

Jobs for All at Union Wages!

Labor Must Fight Racist, Union-Busting "Workfare"!

In New York City, more than 35,000 desperately poor people have been forced into working for no pay other than their paltry welfare checks at municipal service jobs that were once unionized and relatively well paid. In Baltimore, welfare clients are being brought in to work as school janitors and bus drivers for less than \$40 a week. In Chicago, convict labor is being deployed to fill formerly unionized jobs cleaning city buses.

One million immigrants, many of whom have lived in this country most of their lives, were cut off food stamps on April 1. In August, 500,000 are scheduled to lose their Supplemental Security Income disability benefits. While the Democrats shed some crocodile tears and are now hatching a deal to restore minimal benefits for "legal" immigrants, the wanton and cruel destruction of the lives of millions is being enforced under the provisions of the "welfare reform" bill which was introduced by the Republicans and signed into law by Democratic president Clinton last August.

As we wrote last year in our article "Welfare-Bashers: Busting Unions, Starving the Poor" (WV No. 657, 6 December 1996):

"Seeking as always to foster and deepen racial antagonisms within the working class, the bourgeoisie seeks to sucker white workers and the middle class into believing that the assault on social welfare programs is directed at black people and immigrants, who supposedly live off of working people's hard-earned tax dollars. Aside from the fact that the majority of welfare recipients are white, this grotesque racist lie aims to cover over the reality that the attacks on welfare are part and parcel of a broader assault on the living standards of *all working people*."

As Marxists, revolutionary socialists, we understand that this assault can only

Union Tops: Enforcers for Clinton's Democrats

AFSCME union tops Gerald McEntee and William Lucy embrace welfare-basher Clinton. "Workfare" forces the poor to replace unionized municipal workers, while thousands line up for handful of jobs in NYC.



Cohen/Public Employee Press



Economist



Lippman/NY Post



be defeated through proletarian *class struggle*. This perspective stands in marked contrast to reformists like the Workers World Party (WWP), which is currently organizing a demonstration in

Philadelphia on April 27 centered on the dismal goal of begging imperialist commander in chief Bill Clinton to "suspend" the anti-welfare law he himself signed. Beholden to the "politics of the

possible," the reformists accept the existing miserable conditions of workers, minorities and the poor. But particularly with the capitalist ruling class dead set

continued on page 10

Italian Navy Massacres Boatload of Refugees

Imperialist Troops Out of Albania!

MILANO, April 13—On April 9, less than two weeks after an Italian navy ship rammed and sank a boat on the Adriatic Sea filled with desperate refugees fleeing poverty and chaos in Albania, the Italian parliament voted by a large majority in favor of military intervention in that tiny Balkan coun-

try. Advance units of a 2,500-strong Italian military contingent, to be joined by 3,500 troops from France, Spain and other European powers, have already begun landing in the Albanian capital of Tirana. This act of war is aimed at disarming the population of Albania, militarily halting the flow of refugees to Italy and restoring and reinforcing a pliant capitalist puppet regime that can oversee and enforce the exploitation of the Albanian masses by Italian capitalism.

As a result of capitalist counterrevolution, the populace of what was already

the most economically backward and impoverished country in Europe was driven to such desperation that fully a quarter of Albania's eight million people threw their life's savings into phony pyramid "investment" schemes promising enormous returns. When the scams collapsed earlier this year, burgeoning mass protests culminated in an armed revolt throughout much of the country. In a bid to restore order, in March the country's discredited right-wing president, Sali Berisha, appointed as prime minister Bashkim Fino from the opposition "Socialist" Party, whose

leaders had been thrown in jail by Berisha!

Taking advantage of an Albanian population reduced to near-starvation, Italian imperialism is now intervening in Albania with the excuse of providing "humanitarian aid." In reality, behind this hypocritical cover the army will bring oppression, exploitation and death to the Albanian masses, as it has already to the boatload of refugees. In a leaflet denouncing this imperialist massacre, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist

continued on page 8



Against "Tricolor" Fake Left, French Trotskyists Say: Our Flag Is Red!

On March 29, tens of thousands of people demonstrated in the French city of Strasbourg to protest a national congress of Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front (NF) being staged there. The NF has been registering significant electoral gains through a violent campaign targeting immigrants and people of North African or African origin as scapegoats for the highest unemployment rates the country has seen since the end of World War II. In the past year, Le Pen's thugs have won control of four city governments in southern France. The fascists have also been emboldened by an "official" climate of anti-immigrant chauvinism, marked

by racist deportations of *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and escalating cop terror.

In protest against such measures, there have been a number of mass demonstrations in recent months, some including sizable working-class contingents, in defense of the *sans-papiers* and against the racist expulsions. Yet many of the reformist and centrist groups, tailing the Socialist (PS) and Communist (PCF) parties, have sought to channel the fight against the government's anti-immigrant racism and Le Pen's fascist thugs into popular-frontist mobilizations which march behind the tricolor flag of "demo-

**Demonstration
against
Le Pen's fascist
National Front,
Strasbourg,
March 29.**



Reuters

cratic" French imperialism. In contrast, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) and the Jeunesse Spartaciste youth have raised the demand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and called for worker/immigrant mobilizations against fascist terror. They fight for a revolutionary internationalist perspective based on mobilizing the social power of the multiethnic proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We publish below a report by the LTF on an intervention at a public meeting following the Strasbourg anti-NF rally, translated and slightly adapted from *Le Bolchevik* (No. 142, Spring 1997).

ers and oppressed on the other—all fighting for a presumed common end, the "democratic" fatherland.

In 1789, at the time of the French Revolution, the tricolor flag was the rallying point of progress all throughout Europe, because it was the symbol of the overthrow of feudalism—a historic leap forward which liberated society from the yoke of feudalism, allowing the rapid advance of science, culture and the productive forces. But in the revolutions of 1848 and 1871, rivers of blood drew the line between the bourgeoisie's tricolor flag and the workers' red banner. In 1871, the blood of 40,000 Communards flowed between the tricolor of the reactionary bourgeois state forces of Versailles and the red flag of the Paris Commune. Today the red-white-and-blue flag is the flag of the imperialist chauvinism of our class enemy, the French bourgeoisie, of dirty colonial wars and interimperialist world wars.

In 1914-18 and 1939-45, during the First and Second World Wars, it was under this flag that the bourgeoisie sent young workers and peasants to their deaths by the millions, as cannon fodder fighting for French imperialist plunder. From Sétif, Algeria in 1945 to the Persian Gulf War in 1991, not to mention the brutal colonial repression in Madagascar and the Vietnamese and Algerian Wars, it's behind this flag that French imperialism sends its troops to massacre the colonial peoples and suck their blood. It's behind this flag that the paratroopers and French Foreign Legionnaires are terrorizing the peoples of Africa to protect corrupt neocolonial dictatorships.

And it's also so that this flag will continue to fly in Pacific New Caledonia that Eloi Machoro and the Kanak fighters of Ouvéa were massacred by the French state's murderers. This flag flies over the police station in the 18th arrondissement [district] of Paris, where Makomé Mbowolé was killed by the cops. This tricolor was displayed on the cops' uniforms as they killed Malik Oussékine.

No, the tricolor flag is not our flag, it's the flag of our class enemies. We will leave to the fascists and the bourgeoisie and its reformist lapdogs their tricolor flag, stained with the blood of the workers and oppressed. Our flag is the red flag of the Commune and the 1917 October Revolution, the first victorious workers revolution. Our comrade reminded everyone in the room how we demand that "Everybody who got here should have the right to stay here" and fight for "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" She concluded: "The last time in history that full citizenship rights for all became reality was in 1917, when the bourgeoisie was overthrown by socialist revolution, with the victory of the working class under the leadership of a revolutionary party, the Bolshevik Party." ■



TROTSKY

Lessons of the April 1927 Shanghai Massacre

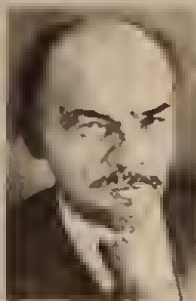
This month marks 70 years since the massacre of the Communist-led proletariat in Shanghai, China by the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. The ground for Chiang's bloody terror was prepared by Stalin/Bukharin's Communist International, which had subordinated the Chinese Communist Party to Chiang as leader of the "anti-imperialist," "democratic" revolution. In drawing the lessons of

the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 as part of his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Left Opposition leader Leon Trotsky generalized his theory of permanent revolution: that in the imperialist epoch, national liberation, agrarian revolution and social emancipation in semicolonial and formerly colonial countries can be achieved only through proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist countries.

Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses. In 1905, the proletariat of Russia did not prove strong enough to unite the peasant masses around it and to conquer power. For this very reason, the revolution halted midway, and then sank lower and lower. In China, where, in spite of the exceptionally favourable situation, the leadership of the Communist International prevented the Chinese proletariat from fighting for power, the national tasks found a wretched, unstable and niggardly solution in the régime of the Kuomintang.

When and under what conditions a colonial country will become ripe for the real revolutionary solution of its agrarian and national problems cannot be foretold. But in any case we can assert today with full certainty that not only China but also India will attain genuine people's democracy, that is, workers' and peasants' democracy, only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. On that road there may still be many stages, steps and phases. Under the pressure of the masses of the people the bourgeoisie will still take steps to the left, in order then to fall all the more mercilessly upon the people. Periods of dual power are possible and probable. But what there will not be, what there cannot be, is a genuine democratic dictatorship that is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. An "independent" democratic dictatorship can only be of the type of the Kuomintang, that is, directed entirely against the workers and the peasants. We must understand this at the outset and teach it to the masses, without hiding the class realities behind abstract formulas.

— Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1929)



LENIN

LE BOLCHEVIK

Newspaper of the
Ligue Trotskyiste de France

On March 30, the day after the big protest demonstration against Le Pen's National Front meeting in Strasbourg, a forum on immigration was organized by the leftist, anti-NF "Committee of Vigilance." A team from the International Communist League intervened, composed of comrades from the Ligue Trotskyiste de France and our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party.

The platform speakers included Mouloud Aounit of the MRAP [Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples], Fodé Sylla from SOS-Racisme and Ababacar Diop, a representative of the *sans-papiers*. The meeting was attended by 350 people, many of them young and of North African descent. The speeches from the podium put forward a perspective of defending "republican values" and fighting to prevent "France's democratic image" from being "tarnished by the NF's ideas."

After condemning the racist policies carried out by the former PS-PCF governments and the attempts to mislead youth onto a reformist path of "capitalism with a human face," one of our comrades intervened to denounce the red-white-and-blue French flags flying in the official contingent at the head of the previous day's demonstration. To applause from one part of the room and boos from the other, she said, "It made me want to throw up." She continued: "This flag is the flag of massacres of hundreds of thousands of colonial people, for example, the Algerian people." This intervention touched off a heated debate, the panel intervening almost at once to explain, in the person of Aounit, that "we shouldn't concede the national flag to the NF."

In this way, the social democrats try to line up behind their own bourgeoisie. They want to sell people the notion that there's a common interest between the capitalist class on one side and the work-

WORKERS VANGUARD

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18 April 1997

D.A. Admits Racist Jury Rigging

Philadelphia: Frame-Up City

Hard on the heels of a police frame-up and corruption scandal which has already led to the overturn of nearly 300 convictions, Philadelphia is now being rocked by revelations of a pervasive pattern of racist jury rigging by the district attorney's office. The latest disclosure came right from the horse's mouth: Democratic Philly D.A. Lynne Abraham. On March 27, Abraham released a ten-year-old "training" videotape made by her current Republican opponent for the office, Jack McMahon, when he was an assistant D.A. The tape showed McMahon giving a one-hour lecture—shot through with blatant racism—tutoring new prosecutors in the art of rigging juries, particularly aimed at excluding black jurors.

