

Clinton and FBI Mass Murderers!

APRIL 20—The April 19 massacre of nearly 100 members of the Branch Davidian religious commune, which the world watched live on TV, was the biggest government slaughter of American civilians in this century, exceeding even the horrendous U.S. Army bombing of the black community in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921. Having mobilized heavily to teach a bloody lesson to those who would protest against L.A. racist cops, the nation's forces of state repression immediately let loose in Waco.

The pretext for the original raid by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) was that the group supposedly had a cache of arms. Thus the liberal campaign for gun control helped create the climate for the siege, assault and mass murder of this religious sect which harmed no one. One lawyer told CNN the Waco group probably had less guns than Ross Perot has in his basement. Like the MOVE massacre of 1985, this atrocity must be seared into the consciousness of the working class.

In response to the Waco holocaust, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee called protest pickets on short notice outside federal offices in New York, Boston, Chicago and the San
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Waco Holocaust



THIS IS CLINTON'S AMERICA: "The charred corpses of 87 men, women and children who perished in the firestorm resulting from the FBI's barrage of CS gas, flash-grenades and battering rams are the direct responsibility of the White House" (Spartacist press release, 19 April). Reuters

Chris Hani Gunned Down in Right-Wing Plot

South Africa: Black Outrage Over Apartheid Assassination

"Power Sharing" Fraud Exposed

On April 10, Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and former head of the African National Congress' armed wing, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto we Sizwe—MK), was gunned down by an émigré Polish fascist with links to South African state intelligence. Hani was shot four times about 10:15 a.m. as he stepped out of the car he had just parked in the driveway of his home in a newly integrated neighborhood in Boksburg, a staunch right-wing suburb of Johannesburg. As news of the assassination spread through the impoverished townships, black anger exploded

in the streets from Cape Town to Soweto. Millions participated in mass protests, funeral processions and perhaps the biggest general strike in South African history.

Six million blacks stayed away from jobs on April 14. Apartheid rulers answered with tear gas and pistol shots. Police who were lined up in front of the police station in Soweto shot directly into the crowd of thousands, killing three. At a march in Johannesburg, police stood by while Nazis jumped out of a car and shot three protesters. With Hani's murder, black youth in their outrage took to the streets in dozens of cities. Windows were smashed, vehicles and government offices burnt, grenades thrown at soldiers. On the day of his funeral thousands filled a Soweto
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Township youth take to the streets April 14 in anger over murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani. AP



Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!

The December election of former "disident" Kim Young Sam as president of South Korea was hailed by the capitalist press as a triumph of democratic rule. But for the brutally exploited Korean workers and the trade-union militants and leftists swelling the Korean prisons, Kim's election is little more than a transparent "democratic" veneer for the South Korean police state.

With rampant corruption and declin-

ing profits taking the gloss off the "economic miracle" built on the blood, sweat and corpses of South Korea's workers, the "reformer" Kim Young Sam was the preferred choice of the Korean bourgeoisie. Though touted as the first South Korean president who did not emerge from the military, he joined the ruling Democratic Liberal Party in 1990. As set out in a position paper released in February, the new government's plan for

The State and Class Oppression

From the brutal videotaped police beating of black L.A. motorist Rodney King and the police-state mobilization surrounding the "trial" of his racist cop tormentors, to the hideous holocaust perpetrated by Clinton's FBI in Waco, Texas, dramatic recent events serve to underscore that the capitalist state, with its troops, cops and courts, is a machinery of oppression whose sole purpose is to defend the interests of the ruling class against those whom it exploits. Only when

this state is smashed through socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state will there be justice for working people and all the oppressed. In his classic work, The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State, Friedrich Engels traced the rise of the state in the development of classes and class antagonisms.

As the state arose from the need to keep class antagonisms in check, but also arose in the thick of the fight between the classes, it is normally the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which by its means becomes also the politically dominant class and so acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. The ancient state was, above all, the state of the slave owners for holding down the slaves, just as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument for exploiting wage labor by capital...

The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which in our modern social conditions becomes more and more an unavoidable necessity and is the form of state in which alone the last decisive battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out—the democratic republic no longer officially recognizes differences of property. Wealth here employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption of officials, of which America is the classic example; and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange, which is effected all the more easily the higher the state debt mounts and the more the joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, and themselves have their own center in the stock exchange...

The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state inevitably falls with them. The society which organizes production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machinery where it will then belong—into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze ax.

—Friedrich Engels, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884)



TROTSKY



LENIN

revitalizing the declining economy calls for deregulating industry, rebuilding national discipline and encouraging sacrifice for "the country's good"—i.e., squeezing the working class even more.

Despite the police-state repression, backed up by tens of thousands of U.S. troops, the South Korean proletariat has demonstrated its courage and militancy—from the mass strike wave of 1987 to last year's militant class battles at Hyundai. The period leading up to the election was marked by anti-union repression. On September 25, seventeen striking steel workers were arrested when over 1,600 riot cops stormed the 600 strikers who occupied the Sammi steel plant in Changwo. One week later, cops stormed a broadcasting station in Seoul where workers were on strike for a month. Thirty strike leaders were arrested. On December 29 the government executed nine people, about one-sixth of all those on death row—a clear message that even after the election eleven days earlier it was business as usual for Korea's brutal apparatus of repression.

Kim Young Sam came to power amidst expectations of a sweeping amnesty for political prisoners, which has yet to be carried out. But as under his predecessor Roh Tae Woo, any amnesty will likely exclude prisoners considered "socialist" by this vile reactionary government. Roh's 1987 election was hailed as a "democratic opening," but in the next five years over 1,000 labor unions were dissolved, and more than 5,000 dissidents thrown in jail—a rate of 4.4 per day. Among the political prisoners rotting in Kim's jails is Choi Il Bung, a member of the International Socialists group.

Sentenced in November to two years in prison, Choi was charged and convicted under the draconian National Security Laws for publishing books freely



Socialist Worker

Choi Il Bung

available in other countries, including Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution* and Moshe Lewin's *Lenin's Last Struggle*, as well as the anti-Soviet "state capitalist" writings of Tony Cliff. Enacted in the 1950s to suppress the Communist movement and snuff out any support to the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North, South Korea's security laws are used to criminalize all political opposition to the reactionary regime. Kim Young Sam himself spent years under house arrest under the security laws, only to today carry on the tradition of locking away anyone deemed a threat to Seoul's bloody capitalist order.

