs established after World War II are being ripped up, but not without militant defensive struggles by the workers. Significantly, workers in France have also waged militant struggles against deportations and in defense of African immigrants against the right-wing regime of President Chirac. Recently in Australia, workers joined with Aborigines in storming the parliament building during a protest against racist capitalist austerity measures. There is growing understanding that the attacks on immigrants are an attack on the whole working class.

But history has shown time and again that to raise such defensive struggles into a generalized assault on the capitalist order itself requires the intervention of Leninist vanguard parties to instill revolutionary consciousness in the working class. Such parties, composed of the most politically advanced detachments of the working class, must act as tribunes of the people, like the Bolshevik Party built by Lenin and Trotsky in tsarist Russia which swept away capitalism. Leninist parties are indispensable for new October socialist revolutions.

Many of the social programs now under attack were set up to ward off the prospect of revolutionary upheavals and as an ideological counter to the Soviet Union. Today, emboldened by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the rulers of U.S. imperialism believe that they can do anything to workers and the oppressed at home and abroad. In the New World Disorder, characterized by intensified inter-imperialist rivalries, especially between the U.S., Japan and Germany, the U.S. rulers are acting like cops of the world. Increasingly and more brazenly, they are throwing their might around, as with Clinton's air strikes against Iraq. Meanwhile, the European Union, itself torn by national antagonisms, is threatening retaliation against the U.S. for ordering sanctions against them for investing in Cuba, Iran and Libya. From the Balkans to Iraq, the world today resembles the period leading up to World War I.

The labor traitors who prop up this imperialist system have to be ousted and replaced by a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement. Imperialism is not



Der Spiegel

Border police brutalize immigrants. Clinton, seen here being endorsed by Fraternal Order of Police, has presided over massive militarization of Mexican border.



Reuters

some misguided policy, rather it is the drive to export finance capital which is inherent within the system. For all the current fashionable talk about the "globalization of production," the productive forces of modern capitalist society have long since come into violent conflict with the narrow framework of the national state. This conflict was the source of two world wars fought for the redivision of the world. Today, the capitalists are armed with nuclear weapons, and the U.S. ruling class has already used them, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The only way to defeat imperialism is through international proletarian revolution. As the most powerful of the world powers, racist U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the world's workers and oppressed.

Democrats Are No "Lesser Evil"

The capitalist ideologues and politicians, representatives of the government of moneybags, say that no matter how bad things might be here, this is still America—a supposed land of democracy, freedom, equality and transcendent moral superiority. All of these are revolting lies. What we have in the U.S.—and in every capitalist "democracy"—is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a democracy for the rich. In the mid-19th century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the originators of scientific socialism, which is powerfully embodied in the *Communist Manifesto*, explained that the capitalist state is a tool of class oppression: "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." That includes the president, the Congress, the courts and their armed enforcers. The great Bolshevik leader Lenin in 1917 applied these teachings in leading the first successful workers revolution in history. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin argued that the capitalist state could not be reformed but had to be smashed.

The elimination of the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program by yuppie racist Clin-

ton and the Republicans will destroy any minimal lifeline for some 12 million people, more than two-thirds of them children. New immigrants will be ineligible for any benefits until they have been here five years, while SSI benefits and food stamps will be denied to all immigrants unless they have worked for at least ten years. Welfare recipients will be restricted to a lifetime total of five years of benefits, and will be kicked off the rolls after two years. The latter, of course, is especially aimed at blacks.

What the capitalists are after is to lower the cost of labor by immiserating the working class. This can be seen in cities like New York, where starvation-level "workfare" recipients are forced to take jobs replacing unionized municipal workers. The bosses' bottom line is profits. Social Security and Medicare are their next targets.

The anti-immigrant, anti-black, anti-woman attacks can and must be met by mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class fighting together in its own interests against the capitalists. How do we do that? It begins with a simple truth: the root of all of the social ills of this society is the irrational, anarchic capitalist system of production for profit.

To smash the assault on minorities exemplified by the destruction of welfare and the imprisonment of masses of ghetto youth, a class-struggle leadership—a revolutionary workers party—would fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work around, and to organize the unorganized. It would fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. It would fight for free abortion on demand, for free 24-hour childcare and free quality health care. It would staunchly defend gay and lesbian rights against "family values" bigots. Racial, national and sexual oppression are all rooted in the capitalist system.

The only "dependency" that the working class and oppressed minorities need to get rid of is reliance upon capitalist political parties. We must destroy the illusion that the Democratic Party is a "lesser

evil" alternative to the more openly pro-business Republicans. This lie is pushed by the pro-capitalist union misleadership of the AFL-CIO under John Sweeney and by the black misleadership, from Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan, whose Nation of Islam today says "farewell to welfare" with barely concealed glee.

An assortment of organizations masquerading as Marxists joined with the bourgeois liberals in San Francisco on April 14 for a "fight the right" pep rally for Clinton. They included the International Socialist Organization, Refuse & Resist and the Revolutionary Workers League. Then there's the Communist Party, which has one foot on a banana peel and another one in the grave, which of course also supported this march for Clinton. These groups foster the illusion that the capitalist enemy in the form of the racist Democratic Party can be pressured to do the right thing. This is the bankrupt program of class collaboration which is a roadblock to proletarian revolution.

These opportunist outfits have swallowed the bourgeoisie's lie that communism—the struggle for the liberation of the international working class and the abolition of all class society—is dead. There is the program of the "popular front," a political bloc with the so-called liberal wing of the ruling class, which from Spain in the 1930s to Italy today subordinates the interests of the oppressed to that of the capitalist oppressors and has paved the way for bloody defeats.

The Spartacist League fights for militant integrated class struggle against the racist capitalist oppressors. We say: Break with the Democrats—Build a revolutionary workers party that champions the interests of all of the oppressed and exploited. We communists struggle for workers revolution—the seizure of power by the working class and the creation of a socialist planned economy.

Racist Rulers to Poor: Drop Dead!

When we say the message of the capitalist rulers to many blacks and poor people is to drop dead, we mean it literally. In addition to Latinos, Asian Americans have been brutalized and killed in increasing numbers. I don't have to speak about the raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) which are sweeping this country. And although the full implementation of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 has been shelved by court orders, its intent of intimidating and further marginalizing immigrant communities has effectively been realized.

When the right-wing Republicans, with California governor Wilson in the lead, came out with Prop. 187, we pointed out that this was the spearhead of a broader racist offensive and that its ultimate target was the black ghetto poor. This has been proven true. Not skipping a beat, racist politicians like Wilson soon pushed the grotesquely misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative against

continued on page 10



WV Photo

Latino misleaders channeled 1994 mass protests against California's immigrant-bashing Prop. 187 into support for racist Democrats.

Capitalist Rulers...

(continued from page 9)

affirmative action, aimed at reversing any remnants of the gains of the civil rights movement. Many Latino leaders looked to the Democrats to stop Prop. 187, while turning a blind eye to the plight of undocumented immigrants. But the Democrats are no less vehemently anti-immigrant than the Republicans. While opposing Prop. 187, California Democratic Senators Boxer and Feinstein called for militarizing the border with Mexico, which Clinton is implementing at breakneck speed.

We say: Defend affirmative action, and more—fight for free, quality education for all, for open admissions with a living stipend. This—not quotas—is the way to cut through the race and class privileges in higher education. Quotas are tokenistic measures that accept the racist status quo, pitting various minorities against each other. They have been used in the past against Jews and today against Asians. Immigrant rights and black rights go hand in hand, and their struggles advance the cause of emancipation of the whole working class.

The same capitalist government which has waged a racist “war on drugs” in the black ghettos has deported over 54,000 undocumented immigrants in ten months, nearly 25,000 in California alone. The vicious beatings of immigrants by sheriff’s deputies in Riverside, California evoked images of the racist cop beating of Rodney King. In “democratic,” “civilized” America, workers from Mexico and Central America fleeing poverty, desperation and death are being drowned, killed and maimed at the border. Meanwhile, the Klan and other racist killers have organized “border patrols” to terrorize immigrants. This is a deadly threat to all workers and oppressed minorities. We say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for those who have made it here! For labor/minority mobilizations to stop the Klan and skinhead fascist scum!

