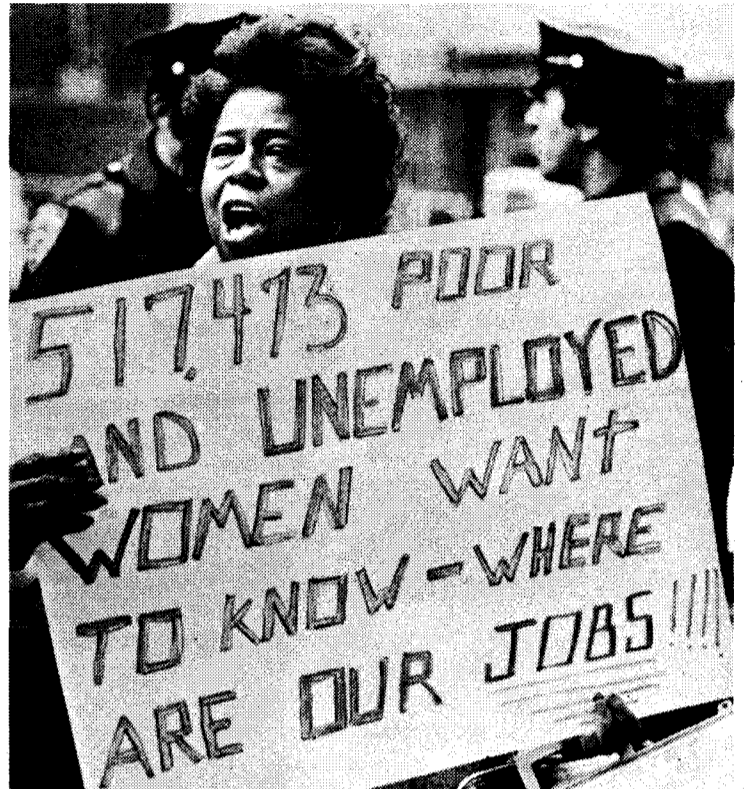


Democrats, Republicans Wage War on the Poor



Sylvia Plachy



Hazel Hankin/Impact Visuals

New "workfare" bill will cut off last lifeline for poor black women and their children, throwing millions off the welfare rolls.

Genocide U.S.A.

For black people in racist America, the "land of the free" has always been a prison house of terror and degradation. Over the past couple of decades, the inner cities have become dumping grounds for millions of human beings thrown on the scrap heap by the racist rulers who have looted this country dry. Over three million people have been turned out of their homes, to huddle, starve and die in the streets. The black ghettos and Hispanic barrios are ravaged by AIDS, while hospitals there have been shut down. Abortion clinics are terrorized and bombed by "right to lifers," forcing black and Hispanic women to bear children they can't afford to feed, or to be butchered in back-alley abortions. And, emboldened by Reagan reaction, the fascist nightriders of the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead Nazis murder and maim.

Now Congress has enacted a "welfare reform" which embodies like nothing else the wanton cruelty and cold-hearted viciousness of the Reagan years—written, engineered and pushed through by the Democrats. Crafted by New York Senator Daniel ("benign neglect") Moynihan and proudly paraded by Texas millionaire Lloyd Bentsen, the new "workfare" law was passed with the most overwhelming Democratic and Republican unity that has been seen in years. The final act of the 100th Congress, it represents the consensus of the whole capitalist class, a

supreme expression of how in America, to paraphrase Gore Vidal, there is only one party, the property party, with two right wings.

In the obscene "newspeak" of Reaganite reaction it's called the "Family Security Act." It has about the same relation to the security of black and Hispanic families as the sign *Arbeit Macht Frei* (Freedom Through Labor) posted over Hitler's concentration camps had to the freedom of the Jewish victims it taunted. The same day this "workfare" law was passed, the Senate shot down a measly 40 cents an hour increase in the minimum wage. In this club of millionaires, the Republicans demanded that any increase be coupled with an even lower sub-minimum "training wage"! And to top it off, the Senate once more refused to ratify a 19-year-old international treaty outlawing genocide!

Genocide is what this new "workfare" is all about! Millions of single mothers on welfare who refuse to take a job—any job, anywhere, at any starvation wage—will be cut off without a cent, literally left to starve. Suspected fathers are supposed to be hounded down through genetic "paternity" tests to have their wages garnished or be forced into the same scheme if they can't cough up "child support." The children will either be left to wander the mean streets alone or be ripped away from their mothers through "protective payments" to unspecified "third parties." This is not

welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because *there are no jobs to get*. The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them.

As Andrew Hacker pointed out in an article titled "Getting Rough on the Poor" (*New York Review of Books*, 13 October), the overwhelming bipartisan consensus behind the new welfare law "derives from the fear that growing numbers of black and brown Americans are... producing children who may be a burden to society." This brings to mind nothing so much as Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal," a biting satirical attack on Britain's malign neglect of starving Irish children in the 18th century famine. To prevent "the children of poor people from being a burthen to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public," Swift proposed that the wealthy buy and eat the babies of the poor, offering up various recipes.

At least then the poor and huddled masses of Europe could hope to emigrate to the "land of opportunity." But today, if the racist white rulers have their way, for America's black and Hispanic poor there will only be someplace to die. *We the working people produced the wealth of this country, it belongs to us, and it's going to take a socialist revolution to take it back.*

"Training" for... Death

The new welfare act is a horrifying maze of deadly Catch-22s which center around the elimination of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, what has passed for a "safety net" for the downtrodden and dispossessed in this society. Underlining the explicit racism behind the new legislation, the Family Security Act tries to piece off the white poor by extending AFDC benefits to two-parent families on welfare—the overwhelming major-

ity of which happen to be white—while demanding that one of the parents do 16 hours of unpaid "community service" every week. This provision is closer in concept to the old workhouses of Victorian England or to the chain gangs of convicts who broke rocks in quarries and built roads in the South.

Women with children over the age of three (which can be lowered to six months by individual states) will be compelled to enroll in job "retraining" programs. Yet the government has cut back funding for job training and employment programs by a whopping 68 percent over the past six years to help finance the trillion-dollar high-tech "Star Wars" Pentagon boondoggles. And for "child care" during the "retraining," the Family Security Act will dole out six bucks a day, which couldn't even get one of the more destitute people on the street to watch your kids.

Pimping off desperate poor people who *want* to be trained for jobs has become one of America's few growth industries. Hustlers stand outside welfare and unemployment offices hawking phony training programs which "offer little meaningful training or job placement. Instead they make money by taking students incapable of doing the required work, keeping them long enough to collect a share of government tuition payments and leaving the most naive ones responsible for paying back large Government-guaranteed loans" (*New York Times*, 6 August).

Even *Business Week* (2 November 1987) has admitted that: "Jobs that get mothers off AFDC are likely to pay low wages and exclude health benefits: a Faustian bargain at best, since many of these women would find themselves in the growing ranks of the working poor...." Moreover, what "low entry"—i.e., below poverty level—jobs there are are certainly not to be found in the impoverished inner-city hellholes where most of these women live. So, if

continued on page 4

**Workers' Protests Spread,
Nationalist Agitation Deepens**

Yugoslavia Inflamed

SEE PAGE SIX

Ray Rogers Brain-Trusts Another Defeat International Paper Strikers Shafted

After 16 bitter months, on October 10 strikers at the sprawling International Paper plant in Jay, Maine took down their picket lines. Hundreds of shocked and angry workers descended on United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 headquarters to learn that the International bureaucrats had "stabbed them in the back," as local officials rightly put it. Not only did the UPIU tops refuse to call industry-wide solidarity action, they even

threatened to cut off the meager strike payments.

Now most of the 1,250 Jay paper workers are out of a job, along with hundreds of strikers at two other IP mills in De Pere, Wisconsin and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Feelings are running high along the Androscoggin River against the scab replacements brought in by the company, and even more bitter against the 78 "super-scabs" who deserted their coworkers. To this day the children of

the men who broke ranks in the 1921 Jay paper strike are known as "sons of scabs."

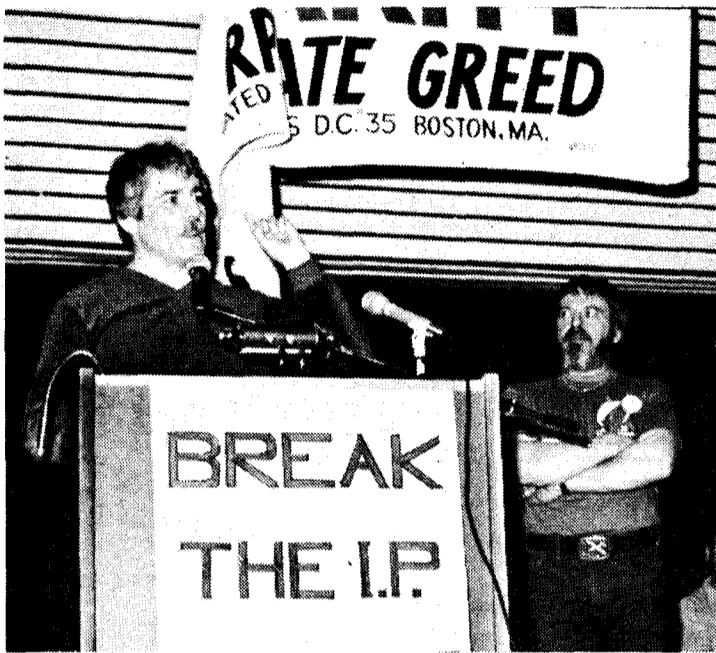
At least one striker, in a phone interview with *WV*, laid the defeat to "dirty politics," speculating that their strike had been sacrificed on the altar of Michael Dukakis' presidential ambitions.