While many South Korean workers and students are sympathetic toward the North, Choi's answer to the charges was to point to the I.S.' position that North Korea is "state capitalist" and that many of the books he published opposed the

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Letter

Viva Nina!

The following letter by X-rated movie star Nina Hartley is in response to the article "Felony Lesbianism" in Las Vegas" (Workers Vanguard No. 573, 9 April), which publicized an anti-sex vendetta that threatens Nina and ten other women with up to 12 years' imprisonment.

To the editor:

A book came out a couple of years ago dealing with the C.P. in Alabama, in which my grandparents are mentioned quite a number of times (see: Joe and Esther Gelders). They were heavily involved in anti-racist organizing. [Birmingham's notorious police commissioner] "Bull" Connor and the KKK beat up my grandfather on three different occasions, leaving him for dead the last time. He recovered, barely, and they headed west.

My parents were also in the party. In 1956, my father was called before the "House Un-American Activities Committee," where he steadfastly refused to name anyone. He was blacklisted, lost his radio show in S.F. and a promising radio career was destroyed.

I want to thank the S.L. for your courageous defense of the right to free sexual expression. Your position on the left is unique. My husband informs me that you are the only Marxist group that actively defends pornography. You understand the connection between sexual freedom/equality and socialism. Thank you! Your support for me is greatly needed and appreciated.

Long live socialism!
Nina Hartley

WV replies: We thank Nina Hartley for her kind letter, and refer readers to *Hammer and Hoe* by Robin D.G. Kelley



Courtesy of Nina Hartley

Nina Hartley

(University of North Carolina Press, 1990), the authoritative history of the Communist Party's work in Alabama during the Depression. Nina's grandparents, Joe and Esther Gelders, figure prominently, particularly in leading the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee oppose all attempts by the state to proscribe sexuality, particular sexual practices and their depiction in pornography. The SL and PDC entered an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in 1988 in the case of a Fort Wayne bookseller brought up on "obscenity" and "conspiracy" charges. We urge our readers to send contributions to help pay Nina and her codefendants' legal expenses, which are already over \$30,000. Checks can be made out to "The Freedom Fund," and sent to: Bobby Lilly, 2550 Shattuck Avenue No. 51, Berkeley, CA 94704. ■

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Amid Massive Police-State Mobilization

Slap on the Wrist Verdict for Racist L.A. Cops

APRIL 18—Following an orchestrated nationwide “riot” scare and cop mobilization, the carefully scripted verdicts in the case of four of the LAPD cops who mercilessly beat Rodney King two years ago were handed down in an extraordinary 7 a.m. Saturday court session. When the court clerk read out “guilty” verdicts for Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, a cheer went up among those attending a prayer vigil with Jesse Jackson at the First AME church in South-Central Los Angeles. The fact that the strutting, swaggering racist pig Koon and the sadistic baton-wielding thug Powell may spend a few months in protective custody at Club Fed doesn’t change one iota the brutal reality of racist American capitalism.

The Rodney King case has laid bare capitalist class “justice” in this deeply racist country. The methodical, systematic, deliberate beating of a helpless black man pinned to the ground by more than a dozen burly cops was the domestic face of the imperialist “New World Order” proclaimed over the corpses of 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children. The flagrantly racist acquittal of the four cops by a Simi Valley jury last year sparked multiracial upheavals of outrage across America. L.A. was torn apart by the largest urban uprising in the U.S. this century—followed by bloody repression. Over 50 were killed, mainly by police. The preparations for police-state repression around the second trial showed what this vicious ruling class is capable of. And on the night the L.A. verdicts were announced, they decided to do it in Waco.

Last year’s Los Angeles upheaval shook America’s racist bourgeois rulers. They saw a “revolt of the damned,” and to prevent any repetition, they prepared a full panoply of counterrevolutionary terror. Four days before the case went to the jury, the Police Foundation staged a top-level conference in Washington, D.C. with top cop Janet Reno and major urban police chiefs to plan for “civil disorders.”

The repressive force arrayed against black and Latino L.A. was greater even than that deployed by South Africa’s apartheid rulers to suppress black protest in the wake of the Chris Hani assassination. The LAPD poured 6,500 cops onto the streets and stationed snipers on rooftops, while squads of shotgun-toting cops surrounded any black youth who ventured out on the street. Another 2,000 county sheriff’s deputies were deployed in special platoons, as well as 800 state highway patrolmen and 600 National Guardsmen. One described their “mission”: “We’re not out there to arrest, we’re not out there to impose the law. We’re out there to find the enemy, fix him in position and—do what armies do.”

The message was: keep quiet and stay home, or die! And to make that message unambiguous, the racist rulers trotted out their “black faces in high places” the night before the verdict. While black L.A. police chief Willie Williams marshaled the troops, black mayor Tom Bradley appeared on TV to warn the city’s minorities to stay in line. He was followed by Jesse Jackson, who echoed the chorus of deadly threats with a warning that any riot would be “put down.” South-Central Democratic Con-

You Can't Get Justice in the Capitalist Courts!



Dykes/L.A. Times

Occupying army of troops and cops rounded up minority youth in South-Central L.A. during last May’s explosion over acquittal of racist cops.

gresswoman Maxine Waters, “militant” favorite of the reformists, violence-baited and threatened would-be protesters: “you will be killed. The Los Angeles Police department is primed to keep the peace.”

After the verdict was announced, the white bourgeoisie and their black front men breathed an audible, collective sigh of relief. On Saturday morning one press statement followed another on the TV screens—from the federal prosecution team to Attorney General Janet Reno to President Clinton himself—all piously proclaiming that justice had been served. But on the streets of Los Angeles, black workers bitterly noted that of the more than a dozen cops seen on video by the entire country torturing King that night, only four were ever brought to trial, and two of those were acquitted. From South-Central to the South Bronx, everyone knows that the only thing unique about what happened to Rodney King is

that it was captured on videotape and aired on TV.

BEOs, Labor Traitors Abandon Blacks

Polls showed all racial groups in L.A. other than whites thought that the overwhelming danger was not riots but the cops running amok; whites were evenly split. Yet the bourgeois media were out “riot hunting,” feeding the frenzy of cop provocation and militarism. And when nothing happened, it was used as justification for the police-state mobilization and the call for thousands more cops on the streets. The civil libertarian ACLU disgustingly came out in defense of King’s racist cop tormentors—in a split vote in which all black delegates dissented—on the grounds that the second trial constituted double jeopardy. While the bourgeois courts may well use this as a precedent, the Simi Valley whitewash was not a trial at all but a flagrant sham.