Anti-Immigrant Racism—Spearhead of Capitalist Reaction

With the massive attacks on working people and minorities and the growing disparity between rich and poor, the U.S. ruling class is obviously concerned about the seething discontent barely beneath the surface. That is why it is strengthening the repressive apparatus of the state with the huge increase in the number of police on the streets, with the growth of private strikebreaking outfits. Most of all we see this with the speedup on death row. For years, the brutal racism of capitalist America has been sharply reflected by the savage injustice inflicted upon former Black Panthers Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Geronimo has been imprisoned for 26 years and Mumia was placed on death row. Both were targeted for standing up for the oppressed.

Under Clinton’s new “anti-terrorism” law, immigrants can be jailed and deported for misdemeanors committed years ago, no matter how long they have lived here! Meanwhile, “English only” laws now exist in 23 states. Undoubtedly, the spirit of the 1857 Dred Scott ruling—that a black man had no rights that a white man is bound to respect—lives on in the current ruling-class drive to strip immigrants of any rights.

The response of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to these increasingly vicious attacks is to push the lie that Mexicans and other foreign workers are “stealing” American jobs. NAFTA has turned Mexico into a private preserve for unbridled capitalist exploitation by the U.S. But the labor tops opposed NAFTA on flag-waving protectionist grounds, attempting to line up U.S. workers behind the American ruling class and against their class brothers and sisters in Mexico. We in the Interna-



San Francisco protest, April 5, against videotaped beating of Mexican immigrants by Riverside County sheriff’s deputies.

tional Communist League stand for joint class struggle on both sides of the border. Along with our comrades in the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Trotskyist League of Canada, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights the NAFTA “free trade” rape of Mexico on the basis of an internationalist revolutionary program directed against all the bourgeois rulers.

It is because of their staunch support of the capitalist private property system that the AFL-CIO bureaucrats turn a blind eye to the burning needs of immigrants, blacks, women, gays and youth. It is because of this that Teamster militant Jesse Acuna continues to sit in jail on a five-year sentence for defending his union on the picket line during the national truckers strike in 1993.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The fight against black oppression and anti-immigrant racism is central to revitalizing the labor movement in this country. Especially in Los Angeles, Latino workers in the past few years have become a combative and militant section of the working class. Latino workers, many of them refugees from dictatorial regimes in Central America, can play a key role in the fight to organize the unorganized and in combatting illusions fostered by the chauvinist AFL-CIO tops in “democratic” U.S. imperialism.

The bosses will do anything to divide foreign-born workers from their class brothers and sisters here. In the 19th century, railroad baron Jay Gould once boasted: “I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half.” In racist America, many immigrants learn to adapt to the anti-black racism spread by the white ruling class, to the racist filth that the black masses remain at the bottom of this capitalist society because of their alleged lack of adherence to the “work ethic,” or because they lack “positive attitudes” or “proper genes.” Immigrant workers must grasp clearly that the fight against black oppression is central

to any struggle to defend democratic rights and the interests of the working class. It is only the program of united class struggle, the fight for revolutionary integrationism, that holds out the promise of black freedom and working-class emancipation.

In the U.S. the black question is strategic for proletarian revolution. It is a

Louis Farrakhan (left) echoes Booker T. Washington in spewing anti-immigrant chauvinism and pushing accommodation to racist status quo.



Ramsey/AP



Library of Congress

question of special oppression, and we acquired our attitude toward this question first and foremost from Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks, who hammered into the heads of the early American Communists that they had to break with a social-democratic tradition of “color blindness.” Guided by the program of revolutionary internationalism, the Bolsheviks argued that blacks in the U.S. suffered double oppression—as workers and from color-based racism. Uniquely on the left today, our slogan to “Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!” is a recognition that the fight for black freedom in America necessarily requires sweeping away the racist capitalist system.

As Karl Marx observed at the time of the Civil War, labor in the white skin can’t be free if it is branded in the black skin. Black people were dragged over here in chains, enslaved, bought and sold like cattle. The Civil War which destroyed the slavery was a social revolution. But the racist legacy of slavery has been institutionalized, refined, “modernized” at each turn by the ruling class and its institutions. Through mass bitter struggles during the civil rights movement the hack of Jim Crow—that is, the legal trappings of segregation—was broken, but de facto segregation and discrimination remain.

Black workers, potentially the most advanced sector of the multiracial U.S. working class, are a strategic component of the proletariat in this country and remain its most unionized section. Blacks are integrated into the political economy, but forcibly segregated at the bottom. Contrary to the pseudo-nationalists, there is no material basis for a black nation, for an independent black political economy. Historic institutionalized racist subjugation has relegated black people to the status of an

oppressed race-color caste. There exists today a visible and sizable black middle class—class inequalities among black people are greater even than among whites. Nonetheless the color line remains even for those middle-class blacks who have made it out of the ghetto. If you’re black in this country of the most developed, lying, hypocritical “democracy,” you always run up against what radical black democrat W.E.B. Du Bois called an invisible but tangible plate glass.

Racism is not a matter of individual prejudice per se. Racism and racial oppression in the U.S. have been pushed by the exploiters to keep white workers bigoted, backward and unorganized—this is its central purpose, as a prop and a pillar for the capitalist system. It’s the capitalists who benefit from the brutal oppression of blacks. The fight against the special oppression of blacks is inseparable from the struggle to free all of the working people from capitalist exploitation.

Black Misleaders Push Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism

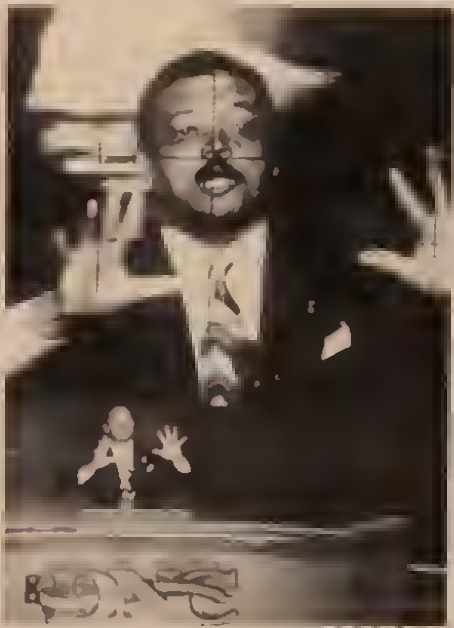
There is no militant black leadership today. You’ve got people looking to Al Sharpton, an admitted FBI fink, for leadership. You’ve got people looking to Louis Farrakhan, who wanted Malcolm

X dead and whose organization defends fascists (see “Nation of Islam: Bodyguards for Hitler Apologist David Irving,” page 3).

Black misleaders have joined in the scapegoating of immigrants. Back in 1986, Coretta Scott King and Reverend Walter Fauntroy supported the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which called for sanctions against employers hiring immigrants. Fauntroy is the preacher who in November 1982 in Washington, D.C. tried to keep blacks away from the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that swept the Klan off the streets. The KKK tried to rally against immigrants, but the integrated working class under our Marxist leadership handed them a big defeat. In D.C. and elsewhere, our anti-fascist mobilizations are based on our class-struggle program and have been built in opposition to black Democratic mayors who front for the capitalist ruling class.

Thanks to the petty-bourgeois black misleaders, there is significant anti-immigrant chauvinism among blacks, reflected in the fact that over half of black voters in California supported Prop. 187. In contrast to the likes of Farrakhan and others, the great revolutionary Abolitionist Frederick Douglass was an opponent of all social oppression and fought energetically to the end of his life for women’s rights. In the late 19th century, Douglass opposed the scapegoating of Chinese immigrants and denounced the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Today, it’s even more urgent that black workers and militant youth break with black Democrats and nationalist demagogues in order to wage an effective fight for black liberation. So it’s crucial to throw a brief historical light on the question of anti-immigrant chauvinism among blacks.