Abraham sanctimoniously pronounced: "The sentiments and practices discussed on that videotape are repugnant to me and they are in direct contradiction to my beliefs and to the policies of this office." What's on that tape is definitely repugnant, but Abraham's statement is the height of cynicism, coming from one of the country's most repugantly racist district attorneys, who presides over the largest and most overwhelmingly black death row in any Northern city. Abraham released the tape—which had supposedly been sitting in a drawer for seven years—only as a transparent election ploy, to counter McMahon after he had accused her of being "racially insensitive" for her comments about black prosecutors. Puncturing Abraham's pretensions of innocence, local defense attorney Jules Epstein said: "Let's not mistake this for a noble act. I wasn't getting any videotapes in nonelection years."

There is now talk that some of the 36 murder convictions secured by McMahon may have to be overturned, and some observers have even raised the need to re-examine cases pursued by McMahon's "students." In fact, what is posed is a legal basis for the potential overturn of thousands of convictions. Meanwhile, Abraham has ludicrously denied that any of



Joseph Morris (above) and Betty Patterson (near right), falsely imprisoned by Philly police frame-up machine.

the 253 assistant D.A.s currently on her staff attended McMahon's lecture. But as John Ackerman, a former dean of the National College of Criminal Defense, remarked, "DAs traditionally have tried to remove black jurors from cases where there's a black defendant." In fact, the video itself—which carries the imprimatur of Ronald D. Castille, Abraham's immediate predecessor in the job—makes eminently clear that racist jury rigging is standard operating procedure.

Nor was the racist "lecture" by McMahon an isolated incident, as indicated by the logo at the start of the tape referring to "DATV Productions." A column in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (6 April) ironically noted, "You've got to wonder what other how-to videos are gathering dust in the D.A.'s vault: *The Care and Feeding of Informants; How to Win Friends and Influence Judges; Fabricating Evidence; The End Justifies the Means; Expert Testimony: If You Pay Them, They Will Say It?*"

What is conspicuous in all the bourgeois media coverage of the McMahon tape is that the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has gone virtually unmentioned.

Racist jury rigging was a key aspect in Jamal's 1982 frame-up trial. Moreover, the police and prosecution scandals which have erupted in Philadelphia not only shed light on the conspiracy to railroad Jamal, but have been directly linked to his case. Most recently, Pamela Jenkins, the key witness in the two-year-old 39th District cop corruption investigation, came forward to reveal that the police had tried to get her to perjure herself to finger Jamal for the 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner, for which he was falsely convicted (see "Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up," WV No. 664, 21 March).

Echoed by the bourgeois press, Abraham denounced McMahon as a "rogue assistant district attorney." McMahon is no more a "rogue" than are the racist cops who gun down black and Hispanic youth on the streets, manufacture and plant "evidence" and "testify" against innocent people in the courtroom. Former D.A. Castille, who clearly authorized the jury-rigging lectures, today sits on the state Supreme Court, which is slated to rule on Mumia's appeal at any moment. This

gives added weight to the fight by Jamal's attorneys for Castille to recuse himself from hearing Jamal's appeal. Police and prosecutors, like the judges who act as "prosecutors in robes"—as Albert Sabo, who presided over Jamal's farce of a trial in 1982 and an appeal hearing two years ago, is widely described—are all integral components of the apparatus of racist capitalist repression.

Capitalist "Justice"—Racist to the Core

While citing a few of his more egregious statements, the bourgeois press has in fact downplayed the grotesquely and thoroughly racist character of McMahon's "lecture." The "DATV" tape of course takes aim against liberals (go for "stable conservative" types), social workers, teachers and "smart people"—who, McMahon intones, might take seriously the standard judicial injunction not to convict if there is "reasonable doubt." Even then, McMahon singles out white teachers who work with black students as potentially "good" jurors—because they

continued on page 9

Spartacist East Coast Regional Educational

150 Years of the Communist Manifesto

Speaker: George Foster, Spartacist League Central Committee 1 p.m.

Mobilize to Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee counsel, Jamal co-counsel 3 p.m.

To be followed by organizing workshops on how to build these campaigns

Avenge Steve Biko Through Workers Revolution!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Eyewitness Report: Jon Brule, Spartacist League Central Committee 7 p.m.

Saturday, April 19
P.S. 41, 116 West 11th Street

For more information, contact the Spartacist League.
New York (212) 267-1025 Boston (617) 666-9453 Washington, D.C. (202) 872-8240
or visit the New York Spartacist Public Office, open every Saturday 1 p.m. - 5 p.m.
at 41 Warren Street (near Chambers Street)

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist West Coast Regional Educational

For a Black-Centered Workers Government! Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Eyewitness Report: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee 11 a.m.

Mobilize to Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!

1:30 p.m. To be followed by organizing workshops on how to build these campaigns

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker: Oliver Stephens, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste (Canada) Central Committee 4 p.m.

Saturday, May 10
The Women's Building, 3543 18th Street (at Valencia)
Audre Lorde Room (BART stop: 16th and Mission)

For more information and readings, contact the Spartacist League: Los Angeles (213) 380-8239
San Francisco (415) 777-9367 Oakland (510) 839-0851 Vancouver (604) 687-0353
or visit the Bay Area Spartacist Public Office, open Thurs 5:30 p.m. - 8 p.m. and Sat 1 p.m. - 5 p.m.
at 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street), Oakland

SAN FRANCISCO

NYPD Reign of Racist Terror

In the early morning hours of April 6, 16-year-old Kevin Cedeño, a black high-school freshman, was gunned down with a shot in the back by New York City cop Anthony Pellegrini. A squad of cops then brutally handcuffed the youth as he lay bleeding on the sidewalk. After waiting half an hour for an ambulance to arrive, Cedeño was taken not to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital a few blocks away, but to Harlem Hospital more than two miles away. Cedeño died there.

Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani immediately jumped in to justify the killing. Dismissing eyewitness accounts to the contrary, Giuliani retailed the cops' story that they shot Cedeño in the stomach after he had supposedly threatened them with a 22-inch machete. But the following day, an official autopsy report revealed that Cedeño had indeed been shot in the back. So the killers-in-blue then claimed that Cedeño was running toward *other* cops when Pellegrini shot him. One commander even claimed that the cops had mistaken the machete Cedeño had allegedly been carrying for a shotgun!

Speaking to the press on a street corner outside her home two days after the brutal killing, an anguished Roma Cedeño, who had brought Kevin to the U.S. from Trinidad when he was five years old, called for her son's killer to be "prosecuted to the full extent of the law. He



Police killing of 16-year-old Kevin Cedeño (in photo with girlfriend) sparked protests by Washington Heights residents.

lems, was upset and needed to be hospitalized. Cops shoved Davidson, pepper-sprayed him and then shot him in the back, again claiming that their victim had attacked them with a knife. Davidson's daughter reports that her father was unarmed and was running from the cops when they gunned him down.

• Two days later, cops who were called to settle a domestic dispute in Queens gunned down Deonarine Matan,



New York Post photos

This has meant repeated demolition of homeless camps, brutal harassment of panhandlers and naked cop terror in the ghettos and barrios. Giuliani has been the cops' man in City Hall from the outset, winning the mayor's office in 1993 on the strength of cop support and a racist backlash against former black Democratic mayor David Dinkins. While Giuliani's racist "war on crime" has won him accolades from Wall Street and growing support from yuppies and predominantly white and middle-class neighborhoods, it has exacerbated the racial divide in this already raw city. Describing "a city divided by race, ethnicity and economic class," a recent *New York Times* (12 March) poll reported that while an increasing number of whites think conditions in the city are improving, the sentiment among most blacks and Hispanics is the opposite.

New York City's minorities are under a virtual siege of police terror. From 1993 to 1996, the number of police brutality complaints rose by over 35 percent. Amnesty International even published a special report last summer, titled "Police Brutality and Excessive Force in the New York City Police Department." The report notes that not only are minorities "the large majority of the victims of police abuses," often after "very minor disputes with officers on the street," but that "racial disparities appear to be especially marked in cases involving deaths in custody or questionable shootings."

A sense of the growing climate of fear pervading the streets of the city's minority areas was captured by a Washington Heights mother who told the *New York Times* (8 April): "I used to tell my children the police are here to protect and serve." Now, she continued, she tells them to "walk on the other side of the street" when they see cops. And, in one of a series of recent pieces by Bob Herbert on the NYPD, the *Times* columnist graphically detailed how black and Hispanic

youth are constantly "stopped, frisked, searched, threatened with arrest if they don't produce identification, cursed at, slapped around, spread-eagled on the ground, thrown against walls, run off of streetcorners, threatened with weapons" (*New York Times*, 7 March).

While liberals like Herbert eloquently describe and express alarm over such ever more brutal repression, at bottom they have no answer in the face of what is, in fact, a manifestation of the workings of this racist capitalist system. What is happening in New York is anything but unique. America's capitalist rulers have consciously augmented the forces of repression to try to keep the lid on the potentially explosive conditions in this society, especially pronounced in the inner cities, in the face of the growing gap between the filthy rich ruling class and those at the bottom. The effects of this policy—supported and enforced by both the Democratic and Republican parties—are seen in the growing incidence of racist killings by police nationally, in the skyrocketing numbers of minority men and women being locked away in prison hellholes, and in the speedup of "legal lynching" on the country's death rows.

"Review Board" Fraud

In the face of an all-sided reactionary offensive, even some bourgeois liberals are drawing a link between growing racist attacks and the assault on workers' unions and living standards. But, in their eyes, both minorities and labor are simply victims. Marxists fight to mobilize the *social power* of the multiracial labor movement in defense of its interests and those of all the oppressed under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party which will act as a "tribune of the people." The working class must make the fight against racist repression its own. The deadly fire that issues out of the cops' weapons on the streets of Washing-



AP

Police assault July 1992 Washington Heights protest over cop killing of young Dominican.

must be accountable for this ungodly act." On April 10, some 600 residents marched from the scene of the shooting to the 33rd Police Precinct to demand Pellegrini's indictment.

Police officials tried to quell anger in the overwhelmingly Hispanic and black Washington Heights neighborhood where Cedeño lived by staging a series of public "briefings" in the 33rd Precinct building. But the latest killing is far from an isolated event. The shooting of Cedeño and the cops' far-fetched cover-up story is part of the NYPD's standard operating procedure as it carries out an escalating reign of terror in the ghettos and barrios. In the last couple of months alone, New York's racist cops have tried to justify a series of police killings with the exact same excuse they used for gunning down Kevin Cedeño:

• On February 22, undercover cops raided the El Caribe social club in Queens where Dominican immigrant Jose Antonio Sanchez worked as a cook. The cops began beating a patron of the club. Detective Richard Soto then shot and killed Sanchez, claiming that the 56-year-old worker had threatened the cops with a kitchen knife.

• On March 21, Bronx cops shot and killed Donald Davidson after his daughter called "911" to report that her father, who had a history of psychiatric prob-

a Guyanese immigrant and grandfather, when he unsuspectingly walked into his living room carrying a kitchen knife.