The new head of the thoroughly “respectable” NAACP, Rev. Benjamin Chavis, felt compelled to complain that the provocative buildup “reminds me of the preliminary activities of Desert Storm.” He added: “I’m very concerned, with all the military apparatus that is surrounding Los Angeles right now, that the people who live in South-Central Los Angeles may in fact become isolated from the rest of the United States.”

If South-Central is isolated from the rest of America, it is because the beleaguered black population has been abandoned by the black Democratic Party hacks, and the abjectly pro-capitalist union tops who have sabotaged the palpable opportunities for working-class struggle in L.A. that could have brought out the power of the labor movement against racist cop terror.

The black elected officials nervously rush to shore up the cops because they know that for all the hype about drug witchhunter Peter Ueberroth’s union-hating “Rebuild L.A.,” decaying capitalism has nothing to offer the impoverished black and Latino masses. In the wake of the 1960s ghetto rebellions, the state responded with the sop of a “war on poverty.” This time around, they bought off a handful of L.A. street gang leaders, who went around peddling T-shirts reading “Peace in the Hood.”

Last year’s talk of \$5 billion in inner-city investment is a citywide joke; Ueberroth’s outfit even had to change its name to “RLA” for fear of raising “false hopes.” Unemployment in poor black neighborhoods reaches 50 percent, as hundreds of thousands of unionized industrial jobs have been wiped out in aerospace and auto. L.A. teachers just had a 10 percent pay cut rammed down their throats by the “friend of labor” Democrats, and Kaiser hospital workers, who were slated to strike during the trial, were sent back to work after only a day.

L.A. labor, especially longshore and the growing multiracial service unions, has the power to come to the defense of the black and Latino population—and themselves. The LAPD “labor squad” has been pervasive, menacing union demonstrations and strikes, while undocumented Latino workers face roundups and deportations by the INS. During last year’s upheaval the LAPD and *la migra* swept the streets and deported over 1,000 workers. While California

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Melcon/L.A. Times

Latino janitors (left) and striking Kaiser Hospital workers (right). Mobilize power of integrated L.A.-area working class to defend oppressed minorities!



WV Photo

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

stadium while bands of angry youths threw stones at the police "hippos" (armored cars) patrolling the area.

A few days earlier in the Cape Town area, protesters blocked a highway with burning barricades and massed outside President F.W. De Klerk's official residence. "No Peace. War, War," youths chanted in the streets. Black "moderates" pulled out all the stops to quell the justified rage. Bishop Desmond Tutu praised the conduct of the police and denounced the violence of the "lunatic fringe," referring to the ANC's "young lions."

Soweto was the site of a dramatic political confrontation. At the April 14 protest, as ANC leader Nelson Mandela addressed the 20,000 who rallied in a sports stadium, the crowd erupted in boos when Mandela said "I don't like the National Party, but I'm prepared to work with F.W. De Klerk to build a new South Africa." Yells came from the crowd, "We hate them, we hate them!" Others said of Mandela, "He's too old and he doesn't want to fight."

Hani and the "Power Sharing" Deal

Leaders of the ANC and the apartheid rulers worried about the impact on the current "power sharing" negotiations. In fact, the assassination of Hani exposed the reality of the "new" South Africa—not post-apartheid but *neo-apartheid*. Now Mandela is using the spectre of massive violent upheaval in the townships to push through the deal with the white-supremacist regime.

For young black militants, Hani was the personification of "armed struggle" against the hated apartheid regime. Yet following the assassination, Nelson Mandela cited Hani's "central role in the effort to arrive at a negotiated settlement" and said Hani was killed to head off negotiations. This was self-evidently true. As we have noted, Hani and his close ally Winnie Mandela traded on their militant reputations to position themselves as the pseudo-radical opposition to a future Mandela/De Klerk government. Hani in fact insisted he had no fundamental disagreement with "power sharing," only bickering over timing and the small print of the deal. As we wrote last month:

"Hani/[Winnie] Mandela are expressing the frustrations of the lumpen-plebeian supporters of the ANC, who unlike the black would-be yuppies around ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki would gain no benefits from the 'power sharing' deal.... The ANC needs both to be in the government and to be in opposition to it. If Mandela is president, then Hani will be the 'militant opposition' waiting in the wings."

—"South Africa 'Power Sharing' Swindle,"
WV No. 571, 12 March

By channeling the mounting disaffection of the township youth, we noted, these critics "are key players in making sure the deal goes down."

We were the *only ones* to state this obvious truth, at a time when nobody, either in the bourgeois media or the left press, would say it. They instead united in building Hani's reputation as an uncompromising Communist leading militant opposition to Mandela's sellout. But today Hani's role in the "negotiations" waltz is being discussed by all. Thus in the *New York Times* (11 April), Bill Keller wrote that "With his credentials as the anti-apartheid guerrilla leader and his charismatic appeal to angry young blacks, Mr. Hani gave the congress credibility among its most disaffected constituents." Tutu said of Hani that "He had the credibility among the young to rein in the radicals." And South African journalist Anthony Hazlitt Heard noted that Hani was "a crucial cog in the peace machinery":

"Hani was the person most suited to taming the excesses of the masses, particularly the impoverished and embittered youth. And he did this with a gusto and sincerity that surprised many of his opponents. He had made the quantum leap from fostering class revolution to all-around stability."

—*Los Angeles Times* (13 April)

After all, it was Hani who argued for the "integration" of the MK forces into the apartheid army. While as a military guerrilla force, the MK was no threat at all to the South African army, to liquidate it into the repressive apparatus of the



Financial Times

Sinister killers of the Nazi AWB target militant blacks and leftists.

reported decision to dismiss his bodyguards on Easter weekend, and travel alone in the right-wing white enclave of Boksburg, where the fascists operate with impunity.

The Assassination Plot

The assassin was one Janusz Walus, a fanatical anti-communist Polish fascist who emigrated to South Africa in 1981 on the eve of the suppression of the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność, the Polish nationalist movement

night. Since then it's been delay, delay, delay—three years of delay. And now they're murdering our leaders. The only answer is insurrection" (*Washington Post*, 18 April). This is the bitter anger of people who thought they were getting "Amandla" (power) and now have been robbed of even the illusion of it.