Unfortunately, the local leadership made the International's treachery a lot easier by falling for strike-out artist Ray Rogers' "Corporate Campaign" line, which also screwed the hard-fought Hormel strike in 1986-87. Instead of organizing to shut down production through mass picketing, seizing the plants, "hot carging" scab products and spreading the strike to the rest of the IP empire, they allowed Rogers to squander the strikers' energy in Madison Avenue-style appeals to get housewives to boycott certain cosmetics.

The only way to beat International Paper was by playing hardball. From

the outset of the strike in June 1987, IP took the road of old-style union-busting, contracting for hundreds of live-in scabs from the sinister BE&K strikebreaking outfit, turning the Jay plant into a barbed-wire compound surrounded by 15,000 feet of chain link fence and surveillance cameras. At Mobile, Alabama the company locked out the union. Yet the International leadership allowed the strikers to twist in the wind, keeping at least 77 other locals at work for IP, 21 of them *without a contract*.

The strikers' watchword had been "Scabs Out—Union In." Now UPIU members must bitterly watch as IP stands pat with its scab workforce, who will be the only ones allowed to vote in NLRB decertification elections. It's going to take some hard class struggle, absorbing the lessons of this backstabbing defeat, to avenge the bosses' union-busting. For a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions! ■



Ray Rogers preaching "consumer boycott" strategy, proven recipe for losing strikes.

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%	Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	190	207½	109	Oakland	800	894	112
Boston	300	358	119	San Francisco	380	532	140
Chicago	550	715	130	Washington, D.C.	160	209	131
Cleveland	230	292	127	At-large	200	248	124
Los Angeles	240	367½	153				
New York	1,250	1,518½	121	National Total	4,300	5,341½	124



TROTSKY

Organized Workers Power Can Stop Fascists

With Hitler and Mussolini on the march in Europe, emboldened American fascists staged a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden in February 1939. The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party responded by organizing a massive united-front mobilization outside the Garden which drew 50,000 workers of all communities—blacks, Jews, Hispanics, Italians,



LENIN

Irish. Following this display of labor's power, the SWP called for union-centered action everywhere to crush the fascist menace.

Fascism is a movement of scabs and thugs....

It wants to smash and prohibit every labor union, every workers' organization.

It wants to smash and prohibit every labor political movement.

It wants to deprive us of our right to free speech, free assembly, free press, the right to organize, to strike, to picket.

It wants to send the Jew back to the Ghetto, or wipe him out altogether.

It wants to deprive the Catholic and Protestant of the right to worship as they see fit.

Last Monday night was Fascism's first big mobilization in New York.

The 50,000 workers who demonstrated against the thugs and scabs showed that they want to fight them, are ready to fight them....

The lesson of the Madison Square Garden mobilization of the Fascists is:

Labor must have a counter-mobilization!

It must immediately organize its Workers Defense Guards!

It must put the fear of ORGANIZED WORKERS POWER into the cowardly hearts of the Nazi hoodlums!

Only a fool will wait until he is in a concentration camp.

The workers of Italy, Germany and Austria are sorry THEY waited.

Don't wait—act now. Act strongly! Act militantly!

—"Fight Fascism With Workers' Guards!" *Socialist Appeal* (28 February 1939)



WV Photo

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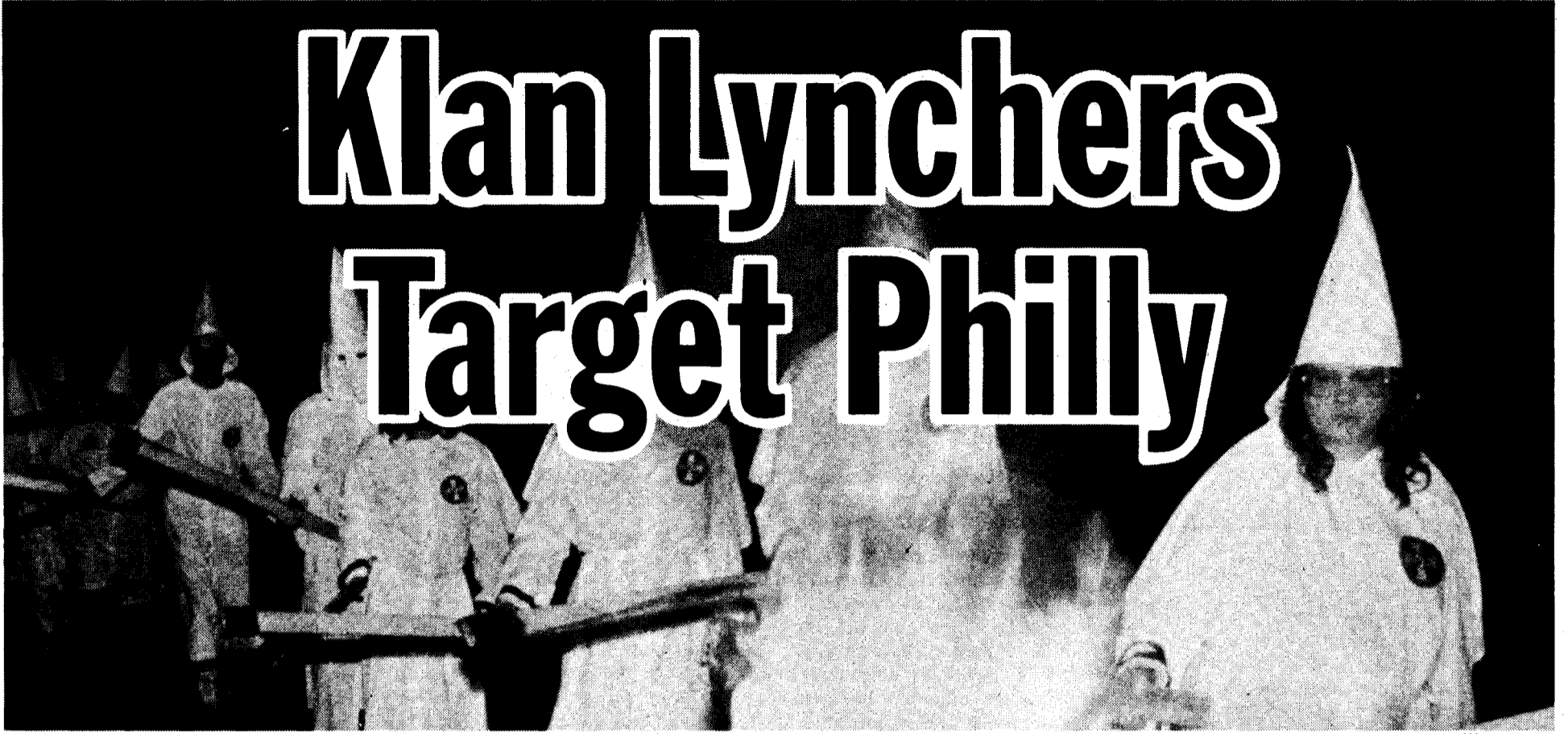
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No. 463

21 October 1988

Labor, Minorities: Stop Them Here!

Klan Lynchers Target Philly



Walter Smith

The threat by KKK nightriders and violent Hitlerite skinheads to bring their racist terror to the heart of Philadelphia, November 5, is a deadly provocation against blacks, unionists, Jews, Catholics, Hispanics—virtually the entire city population. “We will not allow the burning cross and the swastika to terrorize the people of Philadelphia,” said organizers of the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK. Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, the mobilization is now in full swing to bring out the power of labor, together with minorities and all those who share the common determination to “make the streets of Philly safe from these racist criminals.”

In one week, more than 140 groups and individuals have signed up to say “All Out to Stop the KKK!” November 5 at Independence Mall. Among the endorsers are Philadelphia unions, including city workers of AFSCME District Council 33, social services union SEIU Local 668, and officials of AFSCME DC Council 47, the OPEIU, Newspaper Guild and other labor organizations. Four members of the Philadelphia City Council have also endorsed. At Temple University, the African American Student Union, black fraternities and sororities, and the lesbian/gay student union have joined in. And with endorsements from scores of labor officials, unions, civil rights groups and others across the country, the November 5 Mobilization has tapped a deep determination to stop the lynchers and Nazi scum.

The “Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan” have said they’re “inching their way to Philadelphia.” On May 21 they marched through Parkside, a white suburb just outside Philly. More than 1,000 people, including blacks from nearby Chester, lined the streets shouting “racist pigs” and “take your masks off” while pelting the couple dozen Kluxers with rocks and bottles. Meanwhile, Klan activity in rural Pennsylvania is on the rise. A cross was burned in Shrewsbury. In June 200 KKKers rallied on a farm in Lancaster County. And on August 7, fifty fascists, half of them in robes, had a “picnic” at Valley Forge.