These police outrages have provoked a number of angry protest demonstrations in various neighborhoods, most recently the march in Washington Heights. On March 2, some 300 friends and neighbors of Jose Antonio Sanchez and others marched to the local precinct house in Queens chanting, "Richard Soto, asesino!" As well, there have been repeated protests in the Bronx called by Parents Against Police Brutality, an organization formed by the families of victims of cop terror. Criminally, however, the heads of the city's heavily minority trade unions refuse to lift a finger in protest against this intensifying reign of racist cop terror. What's needed is mass protest centered on the social power of the labor movement, as part of a fight to mobilize the working class as a whole for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of racist repression.

Cop Terror, U.S.A.

The latest wave of NYPD killings is part and parcel of the Giuliani administration's "Quality of Life" crackdown, supposedly aimed at "cleaning up" New York through such measures as running out "squeegee men" and removing legions of homeless from the public eye.



WV Photo

March 1996 protest at New York City Hall against police brutality. It will take socialist revolution to sweep away entire apparatus of racist capitalist repression.

Ominous KKK Rally in Pittsburgh

On April 5, nearly 50 robed Klansmen and Nazi skinheads rallied in downtown Pittsburgh under the protection of over 300 uniformed cops, including SWAT teams. Spewing racist filth at anti-Klan protesters, one KKKer railed, "I came here to start a holy race war," while another bragged, "This ain't the first time we've been in Pittsburgh, and it sure won't be the last." The *New York Times* (6 April) found it noteworthy that the Klan had succeeded in rallying in a major Northern city, calling it "a public relations coup for white supremacists."

The Klan/Nazi scum think they can find fertile ground for their genocidal program in the Pittsburgh area, feeding off the despair fueled by the general economic decline of the region, with high unemployment and low-wage jobs. The devastation in the 1960s of the aging steel industry—with its heavy concentration of black workers—has meant a long-term decline of the trade-union movement in Pittsburgh and conditioned a situation of growing racist attacks. The KKK is clearly enfolded by the "official" racist violence of the cops, especially their brutal killing last year of black motorist Jonny Gammage. In some area high schools, KKK cards have been distributed and flyers circulated calling for the "hunting" of minorities.

What was needed in Pittsburgh on April 5 was a labor-centered mass mobilization drawing in all the fascists' intended victims—blacks, unionists, youth, gays—in united-front action to stop the Klan. An example of the kind of determined action needed to counter the fascists' attempts to penetrate the Northern cities can be seen in the series of

**Pittsburgh, April 5:
KKK and Nazis
staged race-hate
provocation
guarded by cops,
who set up pen to
corral anti-fascist
protesters.**



POLICE LINE DO NOT CROSS

Beale/Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



Chaz Palla

mass labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee over the past 15 years, which have successfully countered attempts at such fascist incursions.

The fascists' presence in Pittsburgh was met by widespread outrage. Over 3,000 people came out to protest. However, bent on heading off any attempt to drive out the Klan, local civic groups and politicians, including the mayor, staged a diversionary "Unity Day" festival several blocks from the site of the Klan rally. The four-hour gathering was described by a local reporter as being in the "Woodstockian spirit of harmony and celebration."

A second demonstration, held at the site of the Klan provocation, was called by the "Grant Street Anti-Klan Coalition," a last-up of liberal and reformist leftist groups including the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialist Organization and Anti-Racist Action. Billed as a "peaceful, non-violent Klan counter-rally," this effort had no intention of stopping the Klan terrorists. Instead, it was only an impotent "moral witness" protest, fundamentally no different than the mayor's diversion. Many demonstrators realized this, as the continual foot traffic between the two demonstrations attested.

To protect the fascist rally, the cops set up a police pen to cage in anti-Klan protesters. This has become standard operating procedure for the police at anti-fascist rallies in recent years. The Spartacist League has repeatedly warned that these pens are traps for anti-racist protesters. By allowing themselves to be fenced in by the police, anti-Klan protesters guarantee in advance that the fascists will get away with their race-hate provocations and incitements to lynch-mob terror.

Anyone who doubted that the Pitts-

burgh pen was a trap only had to look at the sign posted on the pen: "Warning, Do Not Climb Fence! Violators Will Be Sprayed With Mace." As in past anti-Klan demonstrations, those who entered this pen had to go through metal detectors and undergo police searches. They then found themselves sharing the pen with racist provocateurs in Confederate-flag tee shirts.

Our warnings over the years against entering police pens have evidently had some effect, as many protesters in Pittsburgh refused to enter them. Organizers of the Grant Street rally argued that demonstrators should not subject themselves to this form of police-state control on the grounds that it violates their First and Fourth Amendment rights to free speech and assembly and against unreasonable search and seizure. Meanwhile, the muddleheaded anarchists of Anti-Racist Action couldn't make up their minds whether to enter the pens or not, arguing that it all depends on what everybody else is doing! At an open meeting prior to the Grant Street rally, Spartacist supporters pointed out that it is more than a question of surrendering constitutional rights: police pens prevent anti-fascists from actually stopping the Klan. But then, that wasn't the Coalition's goal to begin with.

The capitalist state—its police, prisons and courts—exists to protect the rule of the racist ruling class through the brutal suppression of the labor movement and minorities. The homegrown fascism of the KKK, like Hitler's Nazis in Germany, is bred by capitalism in acute decay. The aim of fascism is to smash the organized workers movement and to unleash genocide against racial minorities. While today the fascists are a relatively small force, the ruling class protects these gangs and holds them in reserve as the last hulwark to defend

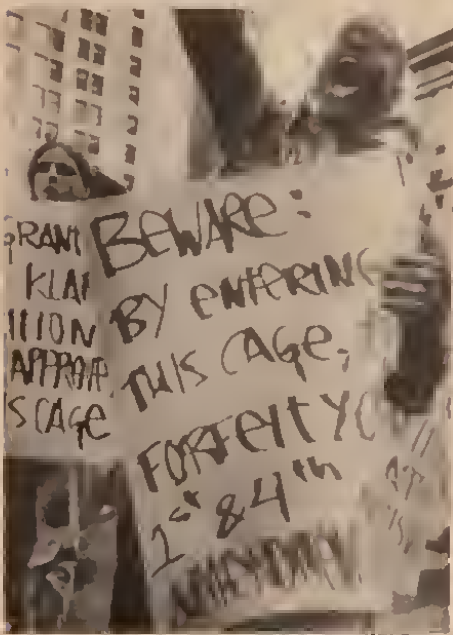
their system in the event of a proletarian challenge to capitalist class rule.

The Klan certainly knows that the cops are their allies. One KKKer made an explicit pitch to the cops on the basis of the police campaign to push through the legal lynching of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Klansman "called on the police to join him, saying that many Klan opponents supported convicted Philadelphia cop killer Mumia Abu-Jamal" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6 April). The fascists followed this with the chant, "Hail Frank Rizzo!"—referring to the notorious racist former police chief and mayor of Philadelphia.

Mobilizing the multiracial labor movement to fight racist terror is a critical task for the very survival of the unions—the racist violence carried out by the Klan is ultimately aimed at destroying the organizations of the labor movement. The reason the Klan got away with its provocation in Pittsburgh has everything to do with the prostration of today's labor "leadership," which polices the unions on behalf of the racist rulers, blocking any attempt to mobilize the ranks of labor in class struggle.

As we wrote in "Stop the Fascists Through Labor/Black Mobilization!" (WV No. 587, 5 November 1993):

"From Chicago in 1982, where we mobilized steel workers, black youth and Holocaust survivors to stop the Nazis from threatening the Gay Pride parade, to mass mobilizations in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Atlanta, and in Vancouver last year, our strategy of mobilizing the organized working class has given a taste of the power that must be brought to bear to stop the fascist scum. To defeat the fascists once and for all means building a revolutionary party to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist class which spawns the fascists, and bring the working people who create the wealth in this country to power." ■



WV Photo

Many Pittsburgh anti-Klan protesters understood police pen is trap.

ton Heights is not only meant for minority youth whom the racist rulers deem "expendable," but is part of an arsenal of state repression aimed at forcing all working people to meekly accept the driving down of their wages and living conditions by the capitalist class. Mobilizing the trade unions to fight racist cop terror requires a political struggle against the labor bureaucracy, whose undying loyalty to the bourgeoisie and its partner political parties makes the union tops hit enemies of any struggle that challenges the capitalist exploiters and their state.

This is eminently clear in New York City, where the labor misleaders are in the hip pocket of the rabidly racist, labor-hating Giuliani. It is a measure of the level of frustration and despair among black and Hispanic working people in New York that someone like the Reverend Al Sharpton has been able to put himself forward as a champion of the victims of cop terror. Sharpton, who is now running for the Democratic nomination for mayor, has been a prominent fixture at many protests against police killings, including

in Washington Heights.

Yet this liberal charlatan who today poses as an opponent of Giuliani and his reign of cop terror literally worked for then federal prosecutor Giuliani as an FBI fink in the 1980s. Sharpton helped set up prominent blacks for arrest through wearing a concealed microphone, escorting "wired" undercover agents to meetings and having a wiretap installed on his phone. He has also helped poison relations among the oppressed by spearheading campaigns to boycott shops owned by Koreans or Jews. This is flatly counterposed to the kind of unity seen in some of the protests against police brutality, which have brought together families and friends of black, Hispanic and Asian youth killed by the cops. In short, Sharpton is an enemy of the kind of multiracial class struggle needed to fight police brutality and racial oppression.

Of late, Sharpton has particularly been pushing to put "teeth" into New York's Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) and to require all police new-hires to live in the city as a way to bring "racial balance" to the NYPD. Such

schemes for reforming the cops are regularly put forward by liberals as a way to dispose of a few "bad apples" in order to whitewash the police force and make it more "credible" and efficient in carrying out racist repression for the capitalist rulers. Mayor Dinkins's 1992 proposal to replace the police members of the CCRB with civilians was met with a racist riot by 10,000 armed cops—who besieged City Hall, egged on by their candidate Giuliani—chafing at even the most token constraints. But while the cops have felt more emboldened under Giuliani, Dinkins himself had hired a record 6,000 more cops even as he slashed city workers' jobs.

The call for civilian review boards and cop residency requirements was echoed by liberal lawyer Ron Kuhy as a featured speaker at a March 28 forum at New York University sponsored by the International Socialist Organization (ISO). For its part, the ISO maintains that the cops, the murderous hired thugs of the ruling class, would cease to be "agents of the state" if only they "rebel collectively" (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," WV No.

664, 21 March). How about the NYC cops' "collective" demand to be issued the more deadly hollow-tipped bullets? Logically, the ISO should support the provocative demonstrations the cops have been staging around town as part of their current pay dispute with City Hall.