At the turn of the century, Booker T.



Seib/L.A. Times

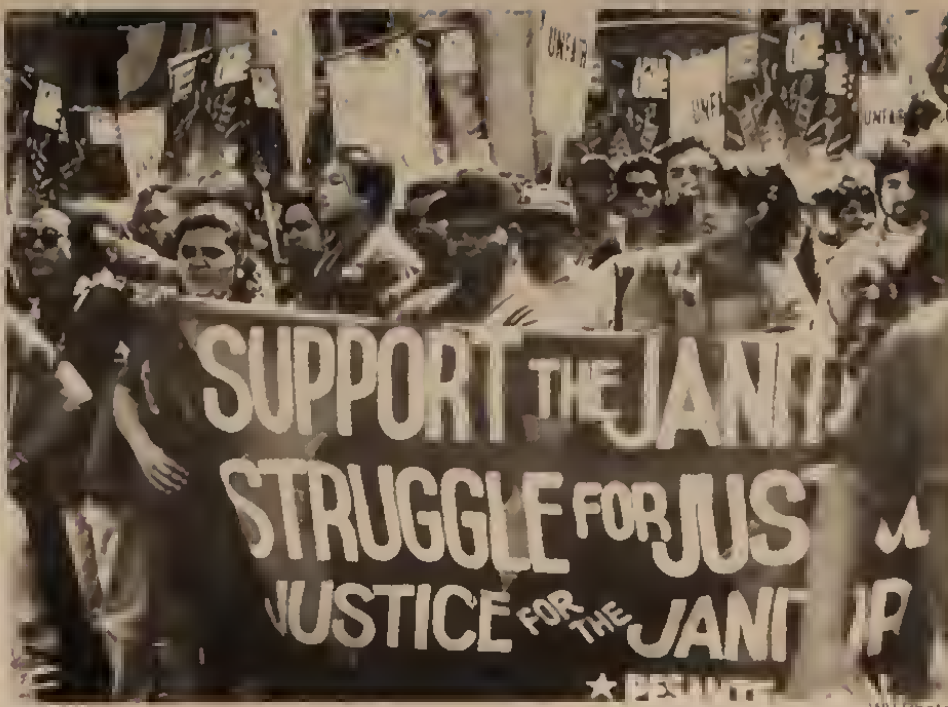
Jesse Jackson, front man for Clinton’s racist Democratic Party.

Washington was one of the most prominent spokesmen for "black capitalism." Washington, who was born a slave in Virginia in 1856 and died in 1915, founded the Tuskegee Institute, which was the center of the "self-help" gospel. The capitalists made him a big shot. Washington advocated that blacks accommodate to the racist status quo. His motto was "separate but equal." But separate can never be equal. During the militant struggles for black rights 30 years ago, particularly by the radical nationalist Black Panther Party, the name of Booker T. Washington was rightfully associated with Uncle Tom, a sellout, a bootlicker, a lackey of the bourgeoisie. Today the black nationalists and Democrats pay tribute to this man who agreed with the white ruling class that blacks should accept segregation and "stay in their place." Washington's pro-capitalist program was echoed at last year's Million Man March.

After the Civil War destroyed the slave system, the burial of Radical Reconstruction in the South—notably with the so-called Compromise of 1877—signaled the betrayal of the promise of black freedom by the Northern capitalists. The dreams and expectations of black people were buried under the ashes of Reconstruction, with Klan terrorists providing the torch. Black voters, jurors and elected officials became rare. Lynchings were at an all-time high: at the turn of the century scarcely a month passed in which there weren't a half dozen or more.

During this period, from the late 1880s to the early 1920s, half a million immigrants from Europe, Asia and Latin America flocked to the U.S. With white planters in the South openly seeking immigrant labor to pick cotton, harvest sugar and plant vegetables, there was widespread fear among blacks of being replaced by immigrants. This fear was promoted by Booker T. Washington. In his Atlanta Exposition address of 1895, Washington said, "To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted, I would repeat what I bad to say to my own race, 'cast down your buckets where you are'."

Much of this anti-immigrant prejudice was particularly aimed at Italians. The *Voice of the Negro*, a popular black journal, pounded away at Italian workers for being "hell-generating Mafia," organizers of labor unions, strike happy. By and large, Italians imported to the South did not stay at agricultural jobs, and those who remained there settled in the cities where they opened up restaurants, fruit stands and hotels. Moreover, many Italians were vociferous in denouncing



SEIU "Justice for Janitors" union organizing demonstration in Los Angeles, 1995. Latino immigrants are a combative sector of Southern California labor.

lynching in the South and were baited for being friendly to blacks. Italian immigrants were themselves lynched, particularly in 1892 in New Orleans. The ironies of history!

The black press also fostered anti-immigrant chauvinism toward Mexicans, Chinese and Japanese. In the 1920s, A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black trade union, waged a campaign to exclude Japanese workers from becoming porters. When the bosses launched a red scare after World War I and deported thousands of immigrants and radicals, the black middle-class reformists labored under the delusion that support to anti-immigrant legislation would radically improve the conditions of blacks. The *Philadelphia Tribune*, a black newspaper, remarked that "restricted immigration is fundamentally sound and will help keep the workers with full dinner pails." As a historian of the period aptly remarked, "The Depression would soon empty those full dinner pails." Subjected to intense racism and excluded from economic life, many blacks were embittered by the fact that immigrants had access to theaters, hotels and other social amenities, and bought into the prevalent white racist prejudices against immigrants. But blacks remained no less poor and downtrodden as a result.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racial Oppression!

It is necessary to reject and politically defeat self-proclaimed spokesmen for the oppressed who spread vile anti-immigrant poison, echoing the racist rulers' divide-and-conquer schemes. The sinister demagogue Farrakhan has regu-

larly gone after immigrants. Koreans and Arabs, for example, because the aspiring petty black capitalists he speaks for want exclusive rights in exploiting the ghetto masses. Recently, the Clinton administration threatened legal action against Farrakhan if he accepted money from Libya. We say that Farrakhan should be able to get money from wherever he desires and the racist capitalist gang in the White House should butt out of it. Not only his but the rights of all of us are at stake.

Many black people look to Farrakhan

capitalist oppressors and are contemptuous of the poor and exploited. Their role is not only as a buffer between the black masses and the white ruling class, but as overseers for the capitalist rulers to keep the lid on and to put out any fire that might consume the master's house. They are opposed to militant, integrated struggle. To the contrary, they are about a black elite fattening itself off the black masses in the name of "black solidarity."

Our task is to mobilize the most conscious layer of the integrated labor movement under revolutionary leadership to fight for power against this murderous ruling class and its dying system. Black workers are, as Trotsky so succinctly stated, convoked by history to play a vanguard role in the liberation not only of blacks and the American working class, but as cadres for world revolution.

The Labor Black Leagues initiated by and affiliated with the Spartacist League have mobilized against Klan/skinhead terrorists, have joined in defending abortion clinics against "right to life" terrorists, have initiated actions against the attacks on immigrants, and mobilized to protest racist cop murder. The Labor Black Leagues seek to intervene in social struggle as transitional organizations linked to the Spartacist League, as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. Black, Latino, Asian and white workers, men and women, must light together in a revolutionary Marxist working-class party to advance the interests of all the poor and oppressed against all the capitalists, no matter what their color or sex.



Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization of 5,000 stopped KKK anti-immigrant race-hate provocation in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

as the only black leader today fighting back and speaking out. But what is Farrakhan speaking out about? That Jews and Arabs and Koreans are the enemies of black people. He is an apologist for slavery in Sudan. And his Million Man March was a segregationist, anti-woman, anti-working-class march for "atonement" which blamed blacks for their oppression. It was an accommodation to the racist status quo. That's why the racist rulers praised it. And that's why the cops left it alone. Why, Reaganite Republican vice presidential candidate Jack Kemp recently said that some of the things Farrakhan is doing are "wonderful"!