When the Klan requested a permit in September to hold a “recruiting drive” across from Philadelphia City Hall, they

were turned down. So now they want to hold a “White Pride Day” provocation on federal property at the Liberty Bell. Federal spokesmen have repeatedly said that if the Klan applies for a permit, they will get one. The Klan says they will be joined by skinhead youth, violent bands of psychotic killers decked out in swastikas and jackboots. John Weiss, the local KKK rabble-rouser from South Philly, says “the color of our skin is our robe.” In a three-hour interview with Philadelphia glossy magazine *SCAN* (October 1988), Weiss and a KKK/skinhead sidekick spewed out racist filth against blacks and Jews. Weiss, whose stepfather was Jewish, raved that Jews of Europe staged the Holocaust.

The Nazi-loving skinheads originated in Margaret Thatcher’s Britain and have now spread to Reagan’s America (see “Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs,” *WV* No. 462, 7 October). In Pennsylvania, the depressed industrial city of Allentown has become a center for these gangs, where on October 9 a “skinhead concert” at a local nightclub attracted hundreds of skinheads from all over the region. These depraved scum have provoked wide revulsion among the American

people. In Dallas last February, 600 black, white and Hispanic protesters routed the skinheads and KKK. And when they tried to march in Atlanta during the Democratic convention in July, a crowd of 1,500 trapped them in an underground garage and trampled on their fascist regalia.

It’s significant that the Klan wants to parade in Philadelphia just days before the presidential election. These shock troops of Reagan reaction have grown increasingly frustrated of late. As KKK “Pennsylvania Grand Dragon” Rick Fogel, put it:

“I think the reason our group has grown so fast is because of Reagan in the White House. Not just us, but other right-wing—I guess you could say extremist—groups, because Reagan made promises about abortion, pornography, gun control and busing and all this stuff, and I think all he did was give lip service to the right-wing people and he hasn’t really delivered.”

—*SCAN* magazine, October 1988

While racist terrorism is on the rise from Howard Beach, Queens to Southern California, brutal assaults against homosexuals have escalated as the cutting edge of the AIDS witchhunt. And the anti-abortion bigots of Operation Rescue have been doing Bush’s work

terrorizing clinics around the country. They, too, have targeted Philadelphia as part of a national action on October 29.

A Century of Racist Terror

Millions of Americans revile the Klan, knowing that these racist terrorists want to reverse the results of the Civil War, the second American Revolution which smashed chattel slavery. The history of the KKK is marked by three periods: the original Klan, nightriders who hunted down freed blacks during Radical Reconstruction; the reborn Klan of the 1920s, based in Northern cities and targeting immigrants and unions; and the “new” Klan of today, where “dragons” in three-piece suits go on TV talk shows while their skinhead allies roam the streets with chains, knives and guns. But through all its incarnations, the KKK with its white sheets, lynch ropes and burning crosses has stood for white Protestant supremacy enforced by murder, and terrorism against all supporters of racial equality.

The original Klan was formed in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866 by a group of ex-Confederate officers. The first “Grand Dragon” was General Nathan

continued on page 10

City workers manning the picket lines in Philadelphia, July 1986.



Genocide U.S.A. ...

(continued from page 1)

you do manage to get one, you have to travel every day back and forth from Harlem to northern Westchester County to clean somebody's bathroom.

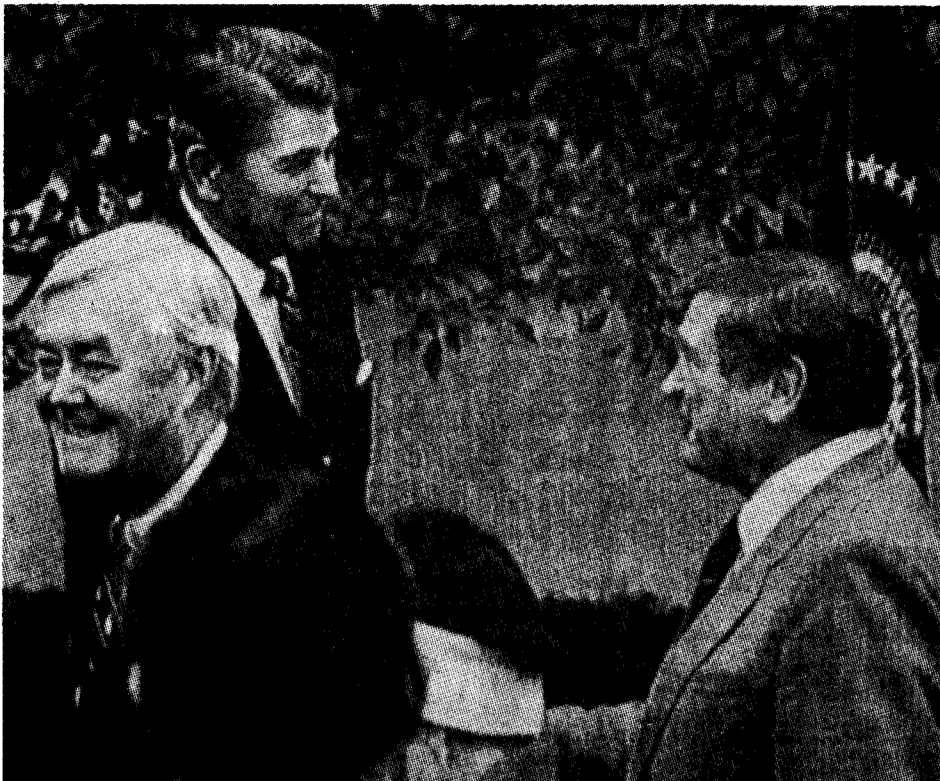
Look at the "workfare" program recently implemented in Koch's New York. Women called in for an interview are told that they have three weeks to enroll in a job training program. If they can't, they're forced to work for city agencies, like one woman whose "job" was checking toilet supplies in a Bronx welfare office: "To me, this system is set up to keep you down, not to help you get on your feet" (*New York Times*, 23 March 1987). Sadist Ed Koch, a Democrat of course, gloats over misery and even goes so far as to claim that New Yorkers who give a coin to the homeless and destitute are simply abetting criminals.

American Apartheid

For the past 15 years the conditions of life in America have steadily eroded. Twenty million go to bed every night hungry, close to another 14 million live in poverty, and more than two million of the American poor are full-time, year-round workers (*The State of Working America*, September 1988). The report notes that "since 1979, some 85% of the new jobs have been in the lowest paying industries—retail trade and personal, business and health services." And for a big chunk of America, the "Reagan recovery" has meant permanent unemployment. Last year less than a third of the jobless got any unemployment benefits.

During World War II millions of blacks migrated from the South to the booming war industries in the North and the West. In 1954, at the tail end of the Korean War boom, 75 percent of all black men were working. By the '60s increasing numbers were in unionized, relatively well-paying jobs in the auto plants and steel mills. But in the mid-late '70s millions were permanently thrown out of work in the deindustrialization of America which turned much of the Midwest into a rust bowl.

Today blacks are three times more likely than whites to be poor, over half of black families are headed by single mothers, and the poverty rate for black kids under the age of 18 is a shocking 67.1 percent. In 1986, only 40 percent of all black men had a full-time job. As



Lopez/NY Times

Reagan (with Democratic Congressional leaders Daniel Moynihan, left, and Dan Rostenkowski) after signing "workfare" bill into law, calling it "the lasting emancipation" for those on welfare.

black sociologist William Julius Wilson points out in his book *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), as the number of employed black men plummeted, the number of black single welfare mothers skyrocketed. At the same time, whatever social infrastructure there had been in the ghettos completely crumbled.

The black middle class, largely white-collar workers, who were the beneficiaries of the "Great Society" programs of the 1960s had already moved out. Then the income of black industrialized workers which had sustained the ghetto economy was cut off. Stores closed. And with the mid-'70s "fiscal crisis," schools, recreation centers, hospitals, firehouses were shut down. A *New York Times* (3 October) article captured the devastation of what was once Motor City:

"Since the 1950's, Detroit has seen the departure of dozens of factories, Stroh's brewery, the city's only department store and 850,000 people.

"And in rundown neighborhoods blighted by drug-dealing and crime, the churches, many of them architectural landmarks, are often havens for the elderly or the poor, offering food and comfort and the only sign of stability."

The Polish workers following Solidarność who want to "free" the economy, introducing "a little" unemployment, should see what's happened to their relatives who migrated to Hamtramck, now nothing more than an industrial wasteland, where there's no

social services, no medical care, and the state sure as hell doesn't pay the rent.

At one time American capitalism had an "industrial reserve army" which could be mobilized at times of labor shortage. In "good times" black youth could hope for a job. But now the (relatively) "good times" are gone forever. Today ghetto youth are an expendable surplus population for the racist rulers of this country. The U.S. government has already let thousands die in the ghettos by simply allowing disease to run rampant. After 100 years of steady decline, rates of tuberculosis, a disease of poverty, are soaring; 62 percent of those afflicted are black. In 1985 only 40 percent of non-white kids were immunized against polio. Speaking about conditions of life in Central Harlem, even the New York City Health Commissioner admitted: "In these dilapidated buildings infants who survived the first weeks of life are dying of pneumonia, freezing to death, falling from windows."