The police cannot be "reformed" because they, along with the courts and prisons, are integral components of the capitalist state, through which the racist rulers enforce their exploitation of working people and the systematic racial oppression that helps divide the workers against each other. Labor-centered protest against the racist cops, drawing on the city's transit, hospital and public workers unions, could galvanize the dispossessed of the ghettos and barrios behind some real social power, and would serve to revitalize the unions against the union-busters on Wall Street and in City Hall. This strategy requires forging a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed on the road to sweeping away the system of murderous police terror—and avenging its countless victims—through socialist revolution. ■

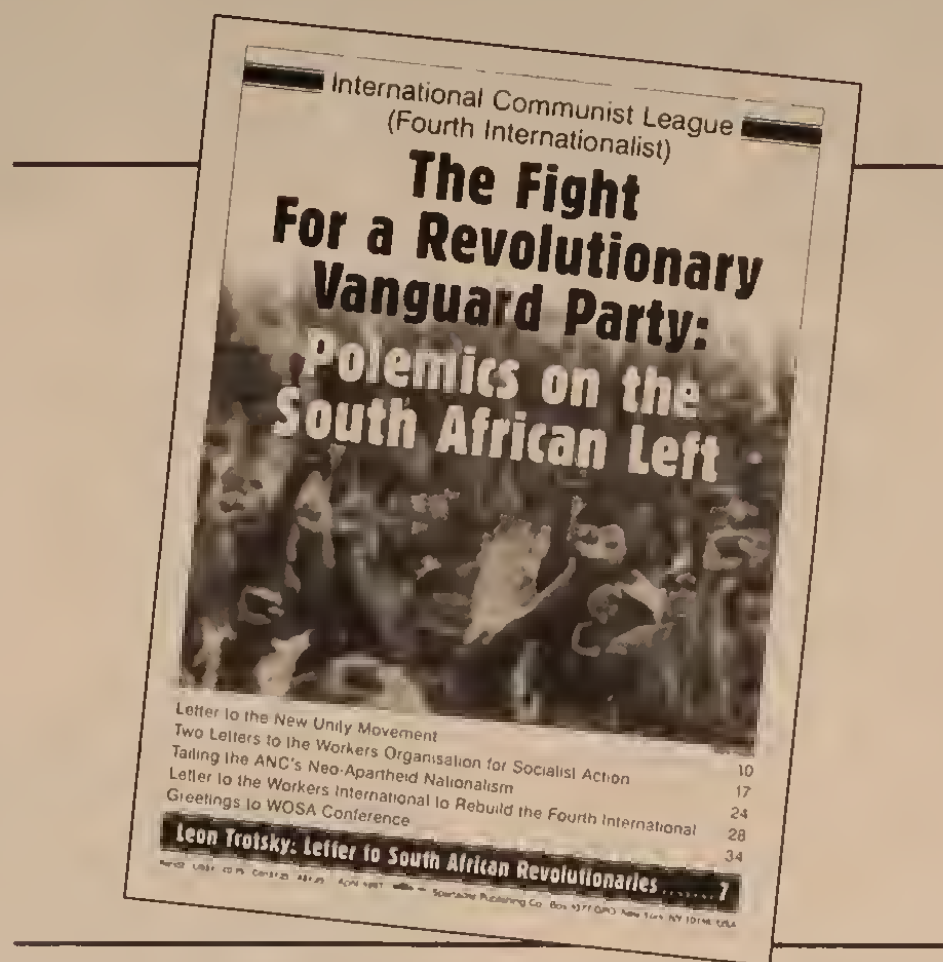
Polemics on the South African Left

We reprint below the introduction to "The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left," a pamphlet published earlier this month by the International Communist League.

With the election of Nelson Mandela in 1994 as South Africa's first black president, the African National Congress (ANC) has become the primary political agent for the Randlords and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London, bringing to fruition the process of "reconciliation" initiated with Mandela's release from prison. Indeed, Mandela has stated that one of his most important accomplishments has been creating "an investor-friendly environment." Police still break the strikes of black and coloured [mixed-race] workers and expel squatters from their shantytowns as before, but they now do so in the name of a "democratic, nonracial" South Africa. The economic base of the old apartheid system—the superexploitation of black labour by the white capitalists—remains while the political superstructure has undergone a radical change. The "new" South Africa can thus be defined as neo-apartheid.

At the same time, under the rubric of "black empowerment," we are beginning to see the formation of a black capitalist class drawn from the leading cadre of the ANC who now drive BMWs, wear Pierre Cardin suits and have moved into posh, formerly all-white suburbs. This development is personified by Cyril Ramaphosa, former head of the National Union of Mineworkers and subsequently ANC parliamentary leader, now the deputy chairman of New Africa Investments, the country's largest black-owned corporation. In their own way the black masses recognise the bourgeoisieification of one-time leaders of the "liberation" struggle whom they contemptuously describe as hopping aboard the "gravy train."

But despite popular denunciations of the "gravy train," black African workers and other toilers remain tied to their exploiters and would-be exploiters by their traditional and continuing support to the ANC abetted by its longtime ally, the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP), which historically enjoys the allegiance of advanced sections of the proletariat. To break the chains of neo-apartheid and achieve genuine national and social liberation, the working class



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must transcend the ideology of nationalism, the false belief that the black African people—brutally oppressed by the white rulers of South Africa—all have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions.

The ideological dominance among the black masses of nationalism in its various forms is also indicated in that the main perceived "radical" opponents of the ANC are the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and AZAPO (the successor to Steven Biko's Black Consciousness Movement). While the ANC/SACP-led Congress of South African Trade Unions is the principal organisation of black labour, another sizable trade-union grouping, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), is politically run in bloc by the PAC and AZAPO. The division of the labour movement into two union federations led by rival nationalist parties, as well as a number of independent unions led by leftists, weakens the

workers in the day-to-day struggles with the employers and is potentially very dangerous. We stand for industrial unionism. All workers in a given industry should be in one union governed by the principles of internal democracy, with one worker, one vote.

To the left of the ANC/SACP are a number of small groups which claim to be or are generally regarded as Trotskyist. The material in this pamphlet presents a revolutionary Marxist position, theoretically and programmatically, on key questions of debate within the South African left, including elements of the SACP, in recent years: whether South Africa has now become a stable bourgeois democracy, moreover, one which can carry out the ambitious economic and social reforms promised by the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme; how to build a mass workers party, its nature and relation to the trade unions; the doctrine of "socialist

nation-building" in the countries of the so-called "Third World."

The core of the pamphlet consists of letters from our organisation, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), to the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) of Neville Alexander and the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International [then associated with the former Workers Revolutionary Party of Cliff Slaughter in Britain]. We are here publishing for the first time a presentation given by a representative of the ICL to a WOSA national conference in 1995. Also included is an exchange with the Comrades for a Workers Government originally published in May 1995 in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of our American section. Additionally, we have reprinted Trotsky's 1935 "Letter to South African Revolutionaries," a letter to his South African supporters which addresses the slogan of a "black republic" and also discusses what attitude, strategy and tactics a proletarian revolutionary vanguard should have toward the ANC.

This pamphlet supplements two previous publications. "South Africa and Permanent Revolution" (published in 1991 as No. 8 in our *Black History and the Class Struggle* series) covered the township revolt of the mid-1980s, the rise of a powerful black workers movement and the legalisation in 1990 of the ANC and Communist Party. "South Africa Powder Keg" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12), published in 1995, analysed the neo-apartheid arrangement and put forward a proletarian revolutionary perspective under the new conditions of the Mandela/De Klerk "Government of National Unity."

Class Exploitation and National Oppression

The central and underlying theme of the material in this pamphlet is a defence of the Trotskyist concept and programme of permanent revolution in opposition to the various and intertwined currents of nationalism and reformism prevailing on the South African left. The theory of permanent revolution holds that the national bourgeoisie in backward countries is so weak, backward and imperialist-dependent that it can no longer play any progressive role. National liberation and social and economic modernisation in "Third World" countries can be achieved only under the leadership of the working class, through proletarian revolution and its extension to the imperialist centres of West Europe, North America and Japan.

Our Marxist understanding that the working class is the only progressive class in the contemporary world, including in backward countries, is in no sense a glorification of trade-union militancy for its own sake. Quite the contrary. The workers in South Africa and elsewhere can achieve a substantial and permanent improvement in their living conditions only by overthrowing the capitalist order and replacing it with a



Reuters



Spartacist



T.J. Lemon

ANC's Nelson Mandela at Johannesburg Stock Exchange on eve of April 1994 election. Striking nurses, September 1995, denounce "gravy train" for ANC front men for neo-apartheid capitalism.

planned, collectivised economy. This, in turn, requires, especially in a country like South Africa, that the working class, under its vanguard party, place itself at the head of all oppressed sections of society. As we wrote in the letter to WOSA (9 March 1995), what is needed in South Africa is a revolutionary workers party which:

"does not simply defend the particular interests of the working class, especially its unionized sector, but is fighting to eradicate *all forms* of national and social oppression—the mass homelessness in the black townships, the hideous conditions of the millions of Africans still trapped on the 'tribal homelands,' the degradation of women (e.g., polygamy) in rural villages where tribal traditions remain strong. To unite all of the oppressed, a workers party must staunchly champion the democratic rights of those who have cause to feel threatened by the ANC's brand of nationalism—e.g., coloureds, Indians, Zulu villagers, immigrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other neighboring African states." [emphasis in original]

Our programme for proletarian leadership in the struggle for national liberation is encapsulated in the formula of a "black-centred workers government." Under a black-centred workers government there would be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people. Many South African leftists object to this slogan, arguing that by acknowledging that there are differences and divisions among the nonwhite masses, we echo the line of the apartheid rulers who constantly played "divide and rule" among the racial groupings, while coercively reimposing tribal identity on urban blacks. These leftists, instead, cling to the ANC-promoted illusion of "nonracialism" which conveniently enables them to ignore the real and dramatic expressions of division along colour, national and tribal lines in Mandela's neo-apartheid state. The nationalist fiction of a "rainbow nation" is their means for denying reality, because they have no programme to change reality.

Just as the theory of permanent revolution would have predicted, this capitalist regime, based on superexploitation of the black proletariat, must frustrate the aspirations of every section of the oppressed. Widespread expectations for better housing and jobs cannot be met; even simple democratic demands such as the right to an education for all children or the right of women to birth control and abortion are denied to the overwhelming majority by social inequality and lack of facilities. If the masses' frustration does not find expression along class lines it will fuel and embitter every other kind of division.

Unwilling to draw a class line against the ANC government, the colour-blind South African "leftists" must be silent or worse as communities which once joined together in defying the apartheid butchers are now pulling apart. Recently some protests of coloured township residents against payment of back rates have been infused with a virulently anti-black thrust [see "Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses," WV No. 662, 21 February]. Capitulating to false consciousness, most "leftists" quietly acquiesce to the ANC view that coloureds might as well be punished for having had more "privileges" than blacks, and see the police repression meted out to the protests by the regime as justifiable. Meanwhile other leftists tail after "movements" in the coloured community like People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), "anti-crime" vigilantes influenced by Muslim fundamentalists and fundamentally hostile to black rule.

Similarly the "left" generally does not bother to fight for full rights for the "immigrant" workers from elsewhere in Africa who today face unemployment and deportation. A party with a perspective of workers revolution in South Africa

would militantly fight the chauvinist attacks on immigrants and seize every such means to extend the struggle beyond the borders of the country to offer the toiling masses of the less-developed regions of the continent a road forward out of hideous poverty and oppression.

In South Africa, *class exploitation is integrally bound up with national oppression*. Despite a sizable coloured proletariat, especially in the Western Cape, and an urban Indian working class in Natal, the overwhelming majority of workers in the white-owned factories, mines and farms are black Africans. Black Africans make up 80 per cent of the country's overall population, actually more if one takes into account the recent wave of immigration from neighbouring African states. As Trotsky wrote to his followers in South Africa in the mid-1930s:

"It is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.

"Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change not only the relation between the classes, but also between the

Africa. For decades, the Soviet Union had been the ANC's primary international sponsor, supporting it in various diplomatic forms and providing arms for its symbolic guerrilla actions. As the Kremlin regime fell apart under Gorbachev, the ANC leaders came to terms with the white racist rulers of South Africa and their senior American and British imperialist partners.