Today there is no one of the stature of Chris Hani who can galvanize yet control the township youth, the ANC's plebeian base—which is why he was killed. ANC Youth League leaders adopt militant posturing, and the Pan Africanist Congress will doubtless pick up followers for its indiscriminate terror bombings of restaurants and golf courses frequented by whites. Outrage may degenerate into random attacks by roving bands of lumpenproletarian youth who could direct their rage at anything from Zulu hostels to individual whites or black workers.

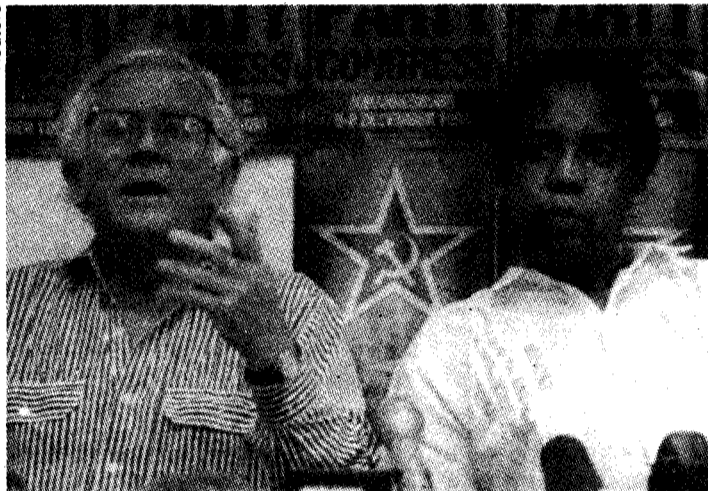
A 16 April Associated Press article by Barry Renfrew summed up the imperialists' calculations of the effect of Hani's murder on the "peace negotiations." Renfrew writes that under threat of a descent into chaos, the white rulers and the ANC tops are being pushed into a tighter embrace. Noting that further unrest is likely, he writes that the "violence that erupted in the wake of Hani's death was comparatively modest in a country where dozens of people are killed every week in political violence," and "much of the anger is likely to abate in coming weeks.... Without organization, strong leadership and resources, such unrest could not be sustained."

Renfrew observed that while many "question Mandela's ability to control angry young blacks, the ANC has always had radical black rivals to which it has lost militant black youths for decades." This is quite true, and the real key to the future of South Africa does not lie in the militant township youth, although they can play a valuable role, but in the millions-strong proletariat in the factories, mines, railways and docks who make the wheels of apartheid capitalism turn...or stop.

There is an urgent need for the black, "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian masses to organize self-defense units, *with a proletarian axis*. They can incorporate the young fighters of the impoverished townships, but must be built on a multi-ethnic working-class basis including coloureds, Indians and anti-racist whites. This must be part of a strategy of proletarian revolution.

The key is building a genuine communist, Trotskyist party, where the red star and the hammer and sickle are not hollow symbols of some long-forgotten days but the heart of a fighting program for workers revolution. The modern-day wage slaves who produce the fabulous profits of the Anglo American mining magnates must not be chained to a party of bourgeois nationalism, manipulated by the black front men for refurbished apartheid capitalism, but rather must struggle for a black-centered workers republic. ■

South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo (left) with SACP general secretary Chris Hani, cut down by assassin on April 10.



Reuters

present regime is a betrayal of would-be liberation fighters and a sinister threat to black workers and township youth. At the same time, Hani sought to counter De Klerk's Zulu *Gauleiter*, Gatsha Buthelezi, by playing the Xhosa tribalist card. Thus he sought an alliance with ANC-allied bantustan chiefs in Venda and the Transkei. Lately, he had been trying to organize "community defense" patrols as part of the phony "peace" negotiations.

Hani not only fostered illusions in the "democracy" of a "new" South Africa, but apparently shared some of them himself. This is tragically evident in his

backed by the U.S. and the Vatican. In South Africa, Walus joined the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement), a Nazi paramilitary organization, and was involved with other white-extremist action groups.

The "single deranged fascist" line spun by the government collapsed almost immediately when it was revealed the pistol which killed Hani came from a 1990 fascist raid on a South African air force arsenal in Pretoria. The heist, in which more than 70 weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition were taken, was an inside job. Guards at the installation were among more than 50 rightists charged in the plot.

On April 17, police arrested "for questioning" a senior member of the Conservative Party, Derby Lewis, who has connections to a number of right-wing extremist groups. And an article by John Carlin in the *London Independent* (16 April) reports on fresh evidence definitively linking Walus to South African intelligence. Walus also belongs to the "Afrikaner National Socialist Movement" (ANS), whose leader, Koos Vermeulen, said it would pay Walus' legal costs. Vermeulen was closely associated with two men charged with carrying out a bombing at a black taxi stand in Pretoria in 1990, and with the murder of an ANC supporter in Durban that year. The two jumped bail and fled to Britain, where they announced that they were South African military intelligence operatives.

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The mood of the ANC's "young lions" was expressed by Thabo Morudu, 21. "When Mandela was released, we thought things would get better over-

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Mississippi Jailhouse Lynchings

Over the past five years the state of Mississippi claims that 47 people being held in local jails and state prisons, among them 24 blacks, committed suicide by hanging themselves. Charles Tisdale, publisher of the *Jackson Advocate* and veteran of the civil rights struggle in Mississippi, fought to bring to light these tragic deaths, dubiously labeled "suicides." In March the Commission on Human Rights Abuses in Mississippi—including among others former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, Joseph Lowery of the SCLC and Ben Chaney—held hearings to investigate the hangings. Chaney is the brother of James Chaney, who along with Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner was murdered near Philadelphia, Mississippi in 1964. Their gravestone has been recently desecrated by bullet holes in the tombstone portraits. Their killers live in surrounding Neshoba County, and as Ben Chaney has said, "They're local heroes." The threat of more racist lynchings is heavy in the air.

In 1990 David Scott Campbell was found hanged in the Neshoba County jail. Arrested on a year-old warrant, he died on his 21st birthday, on the eve of taking up a new job. The lights went off in the jail for an hour; conflicting testimony has him hanging by a belt (which he never wore) or a pants leg. His body was embalmed before an autopsy. The clothes used to hang him are missing. Campbell was known in Neshoba for dating a white woman, and many in the black community believe this is why he died. His girlfriend claims the Klan has "infiltrated" the Neshoba County Sheriff's Department. Despite common knowledge that KKK activity is widespread in Neshoba, Sheriff Hubert Waddell said, "I didn't even know we had a Klan around" (*Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, 18 March). (Local sheriffs were complicit in the murders of the three civil rights workers in 1964.)