Capitalism Destroys the Black Family

The report of the Senate Finance Committee headed by Democratic vice-presidential candidate Lloyd Bentsen declared that the new welfare law "builds upon a strong consensus, joined in by liberals and conservatives alike,

that the nation's welfare system must stress family responsibility and community obligation, enforce the principle that child support must in the first instance come from parents" (*New York Times*, 13 June). What obscene hypocrisy! The rulers of this country destroyed any black family in the ghettos through the ravages of the economy of their decaying social system. They decimated whatever community structure there was in the ghettos and now preach "community obligation." Through a policy that at best can be called "malign neglect" they let thousands of black babies die...and now they talk about "child support."

Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan, the leading architect of the new workfare bill, has been blaming the "breakdown of the family" among blacks for causing ghetto poverty and degradation since he wrote *The Negro Family* in 1965. Back then he suggested that one solution to ghetto unrest among unemployed black youth was to draft them for the Vietnam War. The drill sergeant was put forward as the substitute for the missing father figure to instill discipline and "family values" among blacks. At the time Moynihan was advising Nixon on dismantling the Democrats' "Great Society/War on Poverty" programs whose purpose was to keep the ghettos cool following the 1964 Harlem, 1965 Watts and 1967 Detroit ghetto upheavals. When the Vietnam War was escalating they wanted to ensure their supply of young blacks as cannon fodder. Now black youth are expendable even for that purpose.

"Family values" has been a rallying cry for social conservatism in the Reagan years. But for all the talk of a woman's place being at home with her children in the "sanctity" of the family, white and black women have massively joined the workforce to make up for falling real wages. And with the number of day care facilities utterly inadequate, the kids are left alone to be preyed upon by the pimps and pushers and terrorized by the cops in the ghettos. Just remember what happened to five-year-old Patrick Mason, the black child playing alone in his own home when an Orange County, California cop burst into the apartment and shot him dead. To top it off, his mother was charged with "child abuse" because she was out working at the time.

Communism: America's Last, Best Hope

For over a decade, beginning under Jimmy Carter, the American ruling

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America's Financial Advisor

no credit



Davidson/Magnum

The rich revel in their mansions while the homeless "live" in inner-city wastelands.

Greed Beyond Belief

The Helmsleys. According to Jeanie Kasindorf's article "Leona and Harry: Money and Love" (*New York Magazine*, 3 October), which we excerpt here, the wealth of Harry and

Leona Helmsley is "conservatively estimated at \$5 billion." The Helmsleys, Trumps and their class are the people we want to overthrow—and do you believe they're going to go easily?



Leona Helmsley plays herself in *New York Times Magazine* ad: "It's the only Palace in the world where the Queen stands guard."

New York Times

New York Magazine, 3 October 1988

IN MARCH 1982, WHILE FIELDS'S ACCOUNTANTS WERE BUSY going through the Helmsley Palace books, Leona Helmsley's son, Jay Panziner, died suddenly after suffering a heart attack. The death plunged Harry and Leona Helmsley into a much more bizarre legal battle.

Panziner, who was 40 when he died, had lived near Orlando, Florida, with his third wife, Mimi, and his fourteen-year-old son, Craig, one of four children from his first marriage. He collapsed during a meeting at the Orlando Harley Hotel and was rushed to a nearby hospital. Harry and Leona immediately boarded their BAC-1-11 to fly to Florida, but Jay died before they got there. Leona had the body flown back to New York on a commercial jet for burial at Woodlawn Cemetery, where she and Harry have a mausoleum.

A few weeks later, according to Mimi Panziner, Harry Helmsley showed up at her house in Florida. "He said he wanted me out," she says. "I asked him why he was doing this. He said he needed the money. He went into a detailed explanation of why he could no longer charge the expenses of the house to Deco. He was very businesslike, very calm." She begged him to let her stay until Craig finished the school year. He agreed.

Six months later, Harry Helmsley sued Jay Panziner's estate for the money it had cost to have his body flown back to New York. Leona Helmsley sued the estate to recover money that she said Jay had borrowed from her—\$100,000 that she said she had lent him to buy a share of stock in the Helmsley Palace. Leona also sued Mimi, claiming that she had lent Mimi an \$18,000 ring from Buccellati and Mimi had never returned it. Mimi said that the ring, which was set with a 24-carat white topaz surrounded by 136 diamonds, was a present to celebrate Craig's bar mitzvah.

In the end, the court refused to reimburse Harry Helmsley for the cost of shipping his stepson's body home. Leona withdrew the claim to the ring after Mimi produced a newspaper story in which Leona had called it a gift. But the Helmsleys did get most of Jay Panziner's \$149,000 estate. Mimi got \$2,171, and his four children got \$432 each. At the time, a spokesman for Leona Helmsley said that she had set up trust funds for the grandchildren. "She loves them," he said, "and she is taking care of them."

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class has waged an escalating war on working people and minorities. Unions have been broken, millions of workers have had giveback contracts shoved down their throats, "two-tier" wages have become the norm in workplaces, keeping many full-time, unionized workers and their families below the poverty level. And the rights of all the most vulnerable sections of the population are mercilessly trampled on. As we wrote last year in the main document of the Eighth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

"In sneering at hunger and homelessness, in taking aim gloatingly at those most helpless like ghetto children, AIDS victims, non-citizens, old-age pensioners and so forth, Reaganism as an ideology highlights the objective need for a fighting proletarian vanguard as a *tribune of the people*."

Why has there been so little struggle



L.A. Times

Five-year-old Patrick Mason, shot and killed by racist cop while playing in his own home.

against the ravages of the Reagan years? In fact, isolated sections of the American working class have fought, and plenty hard. But they have been held back and defeated by the labor cops who let the leaders of the PATCO air controllers strike be led away in chains and have kept their own members shackled, bowing to the bosses' laws, capitulating to union-busting. And the union bureaucrats and black establishment politicians, spearheaded by Jesse Jackson, then try to channel the deep hatred for "Reaganism" into support to the Democratic Party. The result: Dukakis/Bentsen, who are running as "Reagan Democrats."

At the same time, the different sections of the exploited and oppressed remain divided and often pitted against one another. While selling out their members, the miserable AFL-CIO bureaucracy pushes Japan-bashing protectionism and whips up flag-waving anti-Communism. The black Democratic mayors who oversee the ghetto hellholes for the Reagan White House talk about "black empowerment" while rats ravage black and Hispanic children. Meanwhile various reformist leftists push the divisive politics of sectoralism as a cover for supporting the Democrats.

Union-busting and "workfare" genocide, anti-abortion terrorism, the rise of KKK racist terror and the emergence of skinhead fascism have the *same root cause*: the decay of American capitalism. The *only time* American capitalism has ever achieved genuine full employment, including for the black poor, is during an all-out war, such as World Wars I and II. In 1941-42, they took millions of uneducated rural Southern black and white teenagers and in the space of six months trained them to become skilled welders—because they needed the workers for their war industries. But now job "retraining" is a cruel hoax and World War III won't create jobs, only nuclear holocaust.



Der Spiegel

Mass-produced by American capitalism: three million homeless and twenty million hungry.

For decades liberal Democrats preached "welfare state" reformism as the alternative to both cutthroat capitalism and socialist revolution. Today the liberal Democrats have united with right-wing Republicans to eliminate the last minimal measures of social welfare in this country. Even such a genuinely modest proposal as raising welfare payments and wages to the equivalent of the official poverty level (which wouldn't cost a tenth of what they are pouring into their military machine) requires sharp class struggle by the working people, under a revolutionary leadership that won't stop short of the fight for power. As we wrote after the stock market crash a year ago (*WV* No. 439, 30 October 1987):

"You can solve a lot of problems with 'domestic cash transfers'—make life livable for blacks, Hispanics, jobless,

homeless, welfare mothers, drug users, etc. And we communists intend to do so. But you have to first smash the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn't 'respect' the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, so *take it*. And when we have the wealth of this country, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts left over by our rulers, like some tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks."

To say that "workfare" genocide is a program for barbarism is an insult to barbarism. The only answer is socialist revolution to take the productive wealth out of the hands of the murderous rulers of this country! ■

Workers' Protests Spread, Nationalist Agitation Deepens

Yugoslavia Inflamed

Invoking the catchword *perestroika*, Mikhail Gorbachev proposes "market socialism" as the nostrum to cure the ills brought about by over six decades of Stalinist usurpation and misrule in the USSR. But Gorbachev's panacea has already had a trial run—in Yugoslavia. After decades of "market socialism," Yugoslavia is bankrupt. The multinational workers state was forged through great sacrifice by the Yugoslav workers and peasants in securing the victory of Tito's Communist partisans over the Nazi occupation during World War II. Today it is a powder keg threatening to explode sooner rather than later. While workers strike over starvation wages ordered by Belgrade on behalf of the imperialist banks, bureaucratic manipulation could spark bloody, internecine national conflict opening the road to possible capitalist counterrevolution.

Recent weeks have seen an ominous rise in Great Serbian nationalist agitation fomented by the new strongman of the Serbian bureaucracy, Slobodan Milosevic, who comes off like a full-blown fascist. Wearing old Serbian military caps, tens of thousands have taken to the streets with banners calling for "Death to All Albanian Nationalists!" In the nationally-mixed autonomous region of Vojvodina a pro-Serbian rally engineered by Milosevic forces chanted "One state, one army, one language." At the same time, these protests have also expressed a deep hatred in the working class for bureaucratic parasitism, which Milosevic is seeking to exploit demagogically. Thus posters at the Vojvodina rally proclaimed, "We Have Strength, But We Have No Bread" and "The Same Bread for Everybody"—referring to the inedible "people's bread."