During the Cold War, bourgeois-nationalist regimes in Africa and Asia were able to play off Washington and Moscow, thereby giving themselves a certain room to manoeuvre. The Mandela regime has no such option as it faces the unbridled domination of imperialist capital on a global scale. Thus Mandela, Mbeki & Co. explain away the failure to carry out the promised reforms of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, their drive to hold down wages and so on by pointing to the pressures of the world capitalist market, low-wage competition from East Asia, the harsh demands of the International Mon-

requires the forging of a *revolutionary vanguard party* modelled on the Bolshevik Party built by Lenin in the Russian tsarist empire, a party which led the first and only successful proletarian revolution in history. This party united the most politically advanced worker militants with the best of the leftist intellectuals. The Bolshevik Party was built through political and polemical struggle against the reformist pseudo-Marxists (the Mensheviks), the populist Social Revolutionaries and the left nationalists of the various oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire. Similarly, we seek to aggressively confront the different currents of the South African left in political and polemical struggle with the aim of forging the nucleus of an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party through a process of splits and fusions—revolutionary regroupment—on a clear programmatic basis.

We begin this pamphlet with an article written by Trotsky in 1935 as a letter to South African Trotskyist comrades. At that time South Africa was still a semi-



Mozambican migrants working in South African mines (left), rural family left homeless after white landowner demolished their house. A Bolshevik party in South Africa would champion defense of immigrants, all the oppressed, in fight for workers revolution.

UPJ
races, and will assure to the blacks that place in the state which corresponds to their numbers, insofar will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character." [emphasis in original]

For an Internationalist Perspective!

Our recognition that proletarian revolution in South Africa is the supreme act of national liberation in no way entails support to nationalism as an ideology or to the project of "nation-building." The letter to the New Unity Movement is primarily devoted to criticising their programme of "nation-building" not only in the particular South African context but also more generally in the neocolonial states of Africa, the Near East and the Indian subcontinent. As Leninists, we defend the democratic right of self-determination—i.e., the right to form their own, separate state—for *all* nations.

The doctrine of "socialist nation-building," while espoused in South Africa by groups claiming the Trotskyist tradition, is closely akin to the old Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country." The bankruptcy of this nationalist perversion of Marxism is now manifest. As Trotsky predicted, under the economic, political and military pressures of world capitalism the Kremlin bureaucracy disintegrated in the mid-late 1980s. This directly posed the alternatives of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. Given the deterioration of socialist consciousness among the Soviet working class brought about by generations of Stalinist rule, it was counterrevolution which prevailed. The resulting destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 was a historic defeat for the working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

This can be seen clearly in South

etary Fund and World Bank, etc.

In their own way, the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC are expressing an important truth: the condition of the working class and other oppressed toilers in South Africa cannot be determined in national isolation but is integrally linked to the struggle between labour and capital on a global scale. A socialist revolution in South Africa would confront formidable enemies: the Western imperialist powers emboldened and strengthened by the final undoing of the Russian Revolution and determined to obliterate any obstacles. Yet a socialist revolution in South Africa, centred on the black proletariat, would immediately find strategically powerful allies. The "New World Order" is anything but stable. A militant young proletariat in countries such as South Korea and Indonesia poses a challenge to right-wing regimes, while the powerful working class of Western European countries like Italy and France has begun a round of sharp struggles of its own which could threaten the control of the reformist bureaucrats and go toward a struggle for power.

Elsewhere, millions of union members, students and others were active in solidarity with the struggle against white supremacy in the apartheid state. Racial minorities and immigrants facing persecution identified strongly with the South African masses. In particular, a South African workers revolution would have an immediate radicalising impact on American black workers, who have historically tended to be a vanguard layer of militant class struggle and social activism in the U.S. Thus even within the strongest imperialist bastions, revolutionary South Africa will find a powerful echo.

For the perspective of permanent revolution in South Africa to become a reality

colony of Britain, then the world's dominant imperialist power. Still to come were World War II, the coming to power of the Nationalists and their apartheid scheme in 1948, the "Suppression of Communism," the explosive mass struggles led largely by the ANC, and the emergence of the powerful black trade-union movement. Today the new "black" government presents a very different face of the continued class rule of exploiters and oppressors. But while particular aspects analysed by Trotsky and the corresponding tasks for revolutionists have changed over the last 60 years, the article admirably sets out the basic framework and programme of revolutionary Marxists: the fight for working-class power through the construction of a vanguard party on a programme of complete political independence of the proletariat from its class enemies and unity with its class brothers and sisters around the globe. ■

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Italy...

(continued from page 1)

League, demanded: "Italy, Hands Off Albania! Full Citizenship Rights for All Albanian Refugees!"

This latest act of imperialist aggrandizement harks back to the Italian invasion of Albania in 1914 and Mussolini's fascist occupation in 1939. The Italian-led imperialist intervention force has been pushed hard by the "left" Prodi government, which is politically dominated by the ex-Stalinist, social-democratic Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and supported by Rifondazione Comunista (RC), another, nominally more leftist, reformist offshoot of the former Communist Party. This popular-front government wants to impose its "answer" of blood and tears on the Albanian proletariat. Likewise in Italy, it has shoved austerity measures down the throats of the working class and forced through drastic cuts in the living standards of workers, women and youth. It is this same government that now criminalizes Albanian refugees arriving in Italy as part of a furious campaign of racist terror against all immigrants. The anti-immigrant hysteria also serves to fan the flames of national chauvinism, to bolster ideological support for Italian militarism.

Though a loyal supporter of the governing Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition, RC



Fausto Bertinotti, head of Rifondazione Comunista.

was compelled by the pressure of growing discontent among much of its base to vote against the government motion to send troops to Albania. In any case, RC has made it absolutely clear that it has no intention of letting the right-wing popular-front government fall. This was evident in the past few days, as RC parliamentary deputies voted for a motion of confidence in the Prodi government.

At the same time, RC has very clearly sought to reassure the bourgeoisie of its support for a military intervention under somewhat different tactical circumstances. The resolution that RC presented for a vote in parliament during the debate over the Albanian expeditionary force did not oppose an Italian military intervention per se but simply pleaded to "delay the anticipated military mission" until a number of conditions had been met. Among these were calling on the United Nations to provide more of a fig



Desperate Albanian refugees fleeing chaos, poverty. Italian naval frigate *Sibilla* (right) rammed refugee boat, killing 89.

leaf for the imperialist intervention. In fact, that imperialist den of thieves—under whose cover the massacres in Iraq and Somalia and the partitioning of ex-Yugoslavia took place—has already endorsed the Italian-led intervention force. Echoing widespread imperialist sentiment, RC also called on the government to "openly refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Sali Berisha presidency" and to "supply every assistance and political support to the Fino government" (*Liberazione*, 7 April). In other words, these "refounded Communists" appeal to the Italian bourgeoisie to change who will serve as its puppet at the head of the Albanian government.

RC also echoes the racist clamor which is typified by the rantings of Milano's chauvinist Northern League mayor, Formentini, who says, "Every vote for the League means one less Albanian in Milano." For its part, RC calls for "limited and temporary legal papers [for refugees], renewable until the end of the emergency in Albania, eventually bringing criminal elements to justice and seeing to their expulsion." Since in the eyes of bourgeois "public opinion" all Albanians are real or potential criminals, this amounts to supporting their deportations. In any case, RC calls for this openly once Italian imperialism has finished its work of repressing the masses in Albania.

Like much of the centrist and reformist left internationally, the so-called internal "left wing" of RC—led by Mareo Ferrando and Franco Grisolia and grouped around the journal *Proposta*—hails the Albanian revolt as "the beginning of the proletarian revolution." The armed revolt, which began in southern Albania, was certainly widespread. But this inchoate "people's uprising"—which by all accounts was to some extent fomented by Berisha himself in the northern region, in an attempt to suppress his opponents and to provoke imperialist intervention—not only has no clear proletarian axis, it does not even appear to have a definable working-class component. That said, *Proposta's* anti-Leninist enthusiasm over the "Albanian revolution" has not prevented it from shamelessly capitulating to the warmongering appetites of the Italian bourgeoisie. In an April 7 RC leadership meeting, they voted in favor of RC's motion, which would also result in the

sending of imperialist troops to crush the Albanian masses.

Grisolia, Ferrando and others who are part of the leadership of RC pass themselves off as Trotskyists, and are accepted as such by the bourgeois press. In fact, they are only the left wing of the bourgeois popular front and its imperialist, anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant politics.

The comrades of the LTd'I made clear what Trotskyism really stands for in an intervention at an April 5 public forum on Albania organized by the Leoncavallo social center in Milano. RC leader Fausto Bertinotti spoke and called on the Europe of imperialist bandits to support the Italian government in an intervention "for peace" in Albania. Speaking immediately after Bertinotti, one of our comrades counterposed the need for "strikes and working-class mobilizations against this government" to combat the planned occupation by Italian imperialism. The LTd'I speaker emphasized that support to the popular front "lulls the working class and prevents it from struggling." The comrade continued:

"Rifondazione Comunista distributed a leaflet that said that there is a risk that Albania will turn into 'our Vietnam.' But for communists, workers and the oppressed all over the world, Vietnam was a victory. We want two, three, many Vietnams for Italian imperialism!"

As the LTd'I leaflet (translated below) stressed, Leninists understand that the main enemy is at home. The Italian proletariat must fight in solidarity with the working masses of Albania against the depredations of the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie.

SPARTACO

5 April 1997

In an outrageous and arrogant act of imperialist barbarity, on March 28 the Italian navy ship *Sibilla* massacred 89 Albanian refugees, mostly women and children, by ramming the small motorboat that was taking them toward Puglia on the Italian coast. With inhuman brutality, the police sequestered the 34 survivors, most of whom had just seen their own families murdered, and held them in isolation behind barbed wire for days. They made it impossible for the survivors to come into contact with anybody, including journalists and Caritas charity workers, in order to keep them from telling the truth about what had happened.

The sinking of the Albanian boat is a clear message from Italian imperialism to the Albanian population that no more refugees will be accepted on the peninsula. This mass murder took place at the high point of a growing campaign of racist terror that has lasted for several weeks. Thousands of Albanians who came to Italy to save their lives have been treated worse than animals. They have been enclosed in concentration camps, repressed and treated by the police as criminals and deported in a totally arbitrary way. Meanwhile, a steady media drumbeat tries to stir up racism within the population.

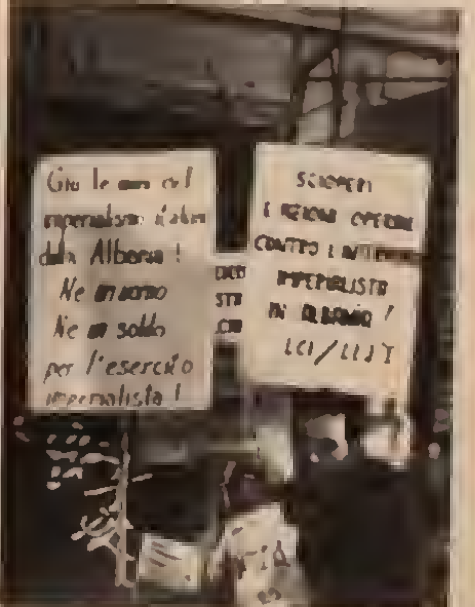
Now, after imposing a naval blockade,

the racist and bellicose Prodi popular-front government—supported by Rifondazione Comunista and whose mainstay is the PDS—is preparing an imperialist military intervention of 5,000 soldiers (2,500 Italians) which will operate directly on Albanian territory, under the fig leaf of "humanitarian aid" and UN support. Every communist, every militant worker must condemn this massacre and clearly and explicitly demand: *Italian imperialism, get your bloody hands off Albania! Full citizenship rights for the Albanian refugees and all immigrants!*

The renewed aggressiveness of Italian imperialism goes hand in hand with the Prodi government's domestic policies of anti-worker, racist and anti-woman austerity. The deaths of the Albanians at sea go side by side with the desperate unemployed in the South who commit suicide and the thousands of industrial murders caused by "accidents at work"—which are destined to increase with the shameful "agreement for work" pushed by the Ulivo, RC and the trade-union bureaucracy. The disgusting Italian/Albanian financial speculation that has reduced thousands of Albanian families to extreme poverty goes with the brutal capitalist exploitation that increases daily in Italy. The bourgeoisie uses the scarecrow of an "invasion of Albanians" to whip up racism against immigrants among the Italian population and in order to find a scapegoat for growing unemployment. It uses the racist terror of the police and prepares the way for fascists like the "Green Shirts" of the Northern League, who organize anti-Albanian "patrols."