If there is any doubt where the Nation of Islam and Farrakhan stand, read his response to Clinton on Libya. It's a nauseating, ingratiating pledge of allegiance to the U.S. "democracy" of slaveholders:

"America as the flower of democratic society, guarantees its citizens the freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom from fear, and it gives the citizen the right to sue the government if the government has abridged these constitutional guarantees. This is what makes America great. The saving grace of democracy is it allows those who disagree to have a forum in order to correct what may not necessarily be in the interest of the people or the administration."

You tell that to Geronimo or Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Black front men for the racist status quo are on the same side as the racist

We are Trotskyists. We proudly say that we are the party of the Russian Revolution. A collectivized, planned economy is necessary to provide for jobs, housing and education for all, to end the oppression of women and minorities and provide a future for youth. Undermined by decades of Stalinist misrule and betrayal, the gains of the October Revolution were finally wiped out by capitalist counterrevolution. Today we fight for a new October, to put the working class in power around the world. Our principal weapon is the program of uncompromising class struggle, internationalist, proletarian and revolutionary. We fight for a Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution, a reformed Fourth International.

We encourage you to become fighters for the revolutionary program of Trotskyism, to study the genuine Marxism embodied in the writings of teachers of the working class like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, who gave their all for the emancipation of the workers and oppressed from capitalist exploitation. We hope that your patient and systematic examination of the fruits of their theoretical labor and revolutionary practice will lead you to join the International Communist League in our fight for world proletarian revolution and for an egalitarian socialist society without exploiters, a society fit for all of us to live and learn in. ■

Funds Needed to Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three

Trial Set for December 2

CHICAGO—Three anti-Klan protesters threatened with up to a year in jail will go on trial in Cook County Circuit Court on December 2. Gene Herson, who is the Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons, a supporter of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, face bogus charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a protest against a Ku Klux Klan race-hate provocation in Daley Plaza on June 29. Cook County state's attorneys have dropped trumped-up charges against six other anti-racists who were also arrested that day. The continuing victimization of the Anti-Klan Three is the state's retaliation for the trouncing the Klan race-terrorists suffered

on June 29.

Unions, civil rights groups and all anti-racists must rally to the defense of the Anti-Klan Three! Funds are urgently needed to defray legal costs. Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee. Protest statements demanding that all charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be addressed to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602; please send a copy to the PDC. Contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

Norden...

(continued from page 2)

Trotskyism as propounded and expressed in action by the SL for over 30 years now. This contradiction is one I will work out over time. In the meantime, I wait to see what's what after the political dust settles from this fight. This may not be laudatory behavior on my part, but I believe it expresses probably the way a number of SL supporters feel, which is why I go to the trouble to concretize these sentiments on paper.

Finally, I think I will send a copy of this letter to the SL as both my protest as to the recent expulsions, and a more considered position of where I believe the SL and the IG have come from and my fears over where both are headed.

Fraternally,
Jeff K.

cc: WV

WV replies: The defection of longtime leading cadres from the International Communist League is no small event. The question is, how can what Jeff K. describes as "fence-sitters" like himself judge the political content and direction of the ICL and the Norden group from a distance.

Jeff K. accepts as fact the claim of Norden, Stamberg and Negrete that they were bureaucratically expelled from our tendency. From this premise he suggests that we were afraid of the numbers they might take with them after a bitter faction fight. This is false on both counts. We encouraged Norden and his co-thinkers to form a faction. This would have provided the basis for a *clarifying* political struggle which would have strengthened the party against the pressures on our small revolutionary international in a period conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, a world-historic defeat for the international working class.

Joseph Seymour, who had closely collaborated with Norden for 20 years, wrote him a comradely letter last April which urged: "If you have a fundamental difference, as I believe you do, about what the ICL can accomplish in this period, you should launch a fight or at least a discussion *at that level*." This is exactly what Norden et al. did *not*, and would not, do. In a "Statement of the Internationalist Group" (13 September) they brag that "refusing to be stampeded into forming a factional grouping, we acted in a principled manner," arguing that "there was no time to pursue the sort of wide-ranging discussions and analysis that, if a faction had indeed been called for, would have been required in order to form one." No time? The dispute with Norden lasted well over a year, during which close to 400 pages of documents by Norden and Stamberg alone were distributed throughout our international organization.

Then, mere weeks after defecting from our organization, *provoking* their own expulsions by refusing to present themselves before a party trial body, they

published a lengthy document characterizing the ICL as "centrist." As Jeff K. himself notes: "It is a very undialectical and unMarxist view to believe that in reality an organization is one day revolutionary and the next day centrist or reformist." What he sees as "undialectical thinking" is in fact political dishonesty. The Norden group tried to hide and deny (not very effectively) their deep-going hostility to the ICL and its revolutionary perspectives.

Jeff K. also accepts as good coin the Nordenites' charge that the ICL abandoned Luta! Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB) in the face of their struggle to get the cops out of the municipal workers union. Yet as even the Nordenites admit, we were the ones who urged LM to take up this fight, after discovering last January that the LM leaders were braintrusting the leadership of this union, which included the hated municipal guards (cops) as "union brothers."

Far from being precipitous, the break in fraternal relations came after six months of intensive political discussion, when it became clear that what LM/LQB wanted was a Potemkin village international which would finance and otherwise support their unprincipled maneuvers in the local trade-union movement. As we noted in our June 17 letter breaking fraternal relations:

"Continued delay in subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union's leadership can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the 'leftists' who do their bidding. The trustworthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the *base* of the union—among the actual workers."

Pointing to the escalating campaign of dirty tricks and police violence, we noted that this not only threatened LM but also the very existence of the union. As our letter argued: "It is the height of political irresponsibility to maintain [a] maneuvered post as a higher 'conquest' for the workers than their union or the party that is the necessary instrument for the victory of the proletariat within and beyond Brazil." The Nordenites attempt to portray our *political* rupture with LM and its trade-union opportunism as "abandoning" our defense of the Volta Redonda group in the face of state repression. But as the Nordenites and everyone else know, we have championed the defense of numerous individuals and groups with whom we have vast political differences against the capitalist state.

Jeff K. seems to believe that "confusion in the aftermath of the fall of East Germany and the USSR" led to a "frenzy to find scapegoats." It is obscure exactly what he believes to be our "confusion" over these events. As we ourselves have noted, the ICL is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. Far from a "frenzy to find scapegoats," the ICL leadership could more appropriately be accused of undue passivity in bringing to the surface and fighting out the issues posed in what was evident covert factionalism. The Nor-

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denites now assert that to believe that they got away with running their own underground operation inside our organization is to condemn the ICL leadership as "hopelessly gullible." This recalls the "defense" made by Bill Logan against charges made in painful testimony by comrades of our Australian section which showed him to be a vicious sociopath who had no place in our organization or the workers movement as a whole. Only those who believe in "infallible" leadership (especially their own) could make such an assertion.

As for a frenzied search for scapegoats, if any senior leader of the ICL could be charged with this, it was Norden. Looking for those who he saw as sabotaging the great "opportunities" for our German section, Norden repeatedly blamed what he described as "a layer of older comrades in the party...who have rather comfortable lives and don't want to see that threatened by the activities of the organization." He called for *purging* these comrades. Jeff K. and other "fence-sitters" might well contemplate the internal life of an organization led by a man who voiced such utter personal contempt for his then-comrades.

Assessing the political issues leading to the defection of the Norden group has obvious difficulties for those, like Jeff K., whose relationship to our organization has been attenuated. How could such a senior cadre, who for 23 years was the editor of *Workers Vanguard*, all of a sudden be a "no-good Pabloite"? How could Max Shachtman have evolved into a pro-imperialist social democrat after decades of service to the communist movement? Even longtime cadre are not immune to alien class pressures imposed under the impact of great world events. This does not take away one iota from their previous contributions. Within the framework of a revolutionary collective leadership, Nor-

den had in great quantity the abilities to be an editor. This doesn't say anything about his other capacities—in the past, now or in the future. To say otherwise is to mystify editorship, not to mention political leadership.