By uncorking the genie of Serbian nationalism Milosevic is literally playing with fire. The mass explosion of Serbian nationalism will rekindle the memory of the bloody national feuds of prewar bourgeois Yugoslavia, when the Serbian monarchy and its army ran the rest of the country as a heavy-handed military dictatorship. While Milosevic's "liberal" opponents in the Yugoslav bureaucracy denounce him as a would-be Mussolini, all they can offer is preserving a status quo that has become intolerable for the working masses.

Today the country is saddled with a foreign debt of over \$21 billion owed to the imperialist loan sharks; inflation is raging at over 200 percent annually; and unemployment approaches 20 percent of the workforce. Fixed investment and industrial production have spiraled down, and the workers have seen their standard of living drop by more than 40 percent since 1980. The liberal-Stalinist policies of Tito and his heirs have brought the Yugoslav deformed workers state to economic ruin and provoked the dangerous rise in national antagonisms. Together these disastrous developments pose pointblank the urgent and desperate necessity for proletarian political revolution.

Capitalist Bankers Take Over the "Self-Managed" Economy

In 1987 Yugoslavia literally ran out of money. The Yugoslav bureaucracy, hat in hand, went begging to the imperialist bank cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In exchange for a financial quick fix the Yugoslav government imposed a savage austerity program on the workers, freezing and cutting wages while raising prices 25 to

For Workers Political Revolution to Oust the Bureaucratic Parasites!

60 percent. In response 150,000 workers in over 1,000 enterprises walked off the job (see "Yugoslavia In Turmoil," *WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). By year's end over 1,500 strikes had taken place, including one by Croatian coal miners that lasted for two months, the longest

No. 444, 15 January, reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet, "Market Socialism" in *Eastern Europe*.)

As inflation soared at an annual rate of 859 percent in June, wages remained frozen or were cut by up to 30 percent. Taking their cue from a late May march



Carrying red flags and pictures of Marshal Tito, thousands of factory workers march on Yugoslav parliament in Belgrade last July.

strike in the country's postwar history. And the strike wave has not abated. This year strikes have already erupted in all areas of the country.

A big impetus to the latest round of strikes was another set of IMF-dictated austerity measures imposed late this spring. The intent is to dismantle the system of "workers self-management." Subsidies to money-losing enterprises would be cut off. Personal capital investment in the economy through bonds, shares and stocks would be permitted, while restrictions on foreign investments are loosened. This raises directly and inevitably the rapid spawning of a layer of petty entrepreneurs linked to the imperialist financial centers and ultimately bent on capitalist counterrevolution.

Already Yugoslavia has been racked by corruption scandals (such as the Agromerc affair last year) linked with foreign trade. Now a millionaire businessman has been awarded the "Order of Labor," an honor "customarily reserved for shock workers of Communism" (*New York Times*, 29 September). Most ominously, "bankrupt" state enterprises are now to be sold off. Yet from the standpoint of the world market almost all Yugoslav firms are "bankrupt." To whom do Milosevic and the Croatian and Slovenian party leaderships intend to sell these assets? (For a historical analysis of the Yugoslav economic collapse, see "The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model," *WV*

on the federal parliament by 400 striking Bosnian coal miners, in June and July tens of thousands of strikers marched on Belgrade and demonstrated outside parliament in bitter protests against the government's IMF starvation policies. Over 5,000 workers at the Zmaj tractor factory located on the outskirts of the city downed tools in mid-June, and flying red flags and chanting "We want bread!", descended on parliament. According to a report in

the *London Guardian* (18 June): "Slogans accusing the Government of betraying the people and condemning privileges, incompetence, corruption, and the luxury-style of top government and party leaders, were heard, together with shouts of 'Thieves!'"

In July, five thousand leather and shoe workers from Borovo, Croatia journeyed to Belgrade and marched on the parliament. Clashing with security police, thousands broke through police lines and stormed inside to present their demands, which included calls for a doubling of wages and for funds to revitalize their factory complex employing 23,000 workers. The angry workers chanting "Down with the Government!" waved red flags, banners and pictures of Josip Broz Tito. Police cordoned off the area to keep thousands of passers-by sympathetic to the strikers from joining them. The Borovo strikers, joined by 2,100 leather and shoe workers in Vojvodina and Serbia, called for united action by the whole Yugoslav working class, raising the spectre of a general strike against the government's vicious austerity measures.

Ominous Resurgence of Serbian Nationalism

Along with the massive working-class unrest there has been a dramatic escalation of nationalist agitation. The bureaucrats and intellectuals of Slovenia—the most developed region, bordering Austria—have long complained about subsidizing the poorer regions to their south. Increasingly, Slovenian nationalists want to link their future to a German-dominated Central Europe. In fact, all things German (including the language) have become very fashionable in Slovenia. At the opposite end of the national spectrum are the Albanians of Kosovo, who resent being the poor stepchildren of the Yugoslav federation and bridle at Serbian overlordship of their "autonomous province." And now we are seeing the spectacular eruption of Serbian nationalism, that is, the nationalism of the *dominant* people. This is partly economic resentment at pouring money wastefully into the impoverished regions of Kosovo and Macedonia and partly is a backlash against the vocal pro-Western nationalism of the Slovenes.

The recent wave of Serbian chauvinist demonstrations, ostensibly in defense



Josip Broz Tito (left) led pan-Yugoslav anti-Nazi partisans, transcending national antagonisms through revolutionary struggle.

of the Serbian minority living in Kosovo, are far from spontaneous, but rather have been whipped up by Milosevic. Milosevic, a former director of the Belgrade Bank, purged the Serbian party of his anti-nationalist opponents last year, and is now intent on buttressing his power by overturning the 1974 constitutional provisions that removed the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina from the direct administrative control of the Serbian republic.

Six years before his death in 1980 Tito, in an effort to curb the growing national antagonisms fostered by his regime's economic policies, imposed on both the Yugoslav state and the League of Yugoslav Communists (LCY) a completely federated structure. Thus, for example, the Yugoslav presidency is a collective presidium shared among the six republics and two autonomous provinces. Chairmanship of the presidency rotates annually. Likewise any one of the eight constituent republics can veto any measure before parliament. What made the whole unwieldy structure work while Tito was alive was that he, elected president for life, served as the arbiter. With his death the whole system has spiraled into autarky and paralysis worthy of the Hapsburg Empire in its final years.

Former bank director Milosevic is perhaps one of the LCY's strongest advocates of what the IMF calls the "structural reform" of the Yugoslav economy. Thus Milosevic is encouraging the nationalist demonstrations to put himself in the role of arbiter, "first among equals" of that utterly corrupt wing of the Yugoslav bureaucracy intent on bailing out their regime by selling the country to the imperialist bankers at bargain-basement prices. The nationalist outbursts also deflect attention from the economic misery that he and his cothinkers have been and are planning to inflict on the Yugoslav working class, not least the powerful and militant Serbian proletariat.

Milosevic and his cohorts in the Communist League of Serbia have seized upon the Kosovo question precisely to whip up the most extreme Serbian chauvinism. For diehard Serbian nationalists Kosovo is the Serbian question. Cradle of the medieval Serbian kingdom and site of the definitive albeit glorious defeat of the Serbs (along with their Albanian allies) by the Turks in 1389, it is woven into the national literature and messianic national myth of the Christian Serbs defeated yet steadfastly resisting the Turkish infidels for 500 years.

When Kosovo was captured by the Serbian bourgeoisie from Turkey during the course of the first Balkan War (1913) the region was already heavily Albanian, the Turks in the 19th century having encouraged the settlement there of additional Moslem Albanians as a buffer against the Serbs. During the 1930s Serb nationalists, aptly named "colonialists," moved into the province in large numbers in an attempt to guarantee Serbian hegemony. In turn, during World War II the Italians encouraged another wave of Albanian settlement.

Following the partisan victory in 1945, Kosovo became an autonomous province of Serbia, although in name only. The province was run by the Serb minority with a mailed fist via the Serb-dominated UDBa security police of Alexander Rankovic. In 1966 Rankovic was purged and by 1968 both Kosovo's and Vojvodina's autonomous status was redefined, making them in many respects the equal of the six Yugoslav republics.

Since the late '60s national tensions in Kosovo have escalated dangerously. In 1981 the region was hit with a wave of angry Albanian protests. Many were bloodily suppressed and some 3,500 Albanian nationalists imprisoned. Today Kosovo is populated by 200,000 Serbs and 1,800,000 Albanians. It is the



Rising tide of nationalism is threatening to rip apart the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Below: Picture of rabid chauvinist Slobodan Milosevic, new strongman of the dominant Serbian republic, carried in demonstration.



Independent

poorest, least developed area in Yugoslavia, with an unemployment rate of over 35 percent. The billions of dinars in "development funds" which have been poured into Kosovo have mainly been squandered on palatial government buildings. Since 1981 some 34,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have left the area, many claiming they were driven out by Albanian terror tactics. Certainly there have been incidents as the Albanian nationalists work on reversing the terms of oppression. Charges of arson, rape, robbery and murder abound, and are vastly exaggerated in the superheated atmosphere of national animosity.