Andre Jones, an 18-year-old black youth, died on 23 August 1992 in a jail in Mendenhall, Mississippi. He was found hanging by the shoelaces of his own sneakers. Jones was said to have knotted shoelaces to a bar and crouched with his feet still on the ground. He died at 10:30 p.m. but his parents were not allowed to see the body till the next afternoon. The family hired a Chicago pathologist, who says Andre was murdered: "It is physically impossible for a person to pick himself up by a shoestring and hang himself from the rafters of a shower stall without the aid of a chair or stepstool...whoever killed him...hung it up

to make it look like a suicide" (*USA Today*, 19 February). Jones was to start college as an engineering student. He had spoken to his parents and was upbeat. Andre's parents believe he was murdered as an act of retribution. His mother is president of the local Jackson NAACP, and his stepfather was a minister in the Nation of Islam.

Jones had been pulled over at a police check in Rankin County and charged with two misdemeanors and a felony. In the

Meredith integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962. When the cops stood back to let the racists rampage, two French journalists were killed. After Meredith was shot five years later, Lloyd Jones ordered protest marchers in Canton tear-gassed. At Jackson State in 1967 he fired three times—black student Ben Brown was killed. Three years later, Jones led a squad at Jackson State, where after a 28-second barrage of machine gun fire and hail of bullets, two black youths

pinstripe fascist David Duke. In 1993 Mississippi has black elected officials and police chiefs, but little has changed economically or socially for the majority of blacks, who comprise 35 percent of the population. State-sanctioned Jim Crow has given way to resegregation in public schools through a network of private white "academies." Singer Nina Simone's bitter chronicle is no less true today: "Everybody knows about Mississippi—Goddamn."



Jenson/Clarion-Ledger

Parents of Andre Jones (left) show graduation photo of their son who police claim "hanged himself" by his shoelaces' in jail.



Hannans/Atlanta Journal and Constitution photos

Fifteen-year-old wife and two-month-old daughter of Bobby Everett (left) and mother of Shannon King (above), two more victims of jailhouse lynchings.

middle of the night he was transferred to a notorious jail in Simpson County run by Sheriff Lloyd "Goon" Jones. The sheriffs claim he showed them "gang signals," and killed himself because he violated the gang "code of conduct" and was afraid to spend time in jail! Andre was not a gang member and had no record. The Justice Department conducted an investigation, and "after a careful FBI review" they found no evidence to counter the suicide scenario. The Mississippi Commissioner of Public Safety, James Ingram, claims there is no evidence of "foul play." Ingram, a former assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, was responsible for COINTELPRO disruption of the civil rights movement.

Sheriff Lloyd Jones is called "Goon" because he is a racist thug. He was in the line of state patrolmen that cleared a path for the racist mob when James

lay dead and twelve were injured. As Charles Evers, brother of slain Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers, said later, "I want Jones...held for murder.... For he is the man—I keep saying this—who is always on the scene. He's the one who called us 'niggers'" (quoted in Tim Spofford, *Lynch Street: The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College* [1988]).

On April 14 a federal inquiry was announced into hanging deaths in Mississippi jails. Expecting the government to stop this is like asking the fox to guard the chicken coop. The jail where Andre Jones died has been subject to review under federal court order since 1978! But they have got a big PR problem and need damage control. Moreover, this brutality is manifestly a legacy of slavery. (The regime is especially aimed at blacks, but the dispossessed of all colors inevitably get caught in the noose.) Mississippi, Florida, North Carolina and Texas, all former Confederate states, top the list of states with the most jailhouse "suicides." Sixty-seven were in Florida, where Janet Reno, now Clinton's top cop, was a prosecutor; now she's overseeing the federal "investigation"!

The repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, in all its hideous forms, is the racist rulers' central mechanism for social control. For the state, "suicides" have the "virtue" of saving it trouble and expense of a trial and years of prison. After all, the United States has the highest rate of incarceration among industrialized countries, and has more black males in prison than attending college. Likewise, there has been a speedup on death row, where 40 percent of those set to be legally lynched are black.

The civil rights movement barely penetrated the wall of racist reaction, as the powerful positions of Jones and Ingram attest. Thirty years after he shot NAACP head Medgar Evers, Klansman Byron de la Beckwith may again go free in the state run by Republican governor Fordice, who sounds a lot like

The experience of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) in 1964 illustrates the dead end of capitalist politics. The MFDP was the outgrowth of a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee voter registration drive in 1964 that netted 80,000 black voters to force the liberals in the national Democratic Party to seat an alternate black protest slate. But Lyndon Johnson needed the white vote, and insisted on a "compromise" seating only two "at large" black delegates. SNCC refused and the entire regular delegation was seated. At the time, Stokely Carmichael said it "was as ludicrous for Negroes to join the Democratic Party as it would be for Jews to join the Nazi party."

Today the "New South" yuppie administration of Clinton/Gore mutters about "reform" while practicing racist accommodation. (Candidate Clinton returned to Arkansas to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man.) Mike Espy, Clinton's secretary of agriculture, was the first black Congressman from Mississippi since Reconstruction. He is known for his "coalition building," selling out the interests of the oppressed to the plantocracy and agribusiness capitalists who run Mississippi. Ask striking Delta Pride catfish workers from Indianola about his certified anti-union credentials!

A South-wide drive to organize integrated, industrial unions—spreading outward from unionized outposts like the shipyards and steel mills of Pascagoula, Mississippi—against the racist ruling class would send shock waves even into the Mississippi Delta country and the pine woods where the nativist fascists of the KKK hole up. But that requires a class-struggle leadership, organized in a multiracial revolutionary workers party fighting for socialist revolution, a third American revolution that would put an end to racist injustice, and rid the region and the country of the ghosts of the Confederacy and their protectors in the court houses, state houses and White House. ■

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Q. What's an "Outlaw State"?

"New World Order" Targets North Korea

On April 1, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) went to the UN Security Council seeking unspecified "sanctions" against North Korea for supposedly refusing to allow inspectors to visit "suspected atom bomb sites." Sound familiar? It sure will to the beleaguered population of Iraq: that was the pretext for the vicious bombing attack on them last January, with outgoing and incoming imperialist chiefs Bush and Clinton standing "shoulder to shoulder" to once more bloody this small, non-white country. In motive and intent, the scenario now being played out against North Korea is no different. Behind these moves is a deadly threat against the North Korean deformed workers state by the hegemonic nuclear power on the planet, the U.S. of A.