How to judge fact from fiction? We'll give a couple of small, but illustrative, examples. In a document titled "No to the Purge of Norden and Stamberg!" Negrete wrote of our "particular obsession with calling me Socorro's 'burro,' a term bizarrely reproduced in the verdict itself." This evidently is meant to play as an example of our use of demeaning language. Yet *it was Socorro* who referred to Negrete as her "burro" (packhorse) as recorded in Negrete's own deposition to the trial body. Presumably this was offered as an after-the-fact alibi for Negrete's promiscuous political intervention at a May Day demonstration in Mexico City—in violation of his being on leave from our organization. Using Socorro as a shield for his political purposes, Negrete claimed that he had only come to the demonstration to perform a humble chore as a "burro."

Or there's the 13 September "Statement of the Internationalist Group" titled "The ICL Leaders' Cover Story: Smoke-screen for a Betrayal" where they condemn us for only making "our side" of the story available to the public. This statement goes on to direct the reader to their document "From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle," for "point-by-point answers to the ICL leadership's distortions and outright falsifications." Yet their document *had been made publicly available* by the Spartacist League over two weeks earlier, as part of our "Hate Trotskyism" series. But why would Norden's "Internationalist Group" let such troublesome facts get in the way of playing their "anti-regime" violin? ■

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NUMBER 9

The Norden "Group": Polymorphous Opportunism

Introductory Note

"After Spartacist League Purges Leading Cadres, ICL Flees from Class Battle in Brazil — From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle"

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European Immigration...

(continued from page 7)

capital now has no need for additional imported labor from Third World countries, while second-generation immigrant youth are economically redundant and regarded as a source of social unrest. For the first time in decades, French and German youth, facing chronic unemployment, are willing to take the kind of jobs that a few years ago only Arabs, black Africans, Turks and Kurds would do. Furthermore, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc has opened a major new sphere of exploitation for European, especially German, imperialism. A few years ago, German industrial spokesman Tyll Neckar exulted: "Right on our doorstep in Eastern Europe, for the first time we have a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor." Instead of importing labor from Turkey, German industry is exporting capital for the exploitation of labor in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, etc.

As we have pointed out, the social-democratic "welfare state" originated and was maintained because European imperialism needed to secure the support or at least neutrality of their working classes for the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Now, however, the European bourgeoisies are scrapping these social overhead costs and moving to maximize the rate of exploitation in intense competition with the United States and Japan. Anti-immigrant demagoguery and terror are being used to *divide and divert* the working class from united struggle against the present capitalist offensive.

The main body of social democrats have abandoned their liberal posture on the immigrant question and are vying with the right in chauvinist demagoguery. Brought to power in 1981, the French "left," facing strikes by immigrant automobile workers in 1982, quickly took a series of disgusting racist measures. In 1988, Mitterrand declared that France had reached the "threshold of tolerance" of immigration. And in Germany in 1993, the Social Democrats joined with the Christian Democrats in effectively eliminating the right of political asylum written into the postwar West German constitution. A few nights later, fascists "celebrated" by firebombing the home of Turkish families in a Ruhr city, killing five women and children. The struggle against anti-immigrant racism must be conducted not only militantly against the fascists but equally on the political plane against the reformist misleaders of the workers movement.

In classical Marxist terms, the reformist parties express the immediate interests and bourgeois consciousness of the "aristocracy of labor"—the whitest and most skilled layers of the proletariat and especially the labor bureaucracy. Nowhere is this clearer than in their prostration before the anti-immigrant frenzy. The German SPD sees itself as repre-



Ruhr aluminum factory. Turkish and Kurdish workers are strategic component of industrial proletariat in Germany.

sending the workers of the majority group, and certainly not the Turkish and Kurdish workers who do not even vote. The bureaucratized French trade unions were happy to use the non-participation of the "private sector" (heavily immigrant-derived) industrial workers as the excuse to call off last winter's strike wave, but never tried to organize strong militant unions to break the non-union and company-union patterns in industries like the private auto companies.

For Proletarian Struggle Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

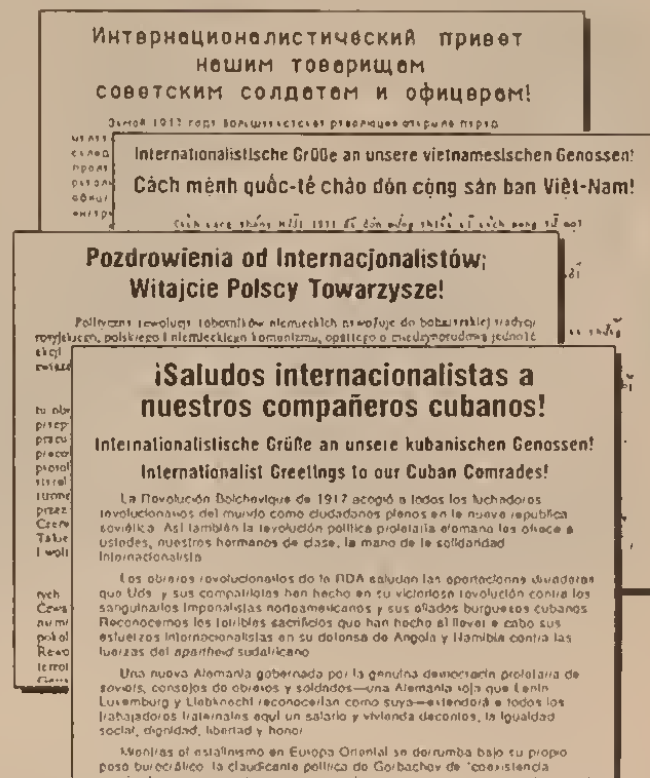
The interests of labor and minorities advance together, or they fall back together. In the mid-to-late 1950s, the CGT at Renault Billancourt organized a large proportion of the workers in the plant (unlike today's "minority" union representation). The Communist Party's naked social-patriotic betrayal of the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria, lining up with French imperialism as it bloodily repressed the Algerian masses, struck a terrible blow against class consciousness and communist sympathies among Algerian workers in France, who included the majority of workers at Billancourt. The CP underlined its betrayal when the *Humanité* office barred its doors against people trying to escape the bullets and clubs when an October 1961 demonstration in Paris for Algerian independence was attacked by the cops, leaving hundreds dead.

Immigrant workers at factories like Talbot, on strike during the winter of 1983-84, were a spearhead of militant class struggle in defense of the economic interests of the entire working class. But the bureaucracy left them hanging out to dry. The splitting effects of this betrayal remain in the consciousness of the proletariat. Among the results of a "leadership" that won't fight on behalf of the specially oppressed are weak unions that don't defend the interests of any of their members and a political climate dominated by racist arguments in the mouths of both the right and the "left."

The reformist betrayers, who always begin by accepting the limits of whatever racist capitalism says is "possible" (in

other words, profitable), are more than willing to compete with the rightists in chauvinist attacks on minorities. Trailing along behind them are many of the groups of the "socialist" left, who—when they do not openly echo the bourgeoisie's racist code words about "drugs" and "crime" and "terrorism" and the bureaucracy's poisonous appeals against foreign workers "stealing our jobs"—content themselves with abstract

In fight for proletarian political revolution against capitalist restoration in East Germany, 1989-90, ICL issued internationalist greetings to Soviet soldiers and Vietnamese, Polish and Cuban workers. Counterrevolution has fueled anti-immigrant terror.



"anti-racist" appeals which they do nothing to really implement, for example in the unions where they have influence. Their empty moralism dovetails conveniently with the hypocrisy of the big reformist parties who turn around and organize mass marches for "tolerance"....after the official racist consensus in which they partake has emboldened fascist terrorists to burn down immigrant hostels, murdering men, women and children.