The working class must respond to all of this with: *Worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash racist terror! Organize all immigrants into the trade unions! Workers actions and strikes against the deportations, the naval blockade and the imperialist intervention in Albania! The main enemy is at home!*

The current leaders of the workers movement are the direct authors of the imperialist, racist and anti-worker policies that the Italian bourgeoisie wants. The PDS, including Minister of Justice Napolitano, vigorously supports the military intervention in Albania. Rifonda-



Milano, April 9: Trotskyists call for workers actions against Italian imperialist intervention in Albania.

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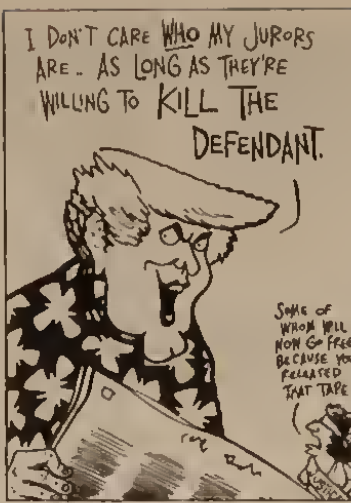
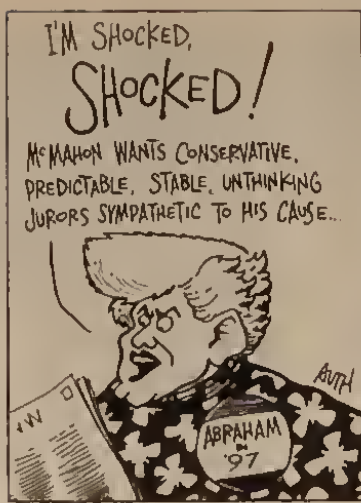
Philadelphia...

(continued from page 3)

may be "sick" of that "garbage."

The last third of the videotape is virtually one long racist diatribe on how to remove blacks from juries, particularly in homicide cases involving black defendants, punctuated by giggles from the audience of prosecutors. Urging his charges to always "ask what section of the city they live in," McMahon derisively rails against selecting "some nitwit from 33rd and Diamond," a black neighborhood. He sneers that "the blacks from the low-income areas are less likely to convict" and warns that "young black women are very bad." Sounding just like a Southern "good ole boy," McMahon says, "in selecting blacks, you don't want the real educated ones." Indeed, this racist pig explicitly underlines the affinity felt by the rulers of Philadelphia, PA for Philadelphia, Mississippi, as he makes an exception for "blacks from the South" because there's "a different way of living down there."

This disgusting racist tirade will hardly come as a surprise to most black



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

ors "at length" to come up with bogus reasons for striking them in case a judge challenges the prosecutors on grounds of racial discrimination.

In a press conference after the release of the tape, McMahon defended his statements, saying, "That's not being racist—that's being realistic." When talking about the American "injustice" system, racism is the reality. The U.S. Supreme Court itself has effectively said as much, acknowledging in the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling the overwhelming racist bias in death penalty cases, but dismissing such racism with the remark that "apparent discrepancies in sentencing are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." Warren McCleskey was then executed.

At the core of the *Batson* decision was the notion that district attorneys—as the supposed representatives of "the people"—are interested in "justice." In his videotape intended only for the eyes of other D.A.s, McMahon himself dismisses this pretense of bourgeois democracy, labeling as "ridiculous" the idea of seeking "a competent, fair and impartial jury." Indeed, when a jury does rule in a high-profile case on the basis of the evidence and "reasonable doubt"—particularly when the defendant is black or Hispanic—it provokes the sort of racist furor which was manifested over the 1995 O.J. Simpson acquittal. That outcome provoked an outcry by sections of the bourgeoisie for non-unanimous verdicts and even eliminating trial by jury altogether. Meanwhile, right-wingers have launched a witchhunt against the occasional "liberal" judge who takes constitutional safeguards seriously. Thus, House majority whip Tom DeLay is currently sponsoring a Congressional bill which would call for the wholesale impeachment of "wayward judges."

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

The latest revelations are directly linked to the Jamal case. Jamal's June 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA)

petition noted, "In this case, every basic trial element—the defense, the prosecution, the jury, and the court—was so riddled with prejudicial error as to deny Mr. Jamal any semblance of a fair proceeding." Indeed, many of the prosecutors and judges in Jamal's case have simply changed places. Castille was the D.A. who signed the prosecution papers against a 1987 appeal by Jamal. Current D.A. Lynne Abraham, who was labeled the "Deadliest D.A." in the country in a *New York Times* magazine (16 July 1995) profile, served as the arraignment judge in Jamal's case in December 1981 and later went on to become a homicide judge before her election as D.A. in 1991.

Jamal's "trial" was shot through with the sort of techniques outlined by McMahon. As the PCRA papers made clear, at least 10 of the 14 possible black jurors in Jamal's trial were stricken by the prosecution without cause, and one black woman who did make it onto the jury was removed midway through the case by Sabo. Jamal's court-appointed attorney at that trial requested that the race of jurors stricken by the prosecution be recorded as evidence of discrimination. Sabo turned him down.

The discriminatory jury selection in the 1982 trial was raised both in Jamal's 1987 direct appeal and in the subsequent PCRA petition, which noted that "the Philadelphia district attorney's office has engaged in a pattern of striking black jurors." Jamal's PCRA appeal papers specifically referred to a 1991 federal court decision, *Diggs v. Vaughn*, which overturned a 1977 conviction because the Philly D.A. had peremptorily rejected black jurors. In response, the prosecution disingenuously claimed that the *Diggs* decision only applied to 1977 and was not "relevant" to Jamal's 1982 trial. Yet in the case of Edward Sistrunk, a black man convicted of murder by an all-white jury in 1981, the federal District Court ruled that the Philly prosecutor had used

her 13 peremptory challenges "in a racially discriminatory manner." But the federal Third Circuit Court reversed the appeal on procedural grounds. And now, with the release of the McMahon tape, even the D.A.'s office itself has admitted that the policy of racist jury rigging continued at least through 1986.

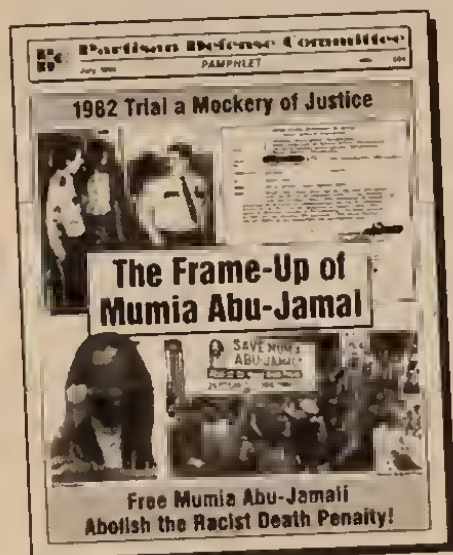
In 1992, the Third Circuit overturned a three-year-old conviction of a young black man on the same grounds. Three of the four blacks who were interviewed as potential jurors in that case had been struck by the prosecution without cause. In the original trial and in four other appeals, the defense lawyer had unsuccessfully argued that the prosecutor had violated the *Batson* decision. Abraham's office, recalled lawyer Jeffrey Shender, "fought me tooth and nail," until the federal court finally agreed with him. As a report in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (6 April) commented, "Abraham's appellate unit, seeking to preserve convictions, has defended the very jury-selection techniques that Abraham so deprecates when they are mouthed by McMahon." And this will undoubtedly continue, both in Mumia's case and in countless others.

Racism is shot through the entire capitalist legal system, from arrest to trial to imprisonment, as is exemplified by Mumia's case. The decades-long vendetta waged against this award-winning journalist—from the time he was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO murder operation as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party to his harassment as a supporter of the MOVE organization to the frame-up which sent him to death row—shows the vast array of terror and repression wielded by the capitalist state against those who challenge it. As we wrote in the PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*:

"Mumia Abu-Jamal did not have a fair trial, he could not have had a fair trial and he would not now be allowed to have a fair trial..."

"Mumia Abu-Jamal has been a special target of the racist rulers, because he dared and dares to speak out with force and passion against their injustices. But the system which has tormented him also oppresses black and Hispanic minorities as a whole, as its apparatus of legal repression defends the property and interests of the tiny handful of fabulously wealthy capitalists against the working people who produce their wealth. Jamal's case serves as a reminder of the fundamental realities of capitalism, for the nightmare he has endured continues today."

As part of our struggle for workers revolution, which alone can sweep away this capitalist system and its apparatus of frame-up and police terror, we fight to mobilize the integrated working class and all opponents of racist terror to demand: **Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■



Vital information in fight for Jamal's freedom. 50 cents. Order from PDC, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

people, many of whom have had direct experience with the criminally racist injustice system. What is notable about the tape, however, is that it was produced only months after a 1986 U.S. Supreme Court ruling (*Batson v. Kentucky*) forbidding prosecutors from "challenging potential jurors solely on account of their race." The tape was clearly intended to coach apprentice prosecutors in how to subvert the *Batson* decision. McMahon makes this explicit at the very end, as he warns his students to question black jur-

zione Comunista continues to actively support the Prodi government, a support that is indispensable for this government to carry out its policy of tears and blood. For RC, the sinking of the Albanian boat is important only insofar as "Italy dishonors its name in front of all the world." RC supports the possibility that Italy would send "a military force of peace in the name of the UN and the OSCE [European "security" organization]" (*Liberazione*, 30 March). The interests of more than 2,000 Italian capitalist companies are at stake in Albania. Furthermore, the Italian bourgeoisie wants to use Albania as a bridgehead to reinforce its position in the competition for the imperialist division of the Balkans. Mussolini had the same objectives when he sent troops into Albania in 1939. The Ulivo coalition in which RC participates carries out the same policies.

The working class needs to break completely with bourgeois popular-frontist politics. Rifondazione and its left wing, grouped around the paper *Proposta*, try to keep the more leftist elements of the working class tied to the popular front, and are thus an active obstacle to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. **The Ulivo government is a**

den of imperialist assassins! RC and Prodi are their tail! Break with the popular front! Not a man or a penny for the imperialist army!

The situation in Albania is a result of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state and in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, which caused the dramatic immiseration of the mass of the population, the outbreak of bloody intercommunal wars in the Balkans and in the ex-Soviet republics, and the furious activity of inscrupulous speculators dedicated to the accumulation of capital by any means. The imperialist powers, involved in an increasingly bitter economic competition, are intervening heavily in these countries to divide the booty represented by the labor market and low-cost raw materials. Reduced to misery by the worst capitalist speculation, a good part of the Albanian population has taken up arms and launched a generalized revolt. But after 40 years of Stalinist domination, in the consciousness of the working class the idea of communism is associated with the grotesque parody of bureaucratic domination of Enver Hoxha. The leadership of the revolt remains within the framework of capitalism and in large part is linked in

varying degrees to Italian imperialism. Rome's puppet Berisha, Fino and the other leaders of the Socialist Party.