Bush cast Saddam Hussein as a nut about to get a finger on the nuclear trigger in order to build war fever in the U.S. for Operation Desert Slaughter in 1991, when the Pentagon imperialist war machine butchered 100,000 Iraqis. "Iraq

A. A Country Washington Doesn't Want to Have the Bomb.

trant deformed workers states, Cuba and North Korea. "I'm running out of demons," complained General Colin Powell after the Gulf slaughter. "I'm down to Castro and Kim Il Sung." Washington was set to make a *casus belli* of an uncompleted Cuban nuclear reactor at Cienfuegos until the Castro regime was forced to shut it down when Yeltsin's Russia cut off aid.

The North Korean Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1985 under heavy pressure—actually economic blackmail—from Moscow and Washington. However, Kim refused to allow "inspections" of the North unless the same treatment was meted out to

imize the espionage acts by the United States, a belligerent party vis-a-vis the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea], and set the beginning of the full exposure of all our military installations. Under our specific conditions in which the country still remains divided and exposed to the constant nuclear threats from the United States, it will be totally inconceivable to lay our military sites open to the enemies."

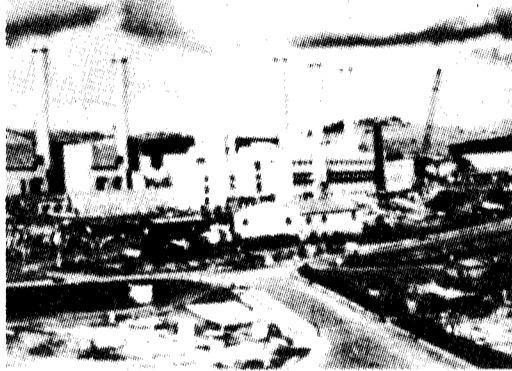
U.S. Imperialism— World's Nuclear Terrorist

Who's kidding who, anyway? Forget how many grams of plutonium North Korea may or may not possess. The U.S. is the *only* military power on the peninsula with nuclear weapons—and no one had better demand to inspect *them*—not

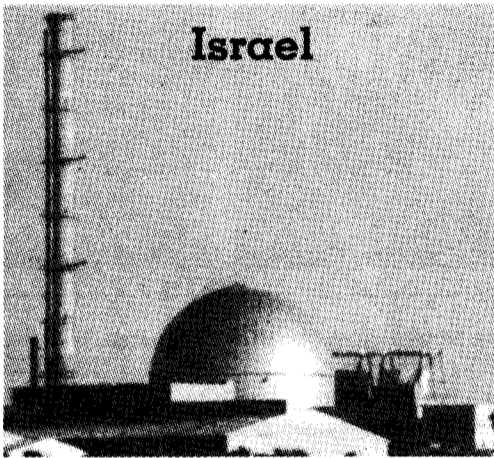
"sweeten up my B-29 force" (Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings, *Korea: The Unknown War* [Pantheon, 1988]). And it wasn't just the "loose cannon" MacArthur, either. Three days after Chinese and North Korean forces launched a punishing counteroffensive, Truman publicly declared that the use of nuclear weapons was under "active consideration," explicitly refusing to rule out civilian targets.

Joining North Korea on U.S. imperialism's hit list of "outlaw states" are Cuba, Iraq, Iran and Libya. The U.S. bombing of Libya in 1986—targeting Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi's home in a failed assassination attempt—was carried out on the pretext of eliminating a supposed "chemical weapons plant." In 1991 Washington used the same lie to justify the bombing of an infant formula factory in Baghdad. Having curried favor with the ayatollahs to go after Saddam Hussein two years ago, now the U.S. is gearing up for terror against Iran. Last week American public TV presented

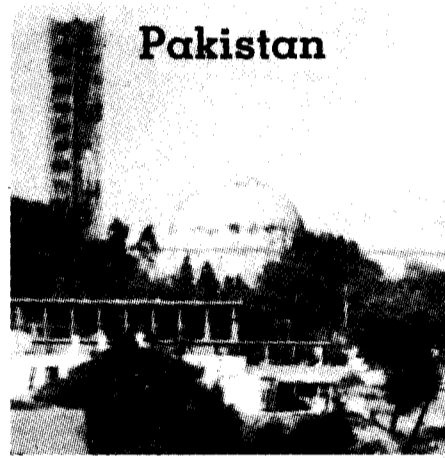
South Africa



Israel



Pakistan



Der Spiegel photos

Which Nuclear Power Does Washington Consider an "Outlaw State"?

Answer: None of the above

is merely a proxy for a generalized class of threats," declared Bush's war department in a March 1991 policy statement specifically naming North Korea (*CovertAction*, Summer 1991). The *New York Times* (10 April 1991) chimed in with an op-ed piece by Cold Warrior Leslie Gelb labeling North Korea "The Next Renegade State," with the claim that it is "likely to possess nuclear weapons in a few years" and is "perhaps the most dangerous country in the world today." This was the opening salvo in the current imperialist campaign.

Imperialist Britain and France have had sizable nuclear arsenals for decades. So do American client states like apartheid South Africa, fundamentalist Pakistan and Zionist Israel—which alone has enough A-bombs to irradiate every city in the Near East. Indeed, the U.S. itself is the most dangerous nuclear terrorist on the planet. And now Clinton Secretary of State Warren Christopher denounces Iran as an "international outlaw." In imperialist doublespeak, any country facing American aggression is deemed an "outlaw state."

Now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed by counterrevolution, Washington is intent on enforcing a "one-superpower world," while imperialist pundits wring their hands over nukes from the former Soviet republics popping up in the international arms market. In early 1992 a "leaked" Pentagon document elaborated the American rulers' ambitions to "prevent the emergence of a new rival" following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In particular, the U.S. is out to strangle two remaining recalci-

the South, where the U.S. has had *hundreds* of nuclear warheads. The South Korean capitalist regime claimed in 1991 that these weapons were removed, but "United States policy is never to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons at any site" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1991).

Nevertheless, in 1992 Kim surprised the imperialists by having the treaty ratified, disclosing a number of nuclear power installations and agreeing to let the IAEA in. "The facilities listed were more than they needed to give us," said an IAEA spokesman. Some five months and three inspection trips later, the *New York Times* (21 September 1992) was forced to admit North Korea had "a nuclear arms program more rudimentary than expected," after inspectors were shown "even some facilities the U.S. was unaware of."