There can be no compromise between the internationalist program which the proletariat requires to fight for power—and even to wage defensive struggles in the imperialist epoch—and the acceptance of the poisonous racism which splits the working class and serves only the bourgeois masters. The revolutionary Trotskyists of the International Communist League have actively championed the rights of immigrants, fighting for full citizenship rights for everyone—no matter how they managed to get here. The ICL's French section, the Ligue Trotskyiste, fights for organizing mass labor/immigrant mobilizations to smash fascist provocations. In 1993 in Paris, we waged a propaganda campaign for the labor movement to turn out en masse to defend the 18th *arrondissement*, which had been placed under a state of siege: the racist state sent in an army of cops to crush a revolt of youth who took to the streets after a young African was shot in a police station. LTF supporters in the public sector during last December's strikes called on their unions to fight the racist ban on employment of immigrant workers in government jobs.

Only a new, revolutionary leadership—a Trotskyist proletarian party—can unite the working class in opposition to the class enemy and its racist system. Only such a party can win to the side of workers revolution the immigrant workers and the new generation of activist youth. Thousands of youth throughout Europe have sought to militantly defend immigrants and second-generation youth, many now think of themselves as "anarchists," out of disgust with the chauvinism and indifference of parties calling themselves "socialists" and "communists."

Indifference to racial oppression flows directly from a perspective of *class collaboration*. The fundamental method of the reformists is to seek allies in some sector of "their own" national bourgeoisie (this year in France, the CP is trying to form a bloc with the "anti-Maastricht" bourgeoisie) and certainly not to look for allies among the specially oppressed layers of the working people. We proletarian revolutionaries are the opposite, not made stupid and corrupt chasing after "friends" among the class enemy, we know who our friends are.

While there are important differences in the nature and role of blacks in the United States and the non-European immigrant communities in West Europe,

the struggle to overcome racial and ethnic divisions is strategically central to communist leadership of the working class and its allies in all regions of the capitalist world. As we wrote over 20 years ago in "West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution" (BA No. 31, 26 October 1973):

"Just as achieving racial unity is central to working-class consciousness in the U.S., so integrating foreign workers into the labor movement is now key to deepening the internationalist consciousness of the French and German proletariat. Conversely, anti-foreign-worker policies are now the main axis for West European reaction. When the French fascist 'Ordre Nouveau' (New Order) reasserted its public presence recently, it did so through a rally to expel foreign workers. The struggle against the oppression of foreign workers is at the same time crucial to winning the West European proletariat to socialist internationalism."

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Israel...

(continued from page 16)

Yasir Arafat's "autonomous" Palestinian Authority, established by the U.S.-sponsored September 1993 accord. In early August, Netanyahu gave the go-ahead for the expansion of Zionist settlements in the Occupied Territories, coupled with the construction of new fortified highways through Palestinian lands in the West Bank and two new bridges across the Jordan River to service the "expanding population" of the occupied Golan Heights, seized from Syria in 1967. Later that month, Israeli bulldozers provocatively demolished a Palestinian home for the disabled in East Jerusalem.

There are forces within and around the Netanyahu coalition who seek a "final solution" to the Palestinian question through the forcible expulsion ("transfer") of all Arabs from the Occupied Territories. A telling harbinger of the intensified Israeli crackdown against the Palestinians was Netanyahu's appointment of fascist former general Ariel Sharon, who presided over the slaughter of hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon in

1982, as head of a broad new "Ministry of National Infrastructures" charged with overseeing the settlement expansion. Sharon has vowed to move 500,000 settlers into the West Bank, more than tripling the current number of these fascist-led fanatics, and has ordered the development of three new settlements in the Golan Heights. The latter is a direct provocation aimed at Syria, which had earlier agreed to U.S.-orchestrated "peace" negotiations with Israel on the basis of an eventual return of the Golan.

Then came Netanyahu's opening of the tunnel under the Al Aksa mosque and the Haram al-Sharif (known to Jews as the Temple Mount), against the advice even of his own security chiefs. Full-scale "holy wars" have been instigated by lesser incidents. This piece of land sacred to Muslims, Jews and Christians has been the site of repeated Zionist provocations over the years. In 1990, Israeli troops murdered over 20 Palestinians protesting an attempt by a fascist group known as the "Temple Mount Faithful" to lay a cornerstone on Muslim holy ground for a new Jewish temple.

The morning after the tunnel was opened, more than a thousand Palestinian students from the West Bank's Bir

Zet University gathered for a protest in Ramallah. As they approached the military checkpoint at the outskirts of the city, Israeli troops opened fire. One student was killed and another 140 injured. Ambulances called in to treat the wounded were turned back. The Palestinian police cracked, as some fired back to defend themselves and their compatriots against the murderous Israeli onslaught. Fighting spread rapidly throughout the West Bank and Gaza, with some PLO forces again defending stone-throwing protesters while others tried to hold the demonstrators back. One PLO policeman explained, "How am I supposed to follow orders when I see my cousin, my brother or my neighbor being wounded?" By the third day of protests, however, Arafat had reasserted full control over his cops, as Palestinian Authority police clad in riot gear mobilized to join Israeli forces in suppressing the demonstrations.

The protests by stone-throwing youth evoked scenes of the *Intifada*, the years-long Palestinian uprising which began in December 1987. A Palestinian legislator who witnessed the recent protests said, "People were just running toward death, attacking Israeli soldiers who they knew would shoot them." Reeking with chauvinism, Israelis complained that their murderous occupation forces were being shot at by Palestinian police who were supplied with arms which were supposed to be used only against other Palestinians. Guns were available during the *Intifada* as well; that they were not used was a political calculation aimed in part at avoiding an even bloodier response by the Israelis and in part because the PLO was using the protests as a pressure tactic to force Israel and its U.S. imperialist patrons to the bargaining table.

We stand with the Palestinians against the bloody Israeli occupiers. But while, as one Palestinian remarked, there was a "momentary satisfaction" gained from finally seeing some Israeli soldiers hit the ground, the Palestinian people clearly cannot prevail in a military confrontation with the Zionist juggernaut. Israeli commanders have already threatened to use tank fire—in addition to Cobra helicopter gunships—to suppress further armed protests.



Reuters

Arafat's police mobilized to suppress Palestinian protests.



Johnston/Washington Post

Clinton's White House "summit" meeting after Zionist bloodbath brought together PLO leader Yasir Arafat and murderers of Palestinian people, Jordan's King Hussein and Israeli prime minister Netanyahu (far right).

The decisive question is political: the need to break the Hebrew-speaking workers from Zionist chauvinism and the Palestinian masses from petty-bourgeois nationalism. Many Israelis look back to the former "Labor" government of Shimon Peres and his predecessor Yitzhak Rabin, assassinated by a Zionist fascist last year, for inaugurating "peace" with the PLO. But "Labor," a thoroughly bourgeois party, is no less committed to Zionist expansionism than Likud and was for many years the mainstay of the Israeli ruling class. Rabin/Peres presided over a 40 percent "thickening" of the settler population, aimed at preparing for out-

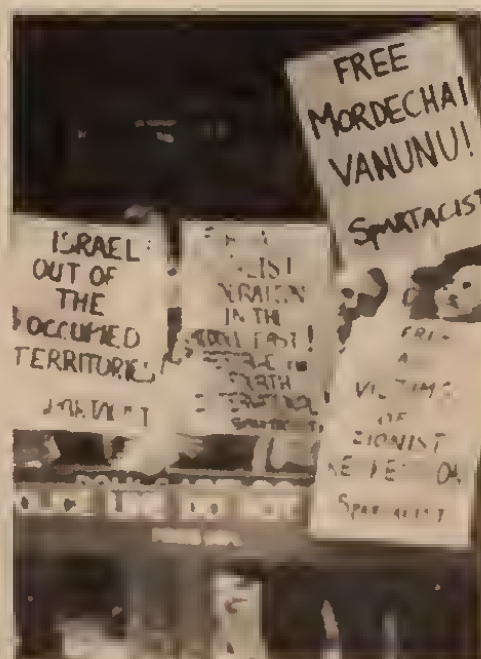
Ten Years in Solitary Confinement in Israel

Free Vanunu Now!