In Albania as in Italy, the construction of authentic revolutionary parties—multi-ethnic parties that act as tribunes of the

people—modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky is more urgent than ever. **For the rebirth of the Fourth International! For a socialist federation of the Balkans in a Socialist United States of Europe!** ■

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Union-Busting Workfare...

(continued from page 1)

on shredding social programs and increasing the rate of exploitation across the board, even a fight to defend, much less improve, the living conditions of working people must be based on a broader program of socialist revolution to sweep away this entire profit system.

A System Based on Exploitation, Misery and Degradation

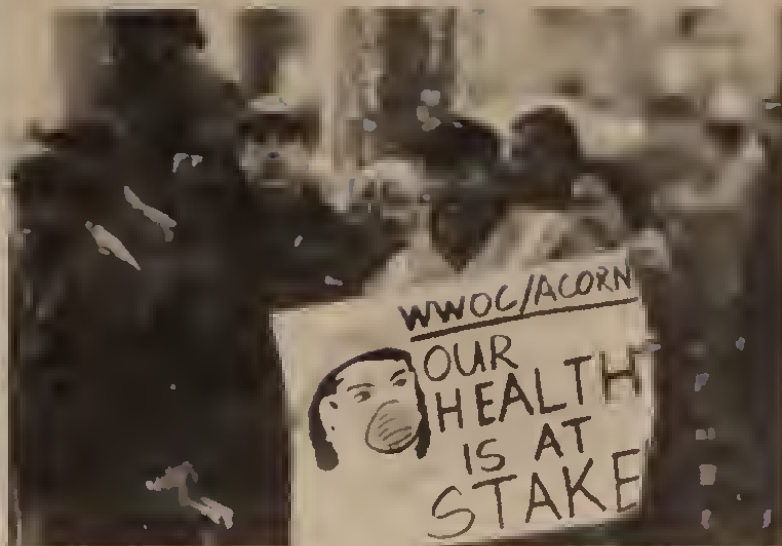
Today, the fact that an aim of the anti-welfare law was to further drive down wages is openly acknowledged. An article in the *New York Times* (1 April) titled "Welfare Recipients Taking Jobs Often Held by the Working Poor" explained: "With the American economy thriving and unemployment low, employers frequently find themselves scrambling to find enough entry-level workers. Normally, they raise wages to lure people who would not otherwise be willing to take these jobs. But with the injection of so many welfare recipients as workers, the wage pressure is dulled."

The idea that the economy is "thriving" is certainly lost on all but the handful of those at the top. The capitalist rulers are reaping massive profits out of the increasing exploitation of the working class and



Public Employee Press

NYC public employees union head Stanley Hill (left) joined Mayor Giuliani in sweetheart deal slashing city jobs and replacing them with welfare recipients. Right: NYC protest by "workfare" organization.



Siesel/NY Times

a workers state which however bureaucratically deformed stood as a counterweight to the rapacious appetites of the world's bourgeoisies—it's now no holds barred. From Tokyo to Washington to Berlin, the world's imperialist rulers are in a heated race to increase their competitive edge on the world market by attacking the living standards and working conditions of the proletariat.

In the U.S., working people and the unemployed poor are pitted in a desperate competition for jobs, mostly at poverty-level wages. Pointing to the mass of black and Latino welfare recipients now forced to look for *any* job, a

that were visited first on blacks and immigrant workers are increasingly a reality for the working class as a whole. The head of a temporary employment agency in Utah which placed 5,000 welfare recipients in jobs last year explained to the *New York Times* (1 April): "Without the welfare people, we cannot fill all our orders for temps. To get enough people without them, we would have had to raise the wage."

The defense of even the most basic conditions of a livable existence for the mass of the population—education, health care, housing, employment—requires a fight against the entire capitalist

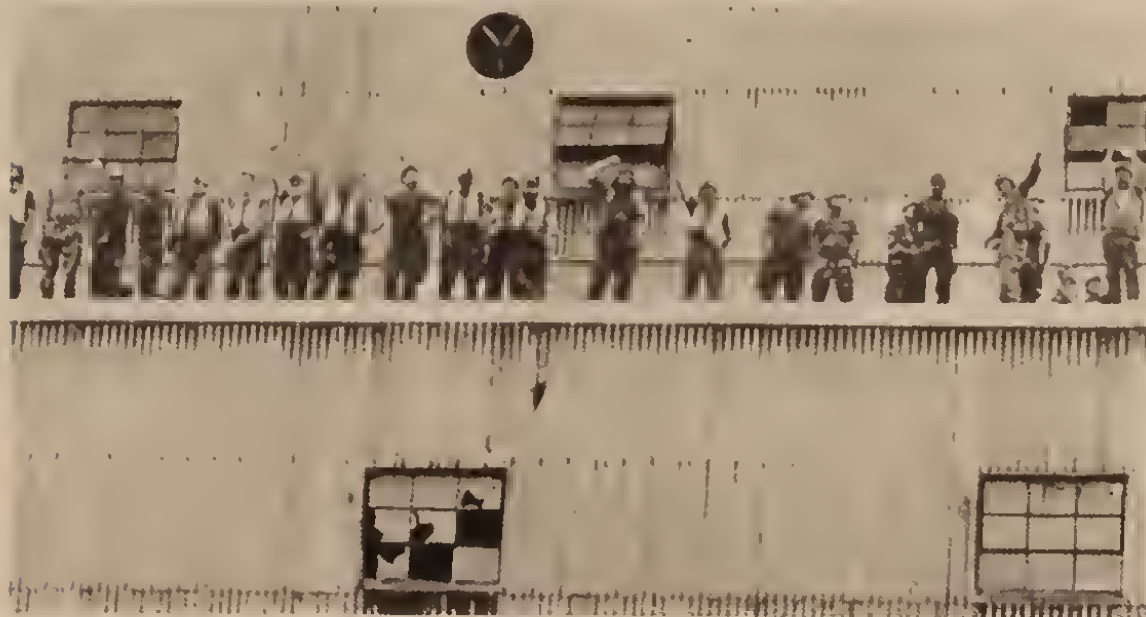
Bolshevik Party that led the Russian working class to power in 1917, described the increasing misery faced by the working masses:

"The *relative* decline of the masses' standard of living has been superseded by an *absolute* decline. Workers begin by economizing on skimpy entertainment, then on their clothes and finally on their food. Articles and products of average quality are superseded by shoddy ones, and the shoddy by the worst. Trade unions begin to look like the man who hangs on desperately while going down in a rapidly descending escalator."

Organized labor in this country has been decimated by nearly two decades of union-busting—ushered in by Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981—and by a labor bureaucracy which has sapped the power of the trade unions by subordinating them to the interests of American capitalism, particularly through the vehicle of the Democratic Party. The savage attacks on the working class and on the very ability of the poor to even live are a direct product of this class collaboration. Increasingly, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy acts as low-wage labor contractors, enforcing "giveback" contracts and the imposition of "workfare" slave labor.

Last September, the leadership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100—the most powerful union in New York City—rammed through a contract under which hundreds of unionized transit cleaners' jobs would be replaced by "workfare" recipients. The only reason this agreement has yet to be implemented is that Republican mayor Giuliani has refused to supply the welfare recipients to do the work. Why? Because Giuliani was furious that the TWU contract would blow the cover off the sweetheart deal that he had cooked up with AFSCME city workers chief Stanley Hill. Hill agreed to the slashing of thousands of unionized municipal service jobs in exchange for a promise that the positions would not be filled by "workfare" crews. But today, more than 20,000 of these jobs are being done by "workfare" slave laborers.

As we wrote in our article on the



Joe Baker/Cumberland Times

Plant occupation by striking Pittston miners, 1989. Labor's social power must be mobilized to fight attacks on workers, minorities, poor.

the total immiseration of those they no longer see as necessary for the production of profit. Writing last century, Karl Marx explained how the deepening immiseration of the working class is an integral aspect of the workings of the capitalist system: "Accumulation of wealth at one pole is therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its product in the form of capital."

What was posited by Marx at a time of the general expansion of the capitalist economic system is driven home ever more starkly today when that system has long since outlived any capacity for economic or social progress. With the destruction of the former Soviet Union—

Los Angeles Times (19 January) Op-Ed piece argued that L.A. "cannot afford" to lose its garment shops by cracking down on sweatshop conditions. For decades, American capital relied on the black population concentrated in the destitute inner cities to provide a "reserve army of labor" to be brought in to fill jobs during economic "boom" times. Today, the capitalist rulers see the ghetto masses as a "surplus" population no longer worth maintaining on even the most minimal subsistence level. The prescription of the welfare "reform" bill is simply to let them starve and die.

In racist America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. Today, the desperate conditions of life—rotten schools and rotting housing, no health care, low-wage jobs—

system which is premised on exploitation and which in its decay can only produce profits for the few by increasing the impoverishment and destitution of the many. It will take a thoroughgoing socialist revolution as part of a fight for workers rule internationally to break the power of the bourgeoisie and reclaim the wealth of this country for the benefit of those who labor to produce it.

The "Labor Lieutenants" of Capitalist Austerity

In 1939, Leon Trotsky, who together with V. I. Lenin stood at the head of the

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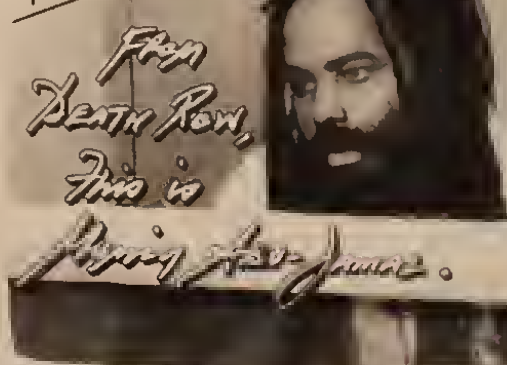
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TWU's "workfare" deal ("Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions," WV No. 652, 27 September 1996):

"What is required is a fight for *jobs for all*—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York needs a *massive program of public works at union wages*—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels, for everything we need for a decent life. It is necessary to demand *equal pay for equal work*. The city wants to bring in hundreds of poor people to clean the filthy subway stations? Fine. They should be hired at *union wages with full union protection*! The TWU should lead a fight to *organize the unorganized*!"

At the February gathering of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the "new" leadership under John Sweeney issued a statement on "welfare reform and union representation" which proclaimed the intention of extending "the benefits of union representation to workfare recipients." The trade-union tops aren't talking about any kind of fight for union wages and benefits for these workers. On the contrary, their program is to lobby state legislatures to "insist" that those on workfare are paid the minimum wage! This is simply a prescription for "organizing" low-wage "union" ghettos to maintain a dues base for the labor bureaucracy. Yet it was greeted with much enthusiasm by some groups who claim to be socialist.