The Serbian exodus from Kosovo owes much to the deep economic depression of the region, another expression of which is the fact that fully one-third of the adult male Albanian population works in northern Europe. The Albanians in Kosovo have the highest birthrate in Europe, 34 per 1,000. Pooling their hard currency received from family members abroad, Albanian clans have been buying up Serb property by offering enormous sums. According to the London *Guardian* (12 September), houses in Kosovo sell for between \$140,000 and \$298,000.

The current round of demonstrations has in any case raised tensions between the two communities to a fever pitch. Both are armed and the situation could explode into an intercommunal bloodbath of Lebanese proportions. Should that happen it would threaten the unity of the one remaining effective nationwide institution in Yugoslavia—the army. Dominated by Serb officers and noncoms, the army is one-third Albanian at its conscript base, a concrete expression of Albanian demographics (Albanians are today the third-largest national component in Yugoslavia).

So far Milosevic has been able to ride the wave of Serbian chauvinism he has unleashed in his intra-bureaucratic struggle for power. He has managed with impunity to openly defy an LCY party presidium directive against nationalist rallies. He forced the resignation of the Vojvodina party leaders who tried to oppose his Great Serbian chauvinist policies, while mass pro-Milosevic rallies demanded the resignation of the Montenegrin party leadership as well.

Milosevic has provoked a strong backlash from among other elements of the Yugoslav bureaucracy. Now, as verbal battles escalate in the Politburo, this crisis is coming to a head at an LCY Central Committee plenum scheduled

for October 17. Yugoslavia's Federal President Raif Dizdarevic, from Bosnia, has threatened to impose a state of emergency. And in an unprecedented act two Politburo members, Franc Setinc and Bosko Kronic, resigned their seats on that body in protest against Milosevic's chauvinist policies. The leaderships of the Slovenian and Croatian republics are clearly alarmed by the rise of Serbian nationalism. The Croatian newspaper *Danas* called Milosevic "the greatest danger since the Second World War."

Big sections of the liberal-Stalinist Yugoslav bureaucracy are worried about Milosevic's "extraparliamentary" mobilizations for another reason. They have also been the occasion for giant outpourings of proletarian outrage over the bureaucracy's corruption and mismanagement of the economy. A September 22 demonstration at the Serbian industrial town of Kraljevo, for example, was as much a protest over economic conditions as a nationalist rally. Speaking at the meeting, the local union chief at the railway car factory, the town's main industry, said:

"We don't want imposing villas, planes, yachts and private beaches. You are not our comrades because you do not line up at dawn to buy 'people's bread.' You don't share our destiny on the first, second or third shift. You don't go down in the mine shafts; you don't climb high to build bridges. You are not our comrades."

—*New York Times*,
23 September

According to the *Times* report the crowd responded enthusiastically, shouting "Thieves!" "Down with those who sit in armchairs!" and "The people should judge them!"

It's clear that Milosevic's Kosovo demonstrations are heavily fueled by plebeian outrage. Such mobilizations may blow up in this miserable demagogue's face when the masses discover that their fool's gold of Serbian nationalism purchases them an IMF shock treatment—administered by a former bank executive in a pin-striped suit sitting in his own armchair in Belgrade and himself not lacking in access to Mercedes, villas or yachts.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

In late 1945 a constitution establishing the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) was passed which stated that the republic was:

"...a community of peoples equal in rights who, on the basis of the right to self-determination including the right of secession, have expressed their will to live together in a federative state."

—cited in Paul Shoup,
Communism and the Yugoslav National Question (1968)

The gap between these words and the situation in Yugoslavia today could not
continued on page 8

A pamphlet on the economics of the East European deformed workers states, analyzing Yugoslavia, Hungary and East Germany in the context of Gorbachev's *perestroika*. The pamphlet considers the history of the ruling bureaucracies' efforts to combat stagnation through decentralization and "market-oriented" reforms, and counterposes the Trotskyist program for centralized economic planning based on workers democracy. Includes "The Bukharin Dossier," concerning Right Opposition leader Nikolai Bukharin, frequently presented today as the "godfather of *perestroika*."

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"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe

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July 1988 - Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10116

Eastern Unions: Fight or Die!

BOSTON—Eastern Airlines workers, Harvard University campus workers and hundreds of students held a protest rally September 30 outside the Harvard class reunion of vicious union-buster Frank Lorenzo. The protest was pub-

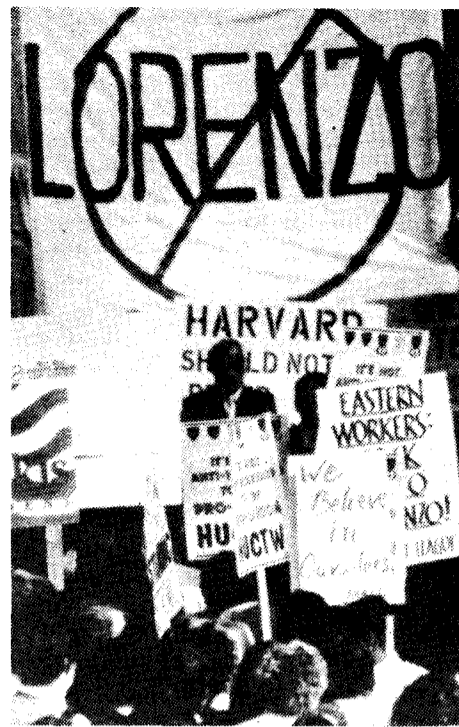
licized by the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW), whose hard-fought victory in union representation elections last May may be overturned by the anti-labor National Labor Relations Board as the result of

an appeal by the university.

The airline unions are under the gun. Later in the day a federal court gave Eastern the green light to ax 4,000 workers. And last week Lorenzo sold off Eastern's money-making shuttle to New York City real-estate and casino billionaire Donald Trump.

What's needed is hard class struggle to bust the union-busters, from Lorenzo to Harvard CEO Derek Bok. But the September 30 protest turned out to be a lackluster rally for the Democratic Party's presidential ticket. When Jesse Jackson showed up to speak, scores of Dukakis-Bentsen placards popped up. Jackson blamed the Republicans for "the political context that allows a Lorenzo," but it's the labor bureaucrats' alliance with the capitalist Democratic Party that has kept the unions from fighting the anti-labor offensive.

The Harvard Spartacus Youth Club carried signs reading "Eastern Workers—Sock It to Lorenzo!" and "Avenge PATCO, Philly MOVE—Build a Workers Party!" And in opposition to liberal hand-wringing about Harvard's reputation, such as one speaker's sug-



Ryan/Boston Globe
Eastern Airlines workers protest "Darth Vader" Lorenzo, speaking at Harvard.

gestion that Lorenzo be stripped of his degree unless he takes a Business School ethics course, we said: "Harvard loves union-busting Lorenzo, hates campus workers—Victory to HUCTW!" ■



WV Photo
At Machinists convention in Atlanta last May, thousands march against union-buster Lorenzo.

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 7)

be more glaring, demonstrating graphically the inability of Stalinism, even of the most "liberal" variety, to bring about a just solution of the national question. Certainly Tito stands head and shoulders above the sinister demagogue. Milosevic and the ineffectual politicians now playing musical chairs in Belgrade. But the crisis now ripping apart Yugoslavia cannot be resolved through a return to the spirit of Titoism. The answer to resurgent Serbian, Albanian and Slovenian nationalism is not the pan-Yugoslav nationalism of Tito.

Take the explosive Kosovo question. So far the Albanian population seeks only the status of a seventh republic in the Yugoslav federation, a measure of their distaste for the miserable ultra-Stalinist Albanian deformed workers state. But should the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia wish to place themselves under Tirana's rule, that desire should be recognized. It would in no way disrupt the geographic

or economic unity of Yugoslavia, and far from being a "counterrevolution" as the current Belgrade nationalists bluster, it would quickly bring big changes in Albania and open the road to a socialist federation of the Balkans.

But national Stalinists in Belgrade, committed to nostalgic folk dreams of lost medieval glory and to defending every inch of soil grabbed by the Serbian monarchy in the Balkan Wars, are incapable of solving this democratic task. They show themselves to be no different than the Romanian Stalinists bulldozing away thousands of Hungarian-minority villages, or the Bulgarian regime in Sofia, which forces Bulgarian citizens of Turkish descent to adopt Bulgarian names.

The fundamental inability of any Stalinist bureaucracy to resolve the national question is strikingly demonstrated by the eruption of nationalism and national conflict in the Soviet Union, fueled by Gorbachev's *perestroika*. Yugoslavia prefigures what could happen in Russia. At present the most aggressive nationalist movements are in the richest, most advanced regions—Estonia and Latvia—analagous to Slovenia in Yugoslavia. The

Baltic nationalists want to get even richer (at the expense of other Soviet peoples). At the same time, there is certainly a potential for resentment among the poorer, more culturally backward Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia, analogous to the Albanians of Kosovo.

But the greatest danger lies in resurgent nationalism among the *dominant* people—the Russians, like the Serbs in Yugoslavia. The nucleus of such a nationalist movement already exists in the nativist Russian fascist organization Pamyat, which is protected by sections of the bureaucracy. As we wrote recently: "The Pamyat Nazis must be crushed before this festering sore becomes a gangrenous cancer threatening the Soviet state and its multinational people" (WV No. 461, 23 September).