In late September, protests were held in a number of cities internationally to demand freedom for Mordechai Vanunu, the heroic nuclear technician who is locked away in solitary confinement in an Israeli dungeon for warning the world of the extent of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. Supporters of the International Communist League participated in these demonstrations, with signs demanding, "Free Mordechai Vanunu! Free All Victims of Zionist Repression!" and "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!"

September 30 marked ten years since the Israeli Mossad secret police, assisted by British and Australian intelligence services, kidnapped Vanunu from Italy and whisked him away to an Ashkelon desert prison, where he has remained in isolation ever since. Based on his experience as a technician at the top-secret Dimona nuclear facility, Vanunu had revealed to the *London Times* that the war-crazed Zionist madmen had upwards of 200 nuclear warheads, enough to vaporize every Arab city in the Near East and to strike at what was then the Soviet Union.

Vanunu's revelations were a great service to humanity. The Zionist fanatics are fully capable of launching this arsenal of megadeath. In the first days of the 1973 October War when Israel thought it might be defeated by Arab armies, it armed its missiles with nuclear warheads and put them on combat readiness.



WV Photo

In mid-October, a two-day conference will be held in Tel Aviv on "Democracy, Human Rights and Mordechai Vanunu," sponsored and chaired by 1995 Nobel Peace Prize winner Joseph Rotblat. A nuclear scientist who briefly participated in the U.S. A-bomb "Manhattan Project," Rotblat is a longtime opponent of nuclear



Domenica del Corriere

New York City demonstration, September 30, one of numerous international protests to demand freedom for Mordechai Vanunu, gagged and imprisoned by Israeli police in 1986.

weapons and has been outspoken in his defense of Vanunu (see WV No. 647, 7 June). In a recent interview where he denounced the harsh punishment imposed on Vanunu, Rotblat drew a comparison with the sentence given Klaus Fuchs, convicted on charges of passing U.S. nuclear secrets to the Soviets. According to Rotblat, "Without his

information the Russians simply could not have built the nuclear bomb. Fuchs was sentenced to 40 years in jail, where he worked as a librarian, and was released after nine."

While Rotblat's intentions are well-meaning, he is mistaken in asserting that the Soviet Union couldn't build the A-bomb without outside help. At bottom, this is a reflection of primitive anti-Communism. When America's capitalist rulers condemned the Rosenbergs to the electric chair as "Soviet nuclear spies" in the early 1950s in a Cold War witchhunt heavily laced with anti-Semitism, the McCarthyite anti-Communists too argued that the Soviets couldn't do anything themselves—though U.S. scientists had repeatedly made it clear that any industrial power could develop atomic weapons.

In any case, liberal appeals to a sense of "fairness" on the part of Israel's rulers fall on deaf ears. Vanunu remains in a six-by-nine-foot cell, cut off from virtually any human contact. Only last year an Israeli court refused even to remove Vanunu from solitary confinement, much less free him. Meanwhile, dozens of other Israelis are held in secret in Zionist dungeons on charges of espionage, in addition to the thousands of Palestinians who are regularly imprisoned and tortured. The ICL has publicized Vanunu's case since the time of his abduction and imprisonment. We honor Mordechai Vanunu and demand his immediate freedom.

right annexation of a large part of the West Bank. Nor is the "left" Zionist Meretz, associated with the Israeli "Peace Now" movement, any less reactionary toward the Palestinians. Meretz was a loyal component of the last government and now criticizes Netanyahu only for failing to consult with his security chiefs over the opening of the tunnel.

In the Occupied Territories, outrage over Arafat's capitulation to Israel initially drove many Palestinians to embrace the sinister anti-Semitic and anti-woman fundamentalists of Islamic Jihad and Hamas, which presented themselves as the only forces standing up to the Zionist occupiers. Hamas' influence seems to have waned, as reflected in the low response to its call for a mass confrontation with Israeli forces after Friday prayer services on October 4. In any case, the last few years have amply underscored the dead end of all varieties of Arab nationalism. The latest upsurge of protest and the Israeli massacre have temporarily holstered Arafat's authority among the Palestinian people, but he is using it only to continue pursuing futile "negotiations" with the Zionist butchers. The only way forward for the historically secular and cosmopolitan Palestinian people, dispersed throughout the Near East, lies through the road of internationalist class struggle against all the oppressor regimes of the region.

Revolt in Jordan

For years, much of the Western left—trailing after PLO petty-bourgeois nationalism, which in turn looked to the feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist Arab regimes—prated about a mythical "Arab Revolution" to destroy the Zionist state from without. This simultaneously amnesied the Arab rulers while dismissing any possibility of struggle by the Hebrew-speaking proletariat of Israel.

Today many of these enthusiasts for Arab nationalism have become publicists for the Zionist slavemasters' "peace" deal. Thus, a recent issue of *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (July-August 1996), published by U.S. followers of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), continues to hail the "Arab Revolution" of the 1960s while crowing that the "*Intifada*" (by which they mean the Israel-PLO accords) brought about "an end to occupation over large sections of the territories seized by Israel in 1967." This grotesque whitewash is a crude echo of the position of the Israeli USec, which called to "pressure" the murderous Rabin government to demand "the exact implementation of the agreements" (*The Other Front*, 5 September 1994).

Two events this summer vividly showed the potential for class struggle both in Israel and the Arab countries. On July 17, half a million Israeli workers walked off the job in a 10-hour general strike—the first in over 20 years—against Likud attacks on social programs and its plans to privatize nationalized industry. A month later, Jordan was rocked by a massive social upheaval after King Hussein's government more than doubled the price of bread to satisfy the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Convulsive protests spread from the southern towns of Kerak, Maan and Tafila to the capital of Amman. For three days, stone-throwing demonstrators defied tear-gas attacks and engaged in pitched battles with cops and troops, setting fire to two government buildings and a private bank in Kerak. While Hussein ranted against supposed "outside agitators" from Iraq coming in to foment "sedition," one student protester said simply, "We are making revolution because we need the bread."

Echoing Rabin's threats against the *Intifada*, Hussein vowed to crush the bread riots with an "iron fist," as his troops surrounded Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan to prevent them from joining the protests. But it was not only massive repression which kept the dispossessed Palestinian masses from rising up against the hated Jordanian monarch. Arafat reportedly explicitly ordered his

followers in Jordan not to participate in the revolt. For decades, both mainstream PLO leaders like Arafat and radical-sounding "rejectionists" like George Habbash's Popular Front (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front (DFLP) turned a blind eye to any struggle which challenged the Arab regimes. In 1970, this suicidal reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies resulted in the horrendous Black September massacre in Jordan, as Hussein's forces slaughtered thousands of Palestinian militants who had been disarmed by their petty-bourgeois nationalist misleaders.

The Hashemite monarchy has been a loyal junior partner to Israel since 1948 and an ally in subjugating the Palestinian people. Indeed, most proposals for Palestinian "autonomy" involve "confederation" with Jordan of a handful of isolated Palestinian cantons in the West Bank and Gaza. Thus, the recent revolt in Jordan sent alarm bells ringing among the Zionist rulers. One Israeli spokesman wrote: "Israel needs Jordan as a buffer state—moderate, stable, pro-Israel and pro-American—in the midst of the potentially dangerous 'Eastern' front, comprising its worst enemies—Syria, Iraq, Iran and their potential Palestinian extension" (*Jerusalem Post International Edition*, 31 August). However, the other Near Eastern regimes—Syria included—have been no less brutal in suppressing the Palestinian people. Kuwait's mass expulsion of Palestinian workers in 1991, Libya's deportation of Palestinian refugees into the desert and the horrid conditions faced by Palestinians trapped in refugee camps in Egypt and Syrian-dominated Lebanon all attest to the lie that there is a classless "Arab solidarity."