However, newly "suspicious" sites can be "discovered" endlessly, which is what the Pentagon and its IAEA agents proceeded to do. When in February the agency demanded access to two sites outside their purview, the North Koreans balked. The U.S. responded by reviving its "Team Spirit" military exercises with South Korea, an annual rehearsal for invasion of the North. Finally, on March 12 the North was driven to pull out of the treaty. In a statement that is rather sober for a Stalinist regime notorious for taking to bizarre extremes the "personality cult" of the "Great Leader" Kim and his son and heir, "Dear Leader" Kim Il Jong, the North Koreans pointed out:

"If we submissively accept an unjust inspection by the IAEA, it would legit-

to mention the huge stockpile of strategic warheads on Guam a few hours' flying time by B-52 from Pyongyang. Every Korean is vividly aware that it was the racist U.S. rulers who obliterated two entire Japanese cities populated by children, women and old men—and thousands of Korean forced laborers—during World War II. This was the first and only use of nuclear weapons by anyone anywhere. Now deprived of the Soviet nuclear umbrella, North Korea could really use a few nuclear warheads.

During the Korean War, the U.S. repeatedly threatened to nuke the North. Two weeks after the outbreak of fighting in June 1950, General Douglas MacArthur sent a "hot message" to the Pentagon demanding 10 to 20 A-bombs to

a propaganda "documentary" on "Iran and the Bomb."

Who's Supposed to Get the Bomb?

The escalating provocations against North Korea "reflect a new global pre-occupation with the monitoring and enforcement of a handful of treaties meant to constrain the proliferation of nuclear, germ and chemical weapons and ballistic missiles," says the *Washington Post* (7 April). Translation: the U.S. imperialists have decided these treaties make a really great cover for going after their perceived enemies. Using the United Nations as its agent, the U.S. claims the right to poke its nose into the

continued on page 8



North Korean "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung (right), with his son and designated successor, "Dear Leader" Kim Jong Il.

After Right-Wing Election Victory



Der Spiegel photos



Grégoire Korganov

Plainclothes cops attack minority youth protesting murder of African youth in a Paris police station. Above left: conservative prime minister Balladur salutes his predecessor Bérégovoy. Below: Socialist president François Mitterrand inaugurated anti-immigrant crusade.

French Cops on Murderous Racist Rampage

The landslide victory of the conservative parties in France's parliamentary elections last month touched off a wave of racist cop terror against immigrants and those of African or North African descent. Less than two weeks after the elections, three minority youth and a fourth young worker had been assassinated by the killers in uniform. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) have issued an urgent appeal for working-class mobilization against the murderous cop terror.

The March elections were a stinging repudiation of Socialist Party rule under President François Mitterrand. With the Socialists receiving barely 19 percent of the votes (and less than one-eighth of the seats in the new parliament), Mitterrand must now "cohabit" with a government of the right. Yet the road to this

reactionary regime was paved by a dozen years of Mitterrand's anti-working-class austerity, Cold War anti-Sovietism and anti-immigrant racist attacks. Another beneficiary of this reactionary climate was Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front, which got 13 percent of the vote in the first round elections.

The nomination of the sinister Charles Pasqua as minister of the interior underlines the threat that terror against immigrant workers and the "second generation" of youth of African or North African parents will be the hallmark of this government. Pasqua was notorious as interior minister in the 1986-88 government of conservative prime minister

Jacques Chirac, when he goaded on the killer cops, brazenly telling them he would "cover" for them when they attacked immigrants. Not surprisingly, the police saw the vote as a green light to step up their terror.

The new conservative prime minister Edouard Balladur announced that the first priority of his government was dealing with "nationality, immigration and security," presenting immigrant workers and their families as criminals who merit police-state repression. Many of those who are called "immigrants" were actually born in France of African or North African descent. Now the government wants to do away with the existing right

of those born in France to immigrant parents to automatically become French citizens at the age of 18 if they choose.

The LTF leaflet which we print below is being distributed by the thousands in immigrant neighborhoods and hostels, at high schools and university campuses, and before many factory gates. The reception has been highly favorable, especially at factories with many immigrant workers, such as the Flins auto plant, where the North African workers were the first to strike against Mitterrand's austerity in the early '80s. Immigrant workers are an important component of the French working class and could play a key role in touching off combative strikes of French and immigrant workers in a common struggle against the government's racist onslaught.

For Workers Action to Defend Minority Youth!

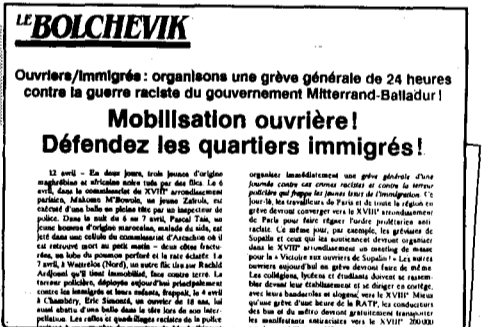
APRIL 10—Within two days, three youths of black African and Maghreb (North African) origins were killed by the cops. On April 6, in the 18th *arrondissement* (district) police station in Paris, Makome M'Bowole, a young man from Zaire, was executed, shot in the head by an inspector of police. The night of April 6-7, Pascal Taïs, a youth of Moroccan origin, ill from AIDS, was

thrown in a cell in the Arcachon police station, where he was found dead in the morning—two ribs broken, a lung perforated and his spleen ruptured. On April 7, in Wattrelos (Nord), another cop shot at Rachid Ardjouni while he was immobilized, face down on the ground. Police terror, today principally against immigrants and their children, struck an 18-year-old worker, Eric Simonté, who was

also shot in the head while being taken into custody. The racist police dragnets and roundups are an outrage and an invitation to more killings of North Africans and black Africans!

In Paris and Tourcoing (in the north), the long-suppressed anger of the youth subjected to years of daily racist terror has exploded against these crimes. Around the 18th district police station in Paris, every day hundreds of youth demonstrate yelling "Cops—fascists and murderers!" These youth must not stand alone!

The cop invasion of the immigrant communities today comes in the wake of an electoral campaign steeped in racism, where all the major parties fought over the question of who can best "protect France against immigration," which they denounce as responsible for all the ills of the economic crisis: unemployment, crime. Now the Mitterrand-Balladur government is taking advantage of the current unrest to increase police repression and violence in the name of racist "public safety." Pasqua has put the 18th district under a state of siege, with a police cordon and a sweep recalling the bloody repression against Algerian workers in France during the Algerian War—especially in that neighborhood, which was a stronghold of the FLN. The memory of the defeat of French imperi-



Leaflet mass distributed by LTF calls on workers to mobilize to defend immigrant neighborhoods.

alism in Algeria is fueling the racist terror of the fascists and the Mitterrand-Balladur cops. The cops arrest and torture dozens of demonstrators. A member of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] is in the hospital after having been beaten up at the police station. Drop the charges now! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! Cops out of the immigrant neighborhoods! Worker/immigrant defense squads based on the factories!