The danger of the Soviet Union ripping apart through national conflict still lies in the future. In Yugoslavia that danger exists right now! It is the absence of a revolutionary leadership in Yugoslavia today that permits the inept, increasingly corrupt and nationally fractured Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy to divert the natural unity of the Yugoslav workers in struggle into the

dead end of bloody national conflict. And it will take a revolutionary internationalist leadership to repudiate the country's foreign debt to the imperialist bankers.

Clearly the massive nationwide strike movement presents a crucial opportunity for a genuinely communist vanguard to reforge the fraternal links among the Yugoslav working people so badly eroded by decades of "market socialism." As Trotskyists we stand for equality among peoples on the basis of increased material well-being. This can only be achieved through a proletarian political revolution to establish workers democracy, soviet power, central planning and a rational allocation of investment resources. Above all this requires a definitive break from the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," and its replacement with the program of proletarian internationalism. As Trotsky stated in a discussion with his Greek supporters in the early 1930s: "A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into a federation of the United Soviet States of Europe." ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden
(Editor)

FBI Whitewashes Racist Murder

Free All the MOVE Prisoners!

On September 21, the U.S. "Justice" Department announced it was closing its 38-week "investigation" into the Philadelphia MOVE massacre. Eleven black people; including five children, were incinerated alive on that day of infamy, Mother's Day 1985, when city police, brain-trusted by the FBI, dropped a bomb on the black radical MOVE commune.

The federal grand jury (using reports from the FBI, which was "investigating" itself) returned no indictments, and, with supreme racist contempt, also returned no report. In a three-paragraph statement the Justice Department's man for dismantling civil

were driven by gunfire back into the blazing inferno to die.

The federal grand jury "finding," like the state grand jury report in May, was intended from the beginning to cover up the real perpetrators of calculated racist murder: Mayor Goode, who vowed "I would do it again," city managing director Leo Brooks, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor, Fire Commissioner William Richmond and the Reagan/Meese White House gang. Yet even Goode's hand-picked commission condemned his "grossly negligent" act of ordering the "unconscionable" bombing and the "unjustified homicide" of five children.

William H. Brown 3d, the lawyer who chaired Goode's commission, lambasted the federal whitewash, saying that to "deliberately place a bomb on that house, and having done that, then make a decision not to put the fire out and let it burn while children are in the house, if that's not sufficient grounds to find that their civil rights were violated, I don't know what is." Brown also noted, "We have got a dual system of justice in this country... if these victims had been white, I think we would have had a different result."

Today, the full force of state repression continues to bear down on the sole adult survivor of the MOVE massacre—Ramona Africa. Serving a seven-year term for "criminal conspiracy" (i.e., she *survived* to bear witness to the massacre), Ramona has been denied parole because, above all, she refuses the government's obscene demand that she not associate with her MOVE family upon release.

Ramona Africa is imprisoned in the women's prison at Muncy, Pennsylvania, along with six of her Africa family sisters, including the mothers of the children murdered in the Osage Avenue firebombing. They are Consuewela Dotson, Susan Leon, Janine Phillips, Debbie Sims, Merle Austin and Janet Holloway. Among the Africa brothers, held at separate men's facilities, are William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Delbert Orr, Charles Sims, Carlos Perez and Michael Davis. *Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!*

Philly blacks have faced murderous police repression for years. Former mayor and police commissioner Frank Rizzo was notorious for his assaults on the black ghetto and vicious strip-search roundup of the Black Panthers. Rizzo is the architect of the city's vendetta against MOVE. He targeted the group for five years and in the fall of '77 ordered the yearlong cop siege on the Powelton Village MOVE commune

which culminated in August 1978, when 60 cops moved in for the kill. Twelve MOVE people were framed up because a cop died (likely killed in the police crossfire) and were slammed into prison

the FBI, using C-4 explosives provided by the feds, and praised by Ed Meese as a "good example"—took place only days after Reagan visited the SS Nazi war graves at Bitburg. The war-crazed regime in Washington emulates Hitler's Third Reich, bombing black babies at home, as they lust to nuke the Soviet Union.

The combative Philly unions *should have shut the city down over the MOVE massacre and driven Goode out of town!* Now Goode thinks he's off the hook and all's forgotten. But we of the Spartacist League seek to sear into the



UPI
Delbert Africa, stomped by Philly police in 1978 assault on MOVE, is still in prison.

rights, William Bradford Reynolds, said there was insufficient evidence to seek indictments on civil rights violations. This "finding" is an outrageous whitewash of cold-blooded racist mass murder!

The 13 May 1985 attack on MOVE was a willful massacre of black people with no name (they all called themselves Africa) who had committed no crime. Philadelphia's black Democratic "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode gave the go-ahead for the bombing. Nearly 600 cops pumped 10,000 rounds of ammunition into the MOVE house, then dropped a bomb on it, and let it and 60 other homes on the 6200 block of Osage Avenue burn to the ground. Residents of the MOVE house who fled



UPI
Philadelphia, Mother's Day 1985—Eleven black people, including five children, were incinerated and a neighborhood burnt to the ground in "final solution"-style bombing of MOVE commune by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and the Reagan regime.

for terms from 31 to 99 years.

The MOVE massacre was the bloody signature of the Reagan years, a "message" to black people from the White House, a threat aimed at all who dare to "step out of line." The bombing—carried out with the advice and consent of

memory of the working class this terrible crime against black people at the hands of this racist capitalist class. We are fighting to forge a multiracial Leninist vanguard party to lead the struggle for workers revolution that will finally avenge the MOVE martyrs. ■

PDC Demands: Let Mumia Speak!

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

17 October 1988

Governor Robert Casey
Main Capitol Building, Room 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

Dear Governor Casey:

On November 5 the Partisan Defense Committee will join trade unionists, civil rights organizations, gay rights activists and many more to demonstrate against a Ku Klux Klan provocation in downtown Philadelphia. This demonstration against genocide will honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner at Huntingdon. For 20 years, Mr. Jamal has dedicated his life to fighting racist terror and championing the rights of poor and oppressed people. A renowned journalist and former president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, Mr. Jamal has been called the "voice of the voiceless." He has rightfully earned a place on the speakers platform November 5.

Twenty years ago, at the age of 13, Mr. Jamal and teenage friends were beaten and arrested by police for protesting a George Wallace presidential rally in South Philadelphia. For Jamal, it was obscene that this advocate of segregation forever be allowed to spew his appeals to race-hate in largely black and minority Philadelphia. Twenty years later it is



no credit
Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980.

equally obscene that the KKK, along with their skinhead allies, are parading for genocide in the "cradle of liberty," and Mr. Jamal is in solitary confinement, fighting for his life, for the crime of opposing this racist filth.

There is historical precedent in this country for granting special parole under specific circumstances. It is our belief that you should grant Mumia Abu-Jamal parole to address the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Very truly yours,
Deborah Mackson
Executive Director
Partisan Defense Committee

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Partisan Defense Committee

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**NO APARTHEID EXECUTIONS!
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Free All South Africa's Class-War Prisoners Page 3

Post Office and Telecommunications Workers protest the hanging of two militants, Johannesburg, 1 September 1967

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Page 8

S.F. Demo Demands: Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! Page 12

Klan Lynchers-Target Philly...

(continued from page 3)

Bedford Forrest, responsible for the bloody massacre of more than 300 black troops and their families at Fort Pillow two years before. (The "Klavern" which marched in Parkside last May was named after Forrest.) Forrest's Klan, modeled on the antebellum slave patrols, went after the black Union Leagues and a few black militias which defended freed blacks. The federal government, having crushed the slavocracy which had threatened Northern capital, ended military occupation after the Compromise of 1877, marking the end of Reconstruction. Blacks were forced into sharecropping, and Jim Crow segregation (named after another KKK founder) was sanctioned by the courts.

With the Klan now in the statehouses and courthouses of the South, there was no need for the paramilitary bands. In the 1870s, Klan terror had also turned against the budding labor organizations, particularly the Colored National Labor Union and the integrated Knights of Labor. But it was with the waves of immigration which filled the factories of the industrial North around the turn of the century, and the black migration from the South during World War I, that the lynchers reappeared. In 1915, inspired by the film *Birth of a Nation* which was viewed by 50 million Americans, as audiences cheered on the KKK nightriders, Joseph Simmons took a small band up Stone Mountain, Georgia (site of a monument to the Confederacy) to revive the Klan.

In the 1920s the Klan became a mass movement in the Northern industrial cities. It had some three to five million members nationwide, with Klaverns of 50,000 members in Chicago, 30,000 in Philadelphia. In 1925, tens of thousands of hooded and robed Klansmen marched through Washington, D.C. With the post-World War I "red scare," the KKK's nativist fascism was directed at Jews, blacks and especially Catholic immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, while the state rounded up "foreign" Communists for deportation. As the labor movement was decimated in the late 1920s and restrictive immigration laws were passed, the Klan's program was again co-opted by the bourgeoisie. But in the South, KKK terror remained a potent force, freezing out industrial unions during the rise of the CIO.