The International Socialist Organization hailed the AFL-CIO's proclamation as "a key step in defending workers and the poor," claiming that the "union leaders restated their intention to organize welfare recipients forced to work for their benefits" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 February). The Workers World Party, which some months ago launched the "Workfairness" group to supposedly campaign for labor rights for "workfare" laborers, is even more effusive in its praise for the labor bureaucracy. *Workers World* (27 February) gushed how Stanley Hill had made a "major turnaround" with his cynical lip service about organizing those press-



Prison Rehabilitative Industries

Left: Capitalists use prison labor to slash payrolls. Right: Sham "welfare to work" schemes mean starvation, slave



Buchanan/NY Times

ganged into "workfare," while quoting a "Workfairness" spokesman who enthused that Hill's move was an "important step forward." Hardly. Hill is simply concerned with keeping his own bread buttered with union dues.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is no accident that reformists like Workers World tail after the abjectly pro-capitalist union tops; they share a perspective based on pressuring the capitalist Democratic Party to act as "friends of labor." This is clear in the April 27 Philadelphia rally being organized by Workers World—to coincide with Clinton's "summit meeting" there—which is billed as a protest against everything from corporate downsizing to the destruction of welfare. A flyer for this demonstration proclaims: "We demand that President Clinton use the legal powers of executive authority that he uses to deal with floods, hurricanes and other disasters to suspend the application" of the welfare-axing law (*Workers World*, 3 April). The destruction of welfare is not some kind of "natural disaster," but is the product of a system based on capitalist exploitation which is currently represented and enforced by the

"executive authority" of Clinton's Democratic Party.

It is a measure of how far to the right the reformist left has moved that the program of such self-proclaimed "socialists" is simply to posture as the militant defenders of the wretched status quo before the capitalist rulers took the ax to welfare. As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefitting the working class and the poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed poor in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.

To realize the social power that lies in the hands of the multiracial working class requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party, built in political struggle against the trade-union bureaucracy which has shackled labor to the class enemy. The independence of the labor movement from the capitalist class is a fundamental precondition for transforming the unions from instruments for the subordination and

disciplining of the working class into organizations of *class struggle*. The introduction of slave-labor "workfare" is designed to pit the ghetto and barrio poor against the unions. For labor to become a fighting force for its own emancipation it needs a revolutionary leadership which mobilizes the working class to actively champion the cause of black freedom and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The racist rulers of America arrogantly presume they can get away with starving the poor, killing the sick and aged and further impoverishing all working people without provoking any social unrest. But this is a foolish calculation. While they pray that Marxism has proven to be a "failure," they cannot eliminate the class struggle which is born of the irreconcilable conflict of interests between labor and capital. There is tremendous pressure building up at the base of this society which can and will explode. Harnessing and directing this anger toward the eradication of capitalist exploitation and oppression is a question that can only be resolved through building a revolutionary-internationalist leadership of the working class modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Anti-Klan...

(continued from page 12)

Housing Authority police officer, if dozens of people hadn't seen the cop pump a bullet into her chest for no reason on March 4 and then witnessed the all-out barrage of police gunfire at the Cahrini-Green housing project that followed. Mayor Daley is now driving to openly revive the Red Squad, which for years spied and kept files on everyone from striking bus drivers to the Black Panthers to the PTA. This capitalist "justice sys-

tem" is a system of racist terror and anti-working-class injustice.

Police violence isn't random, but serves to prop up a decaying profit system. It enforces the Democrats' and Republicans' racist attacks on welfare, immigrants, unions and affirmative action—attacks which feed rising Klan terror. The fascist nightriders must be stopped, and what's necessary to do it is a strategy of mass mobilizations of all the Klan's intended victims. The same racist terrorists—Thomas Robb's Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"—who tried to rear their ugly heads in

Daley Plaza on June 29 had also mobilized for a provocation against Martin Luther King Day in Springfield, Illinois in January 1994. In Springfield, Robb's Klan was met by a 500-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the PDC for which a hard core of Chicago labor turned out in a sub-zero blizzard. This anti-Klan mobilization points the way toward mobilizing the decisive social power of the organized working class in the fight against Klan/Nazi terror and against the entire capitalist system which breeds it.

Defense of the Anti-Klan Three is a vital necessity for the labor movement and all opponents of racist terror. If the cops get away with framing up these three fighters against Klan terror, it will further embolden the nightriding fascists in their genocidal aim of a "racially pure" America where trade unions don't exist. It is urgent for all anti-racist fighters to come together in united-front

action, in which all those who rally together behind the demand "*Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!*" are free to raise their views. All out for the May 1 rally! Fill the courtroom beginning May 5!

* * *

Protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be sent to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. For more information, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. ■

Anti-Klan Three Sue City of Chicago, Cops

On April 11, David Thomas, attorney for the Chicago Anti-Klan Three, filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern Division of Northern Illinois against the city of Chicago and police officers Patrick McNulty and Densley Cole, who were involved in the cop attack on anti-Klan protesters in Daley Plaza on June 29. The civil suit lays out that the arrest of anti-racist activists that day was a retaliatory action without probable cause, that the police used excessive force, and that the actions of city and police officials were part of a policy of suppression of all political protest in the weeks leading up to the Democratic National Convention which was held in Chicago in August.

As the document states:

"The City and its Police Department retaliated against Plaintiffs and the other protestors because, despite every effort to limit anti-Klan protest, a sizable anti-Klan demonstration took place, and the anti-Klan demonstrators, including Plaintiffs, successfully defended themselves against a violent Klan provocation, generating significant media interest and coverage of the demonstrations, and thus breaking through the City's intended press blackout."

Charging violation of protesters' First and Fourteenth Amendment rights to freedom of expression, freedom to gather and express political dissent, and due process of law, the suit demands more than a million dollars in damages and other relief. *Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!*

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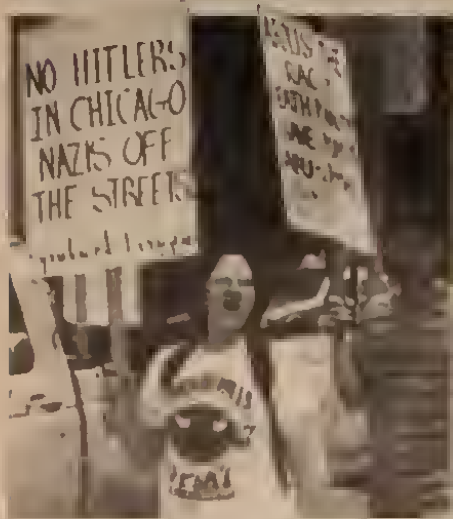
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UC Santa Cruz, April 24, 7:30 p.m., Room 106 Oakes

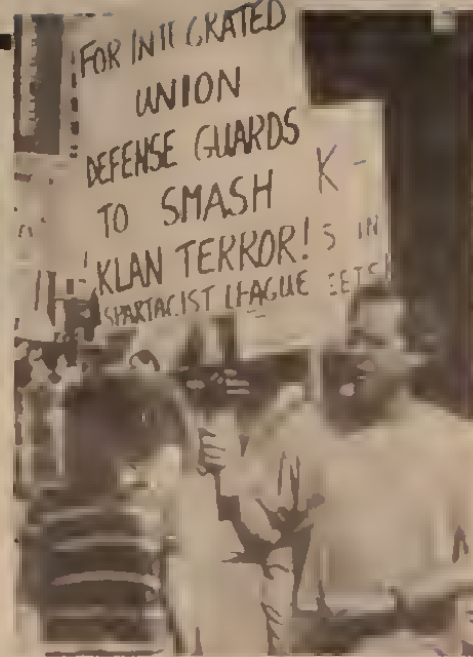
For more information: (510) 839-0851

WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago



WV Photos
Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass, Gene Herson (in center photo), arrested for participating in 29 June 1996 anti-Klan protest.



Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

Fill the Courtroom May 5!

Circuit Court of Cook County
1340 S. Michigan Avenue

Chicago mayor Richard Daley Jr. and Cook County State's Attorney Richard Devine are cynically decrying the racist terror whose latest victim is 13-year-old black youth Lenard Clark. Yet while they weep crocodile tears over the brutal near-murder of Clark, the "city fathers," their cops and courts are waging a legal vendetta against three opponents of racist terror for the "crime" of protesting against that most savage expression of lynch mob murder—the Ku Klux Klan.

Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, will stand trial on May 5. They face from one to two years in jail on trumped-up charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a successful demonstration—initiated by the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League—which turned back a potentially lethal assault by the Klan terrorists. This blow against the KKK's racist, genocidal designs was a victory for all working people, blacks and other minorities.

The PDC calls on trade unionists, blacks, gays, immigrants, youth, leftists—everyone the KKK has lined up in its sights—to mobilize in defense of these three anti-Klan militants. *Join with unionists, anti-racist activists and others in a united-front rally initiated by the PDC to demand "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!" on May 1 at 7 p.m. at the Blackstone Hotel (636 S. Michigan Avenue).* Organize now in your union, in your community and on your

campus for the May 1 rally and for a big turnout to fill the courtroom every day of the trial which begins May 5!

Among the wide range of speakers for the May 1 rally is James Cameron, who narrowly survived a Klan lynching in Marion, Indiana in 1930 in which two other black youth were murdered. Cameron has since devoted his life to exposing the horrors of slavery and racist terror in the U.S. He is the director of the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee and author of *A Time of Terror: A Survivor's Story*.

On 29 June 1996 in Chicago's Daley Plaza, thugs from the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles wielded as lances, marched provocatively towards the demonstration of over 100 anti-fascist protesters. After the protesters successfully defended themselves and stopped these lynch-rope terrorists, the Chicago police intervened to

return the Klan's weapons to them and then turned to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters.

At a February 28 evidentiary hearing on a defense motion to dismiss the charges, an eyewitness who had participated in the June 29 protest testified that Gene Herson, one of the organizers of the anti-Klan demonstration, was particularly singled out by the cops. Herson was pepper-sprayed in a completely unprovoked attack by police commander Patrick McNulty. Another witness, a volunteer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program who was also part of the anti-Klan protest, testified that even after the Klan had been escorted away by the police, a phalanx of Chicago cops waded into the protest swinging their nightsticks against the protesters. He described how Dennis Glass was simply snatched by the cops for no reason and how Jeffrey Lyons was spread-eagled on a car by police after protesting the arrest

of another "Union Summer" participant.

The assaults by the racist rulers of this country on the unions and on welfare and other social programs benefiting working people and the poor are being enforced through increased state repression aimed at quashing any protest or social struggle. A victory for the Anti-Klan Three would be a critical victory for the right to protest injustice and oppression.

As the defense motion calling to drop the charges vividly documented, the arrest of these anti-racist militants was a blatantly malicious act aimed at justifying the police attacks on the anti-Klan protest and was also one of a series of attempts by the Chicago city government and police to suppress social protest, particularly in preparation for the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago last August. This is also demonstrated in the vindictive arrest and prosecution of the "Chicago Five," who were targeted for participating in protests against the Democratic convention.

Railroading people to jail—particularly blacks—is standard operating procedure for the Chicago police and Cook County state's attorneys. The unfolding cop corruption scandal in the Austin police district has forced the courts to throw out 85 drug cases, and now similar revelations are emerging in the Gresham district on the South Side. Fernanda Royal would still be in police custody, charged with assaulting a Chicago

continued on page 11

RALLY!

All Out to Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

Thursday, May 1, 7:00 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Gold Room
636 S. Michigan Ave. (at Balbo)

For more information: (312) 454-4930

CHICAGO

Speakers Include:

Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union*

James Cameron, Founder, Black Holocaust Museum

Danny K. Davis, Representative in Congress*

Henry English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois*

Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator, Partisan Defense Committee; Anti-Klan Three

Jane Kerrigan, Spartacist League

Jeff Lyons, Chicago Refuse & Resist!, Anti-Klan Three

Rob MacDonald, Cures Not Wars, Chicago 5*

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only