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

In Israel as well, there has been a growing accumulation of social tinder. The nearly one million Palestinians who are nominally citizens of Israel are subjected to deep-going discrimination in jobs, housing, social benefits and civil rights and have increasingly demonstrated in solidarity with the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The recent influx of black Ethiopian Jews resulted earlier this year in mass protests against the vicious racist discrimination to which they have been subjected by Israeli Jewish society (see "Israel: Ethiopian Jews Protest Racist Blood Scandal," *WV* No. 640, 1 March). Meanwhile, the victory of Netanyahu's right-wing coalition has emboldened ultra-Orthodox mobs to take to the streets to terrorize women.

The importation of hundreds of thousands of contract workers from East Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia to replace low-wage Palestinian labor has created a sizable sector of the workforce which has no reason to be beholden to Zionism. As many as one in seven resi-



Israel deployed helicopter gunships to fire on Palestinian protesters.



dents of Tel Aviv, Israel's largest city, are today immigrant laborers. Deprived of any rights, they are subjected to all-sided racism and appalling conditions, forced to live 15 to a room and often deported by their employers without being paid. Meanwhile, the government has sought to whip up a racist frenzy against foreign workers, curtailing work permits and ordering up to 150,000 "illegals" to be rounded up and deported.

A Trotskyist party in Israel would demand full citizenship rights for these workers, linking this directly to the call for the *right of return for all Palestinians* driven out in 1948 and 1967. Even such elementary democratic demands strike at the heart of Zionism and its definition of Israel as an ethnically and religiously pure "Jewish state." It is necessary to shatter the reactionary "social solidarity" which keeps the Hebrew-speaking proletariat blinded by Zionist reaction, and to fight to break the stranglehold of the corporatist Histadrut trade-union federation which is a key prop of the Zionist capitalist state. Central to any revolutionary perspective in Israel is forthrightly championing the national rights of the Palestinian people. If the Israeli working people are not to serve as fodder for a nuclear Armageddon in the region, they *must break with Zionism*.

The Near East has historically been a powder keg for interimperialist conflict and war, and Zionist provocations are pushing it ever more in that direction. This is reflected today in the sharpening rivalry particularly between Germany



"Stateless" Palestinians have languished for decades in refugee camps in Jordan (above). As Jordanian army was unleashed to suppress bread riots (right) in August, Arafat ordered Palestinians not to join revolt.



Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Zionist Bloodbath

OCTOBER 7—The horrendous slaughter of Palestinians by Israeli forces in the Occupied Territories last week was unprecedented even by the recent standards of that bloodsoaked region. Beginning with an attack on an Arab student protest in the West Bank city of Ramallah, the Zionist butchers killed 62 Palestinians, 39 in one day alone. Nearly a thousand more Palestinians were wounded, as Israeli troops and Cobra helicopter gunships fired directly into crowds of demonstrators. This time, however, the corpses were not all on one side: 14 Israeli soldiers died when Palestinian demonstrators and policemen armed with pistols and automatic rifles returned fire.

The immediate trigger for the latest round of slaughter was the opening of a new exit, right in the heart of Arah East Jerusalem, of an ancient tunnel under a wall of Al Aksa mosque, the third-holiest site for Muslims in the world. Carried out under heavily armed guard in the dead of night, this was a calculated provocation by the right-wing government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. But it was only the latest in a whole series of bloody Zionist provocations against the Palestinian people in the months before and since Netanyahu's election in late May. Subjected to an ongoing starvation embargo, ever more frequent land "expropriations" and demolitions of homes and the expansion of fortified Zionist "settlements," the long-suffering Palestinian masses finally erupted in outrage.

In the wake of the protests, the Zionist occupiers have turned the already besieged Palestinian enclaves in the Occupied Territories into virtual concentration camps. Already suffering as a result of almost continual Israeli "closures" of the territories, Arab areas have run desperately low on food, and hospitals have scrambled for meager medical supplies to treat the hundreds of wounded. Tanks have been deployed in the region for the first time since the 1967 war during which Israel seized the territories. While heavily armed fascistic "settlers" remain free to menace Palestinians at will, virtual round-the-clock curfews have been imposed on Arab residents. Even dirt paths leading from one village to another have been blockaded. Supposedly "autonomous" Palestinian towns and villages have been tightly encircled by Israeli troops, tanks, artillery and snipers, recalling the Jewish ghettos of Nazi-occupied East Europe. The slightest incident could spark a massacre which would make last week's bloodbath pale in comparison. It is urgent for workers and the oppressed around the world to raise the call: *Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories now!*

In a desperate attempt to refurbish the sham U.S.-sponsored Near East "peace process," President Bill Clinton staged yet another photo-op "summit" meeting at the White House between Israel's Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority president Yasir Arafat, this time with Jordan's King Hussein in tow. Washington privately fumed over Netanyahu's refusal to grant even the most cosmetic con-



Israeli massacre killed more than 60 Palestinians.



Defend the Palestinian People!

cessions—like resealing the tunnel or implementing the long overdue redeployment of Israeli troops stationed in the West Bank town of Hebron—in the interest of restoring "stability" in the region. But the U.S. rulers nonetheless stood by their murderous Israeli client state. Clinton's cynical speechifying about "peace" must have sounded particularly hollow to the hundreds of Palestinians wounded by U.S.-supplied arms and helicopter gunships and to the families of those who were gunned down. We say: *Down with the bloody anti-Palestinian "Pax Americana"—U.S. imperialist hands off the Near East!*

There will be no peace in this volatile region so long as imperialism and capitalism hold sway. The latest Israeli massacre underscores the impossibility of achieving genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people without a thoroughgoing social revolution. The Zionist state's very existence is premised on the national oppression of the Palestinians. In neighboring Jordan, the Hashemite kingdom lords it over a predominantly Palestinian population, while hundreds of thousands of "stateless" Palestinians have languished for two generations in wretched refugee camps policed by the Arab bourgeoisies. Israel's nuclear-armed capitalist rulers have made it clear again and again that they will shrink from no atrocity to pursue their expansionist aims and maintain the subjugation of the Palestinian masses. It is necessary to explode the Zionist

garrison-state from within by breaking the grip of racist chauvinism and winning them to the cause of proletarian revolution in league with their Arab class brothers and sisters.

The conflicting national claims of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab masses can only be equitably resolved by sweeping away all the bourgeoisies of the region, not only the Zionist madmen but also the Arab feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist regimes. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

"Peace" Accords: Death Trap for Palestinians

Following last week's bloody events, the Western press has been filled with laments over the death of the "peace process." But the Zionist bloodbath was a *direct result* of the September 1993 accord between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Yasir Arafat. Denouncing this "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto" at the time, we noted that it did "not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination," amounting to little more than "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums" (WV No. 583, 10 September 1993). We warned that the agreement placed "the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" and that the result would be "PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist

state terrorists."

While many Palestinians initially expressed relief that they could at least walk down their own streets without being confronted by gun-toting racist Israeli soldiers, it soon became clear that in many ways the PLO accord had actually led to a *worsening* of conditions. Tens of thousands of Palestinians who had eked out a living as superexploited day laborers in Israel were deprived of any livelihood. Conditions have grown so dire that there are reports of young Palestinians being forced to sell their kidneys to Israeli hospitals to provide for their families.

Meanwhile, the "autonomous" Palestinian areas were literally transformed into Nazi-style ghettos, policed internally by Arafat's cops and surrounded by Israeli troops and checkpoints, cut off even from neighboring Arab villages. This year alone, Palestinian police have imprisoned over 2,000 people, many without trial. Eight people have died of torture while in custody; violent protests following the death of Mahmud Jumeil in August were brutally repressed by Arafat's thugs. The sham character of the autonomy was fully revealed last week, as Israeli troops invaded Ramallah to shoot down Palestinian protesters.

The Zionist bloodbath was a massacre waiting to happen. Following the installation of his Likud coalition government in June, Netanyahu flaunted his refusal to so much as acknowledge the existence of

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