Following World War II, thousands of black GIs returned, trained in the use of weapons and determined to fight for their rights. Southern Jim Crow became an embarrassment to U.S. imperialism as colonial peoples won independence from their former masters. The civil rights movement was born which vowed to tear down the legal basis of segregation. But in response, racist terrorists once again put on the KKK robes in a frenzied attempt to maintain white supremacy. "Freedom riders" were set upon by KKKers with clubs at bus stations; in 1963 Klansmen bombed a black church in Birmingham, killing four



WV Photos

27 November 1982—Determined black youth came together with forces from the integrated labor movement in a 5,000-strong mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C.



black girls. The next year, KKKers in Philadelphia, Mississippi murdered three Jewish and black civil rights workers.

While liberal pacifists like Martin Luther King appealed to the cops and the FBI against the Klan, those very agencies were hand in hand with the racist terrorists. FBI informant Gary Rowe was the Klan triggerman who shot down civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo on the highway to Selma. But many blacks did not buy the pacifist line. For example, in 1957 local NAACP head Robert F. Williams in Monroe County, North Carolina led blacks to arm themselves in self-defense and to drive the Klan off. The Klan reactivated around the mid-'70s battles over school busing, but failed in their forays into the North.

It was in the anti-Soviet atmosphere of Cold War II, begun under Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter, that the "new" Klan began to surface in close alliance with anti-Communist Nazis. The Greensboro massacre of 1979, in which five leftist civil rights and union organizers were murdered, was a joint KKK/Nazi effort (with the cooperation of local and federal police). When the killers were let off by one all-white jury after another, it was a green light for racist terror. In 1980 the Klan endorsed Ronald Reagan for president, and feeling the wind in their sails after his election they tried to penetrate the North in a big way.

But the lynchers were not welcome. The Spartacist League took the initiative in organizing mass labor/black mobilizations which in several cities interdicted the Klan. Detroit, 1979: the KKK was stopped from "celebrating" the Greensboro massacre; San Francisco, 1980: Nazis were prevented from their obscene attempt to celebrate Hitler's birthday; Chicago, 1982: thousands came out against a KKK/Nazi

provocation on Gay Pride Day. That October the Klan was run out of Boston. And when in November 1982 the Kluxers tried to march in Washington, D.C., a 75 percent black city, the SL joined with unionists from the Tidewater, Virginia area in initiating a Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan. On November 27, some 5,000 anti-Klan demonstrators turned out at the KKK's assembly site, and after blocking the KKK we marched in triumph up the route to the White House that the Klan had vowed to take. It was a taste of the workers and black power that can turn this country around.

Crush the Klan: Philly Labor, Blacks Have the Power

Now the Klan wants to bring its racist terror to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Here everyone is in their sights. But the Democrats certainly aren't going to stop them. When Democratic presidential candidate Dukakis spoke in Philadelphia, Mississippi to an almost entirely white crowd on August 4, 24 years to the day since the bodies of slain civil rights workers Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney were found, he never once mentioned the gruesome Klan killings or even civil rights. In Philly black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode ordered the 1985 Mother's Day police bombing that murdered eleven residents of the black MOVE commune, five of them children. And Goode isn't Philadelphia's only "mayor of murder": his Republican opponent in last year's election was racist former mayor and top cop Frank Rizzo.

Not only blacks and Hispanics have



NY Public Library

Klan terror against Radical Reconstruction in the post-Civil War South: ex-Confederate soldiers burn down black school in Memphis, 1866.

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November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Philadelphia: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan November 5'."

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AFSCME District Council 33, Philadelphia, PA
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James Hunter, President, AFSCME Local 2799, Detroit, MI
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IAM Local 1111, Hawthorne, CA
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Susan L. Lantz, Director, Labor and Community Affairs, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, Forest Hills, NY
Frank Laroque, Associate Professor, Black Studies Department, City College of New York, New York, NY
James Leehan, Director, University Christian Movement, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH
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National Association for Chicano Studies, Midwest Region, Minneapolis, MN
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Louise Palmer, Coordinator, Amnesty International, Wesleyan University Chapter, Middletown, CT
Panhellenic Council of Temple University, Philadelphia, PA
Partisan Defense Committee
Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668, Philadelphia, PA
Martin Perlch, Writer/Producer, Los Angeles, CA
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Sterling D. Plump, Professor, Black Studies, University of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Jonas Pontusson, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
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Richard Ziebell, President, UAW Local 477, Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed on page 12.

been the butt of police state tactics in Philadelphia. Last year it was revealed that the cops had infiltrated everything from the Lesbian and Gay Task Force to CISPES, the Pledge of Resistance and sanctuary groups protecting Central American refugees from death squad terror. And on the bicentennial celebration of the U.S. Constitution, "freedom" meant that everyone wearing protest buttons, carrying placards or handing out literature was summarily banned from Independence Mall. Goode was put into office by the insurance companies, bankers and Main Line upper crust establishment to keep the lid on Philadelphia. And one of his main targets has been labor.

After the MOVE massacre, Goode tried to regain "credibility" with the ruling class by threatening to fire 13,000

sanitation and other blue collar workers of AFSCME District 33 during their July 1986 strike. The *Wall Street Journal* headlined that Goode's strikebreaking "Restores Confidence in His Ability to Lead." But Philly labor has real power, and they've shown they're not afraid to use it. Over the past decade, transit workers and teachers have struck repeatedly. SEPTA rail workers went out in a 109-day strike in 1983, shutting the system down with hard class struggle. When Greyhound bus drivers struck later that year, 1,000 pickets from the ATU and other unions held up scab buses for hours, taking scores of arrests. And in last year's football strike, the most militant support demonstration in the country was at Philly's Veterans Stadium.

What's needed is militant leadership

to mobilize labor/black power in class struggle against both capitalist parties and the racist terrorists. The Klan rides for Reagan. And as Malcolm X said, when you're voting Democrat, you're for the Dixiecrat. Never has this been clearer than in the '88 elections where the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket has pitched its campaign to Southern white racists. The convention was a calculated insult to Jesse Jackson and millions of blacks and labor voters—and they've disappeared him ever since. What this country urgently needs is a workers party, a class-struggle party that fights for black rights, that fights to bust the union-busters with a fight for power. For as long as racist American capitalism remains, it will time and again spawn terrorists like the Klan.

Philadelphia is a labor town, a black

town, a Hispanic, Catholic and Jewish city. All the fascists' intended victims, all defenders of democratic rights, every decent person in this city should unite behind the power of labor to crush this deadly threat to one and all. *All out to stop the Klan in Philadelphia on November 5 at Independence Mall!*

It'll Take \$\$\$ to Stop the KKK!

IT WILL TAKE \$\$\$ AND PEOPLE TO STOP THE KLAN—Dig deep and give NOW. Get your union, community and campus group to pledge. Expenses are mounting—we expect to print over 250,000 leaflets and thousands of posters. We'll need over \$7,500 just for printing costs, and much, much more to get the word out and to get buses in. Sign up to work distributing leaflets, fund-raising, selling bus tickets, and making posters. We need you and your help. Call us at (215) 790-1822 or your Partisan Defense Committee representative. Send contributions to:

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WORKERS VANGUARD

— ALL OUT TO — STOP THE KKK!

Philadelphia: Sat., November 5 Independence Mall Area

We reprint here the demonstration call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee on 7 October 1988.

The KKK lynchers and the violent skinhead filth are threatening to strut into the heart of Philadelphia at Independence Mall on November 5. With their burning crosses and their swastikas, they are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unions—all of us.

The Klan and skinheads have already marched in Valley Forge, and Parkside where they got a hot reception. Now they're bringing their deadly provocation to Philly. There must be a massive, defiant display of *labor/black power*, together with minorities and all intended victims of the lynchers, on Inde-

pendence Mall on November 5 to stop these fascist terrorists.

Make no mistake—the KKK are sadistic killers, in and out of their white sheets. Their idea of “free speech” is what the government did to MOVE—burning alive eleven black people, including five children. And the MOVE mothers are still locked up in jail!

We do not forget the Birmingham church bombings, the Greensboro massacre and now the torching of synagogues in NYC. And the degenerate skinheads with their Nazi regalia and jackboots want to act out their murderous Hitlerite fantasies. If we don't stop them here, who will be next to pay with their lives?

These labor-hating racists say they are going to bring their lynch ropes and Nazi salutes to the Liberty Bell, in the

“cradle of liberty.” For millions that “liberty” meant being born into slavery. The Civil War took care of chattel slavery. We need to finish the job—and one step toward that can be by stopping the KKK/skinheads *now*.

The unions were built against the violent opposition of the KKK, and if the unions' power is unleashed we can make the streets of Philly safe from these racist criminals.

We will be at Independence Mall, Saturday, November 5 to honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor. Today as black America is under the gun, all of labor is facing a union-busting offensive to roll back hard-won gains: remember the PATCO air controllers who were dragged away in chains! The Klan and skinheads are a

threat to our livelihoods and our lives. The power to stop them lies with the integrated, combative unions in this city—transit, sanitation, Teamsters, teachers, longshoremen.

When the KKK tried to march against immigrants in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the integrated power of 5,000 workers and minorities, backed by over 70 unions and union officials from Norfolk to Boston, sent them packing. The fascists must be stopped—and we can stop them *here*. All out to stop the KKK and skinhead thugs on November 5! *Be there!*

INITIATED BY THE
PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1530 Locust St., Suite #92
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 790-1822

— Philly labor, minorities: This is the power that can stop the Klan! —



November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

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