The Ligue Trotskyiste calls on the workers movement to immediately organize a *one-day general strike against the racist crimes and police terror which confront youth of the second generation*. On that day, all the striking working people of Paris and environs should converge on the 18th district to establish anti-racist proletarian order. For example, on the same day strikers from Sopalim and their supporters should organize a "Victory to

continued on page 8



AFF

Paris cops evict African families from Bois de Vincennes Park.

North Korea...

(continued from page 6)

military secrets of any state on the globe—and to bomb or invade it if it chooses—in the name of “controlling the spread of weapons of mass destruction.”

Luckily for the rest of the world, the Soviet Union got the bomb after World War II, and its military might kept the U.S. nuclear pirates in check for decades. If not for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, the American rulers would have vaporized dozens of Russian cities, as their early '50s operational plans called for, and neither North Korea nor Cuba would have been allowed to survive as deformed workers states. But especially since the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state, nobody in the world has stockpiles of these weapons remotely approaching the vast nuclear, chemical and biological arsenal of the Pentagon. “Non-proliferation” means keeping U.S. military dominance intact.

But guess what—there are countries which have collected many deliverable nuclear warheads in the past couple of decades without raising a peep of protest from Washington or its lapdog IAEA. On March 24, South African president De Klerk announced the apartheid regime built six atom bombs over the past 15 years. De Klerk claimed the devices were destroyed after 1989, and that even blueprints were shredded. While the Randlords certainly don't want a future ANC “power-sharing” government to get its hands on nuclear weapons, this does not mean the bombs have really been dismantled. IAEA sources say South Africa may still have some 350 kilos (770 pounds) of weapons-grade uranium (London *Independent*, 26 March).

Moreover, as the liberal South African *Weekly Mail* (26 March) observed, De

Klerk “hid more than he revealed.” The article noted that the apartheid state's nuclear capacity was “on the technological cutting edge internationally,” including self-guided nuclear “smart bombs.” South Africa's nuclear weapons program—carried out with U.S., Israeli and German cooperation—was no news to anyone. It was exposed by the ANC more than 15 years ago (see “West Germany Gets the Bomb,” *WV* No. 170, 26 August 1977). In 1980 the apartheid regime sentenced South African researcher Renfrew Christie to ten years in jail for passing nuclear secrets to the ANC.

And how about the *only* country in the Near East with not just a crude warhead but *hundreds* of deliverable weapons—Israel? Mated to the Jericho II missile, this arsenal gave the Zionist rulers the power to level every urban center in the Near East and to strike the Soviet Union, the main target of U.S. imperi-

alism after WW II. The Zionist arsenal was heroically exposed by Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear weapons plant. After giving the story to the London *Sunday Times* in 1986, Vanunu was kidnapped in Italy by Israeli agents working with the CIA, tortured, given a kangaroo-court trial and sentenced to 18 years in solitary.

Vanunu also exposed the central role played by the Israeli regime in helping South Africa get the bomb in exchange for South African uranium. In 1979, the two countries even conducted a joint nuclear test in the Indian Ocean, revealed by two reporters for the Israel daily *Ha'aretz* in a book banned by the Zionist censors. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have campaigned from the outset to demand: Free Mordechai Vanunu now!

Despite a dirty colonial war under UN



Hiroshima or Nagasaki? No, Pyongyang, capital of North Korea, after being laid waste by American imperialists with “conventional” weapons during the Korean War.

Pantheon Books

France...

(continued from page 7)

the Sopaln Strike” mass rally in the 18th. Other workers now on strike should do the same. College, high school and primary school students should meet in front of their schools and march to the 18th with their banners and chants. Instead of a one-hour metro strike, trains and buses should be run all day for free bringing anti-racist demonstrators to the 18th. Two hundred thousand workers, mobilized in defense of the immigrants and their children, will drive the fascists back into their holes, and will force the cops and the government to think twice.

The immigrant workers of the 18th district in Paris represent potential social power. Many among them work in some of the most important plants in the area. Workers at Flins, for example, were involved in crucial strikes during the early 1980s. An initiative by Flins workers in defense of the 18th could be an important launching pad for massive united actions.

The National Front, as the vanguard of capitalist reaction, profited from the elections to consolidate its base. Imme-

diately after the elections a band of fascists attacked an immigrant neighborhood at Salon de Provence. Ballardur, in the course of his consultations with the parties having “an undeniable following,” is getting ready to meet with Le Pen. *We must crush the fascists before they crush us!* Gardanne (near Marseille), where on March 14 miners, youth of North African origin and militant workers routed Le Pen and his thugs, demonstrates the potential of worker/immigrant united-front actions to stop the fascists. A general strike against racist terror would also constitute a base to organize a worker/immigrant/Jewish mobilization to finally stop the National Front from marching again on May 1.

Anti-immigrant terror is the spearhead of the offensive against all workers. Those who are killed today are the children of a decisive section of the working class of this country. The workers movement must not let the youth who go into the streets today to vent their rage stand alone; it must act to defend the immigrant workers and their children against segregation and racist terror.

If the working class is divided between “French” and immigrants, like

during the Talbot strike in 1983-84 or during the Gulf War (when Mitterrand imposed an anti-immigrant state of siege to squelch the rage against the racist massacre of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi men, women and children), it is the exploiters who rub their hands in glee. It is the unity, integrity and capacity to struggle of the whole working class which are at stake.

Everyone remembers that on 10 December 1986, in response to the assassination of Malik Oussebine by the cops of Mitterrand-Chirac, a 24-hour workers strike called by the unions and the biggest demonstration against racist terror took place. One week later, the rail workers rushed into the breach opened by this mobilization. And their strike broke the wings of Chiracism.

To organize a class-struggle day of action in defense of our embattled North African brothers and sisters is a serious undertaking of self-defense for the entire proletariat. But the “leaders” of the working class are totally dispirited in the face of the electoral defeat of the “left”—by which they mean Mitterrand's discredited, anti-working-class popular front—and have no “strategy” but to cower in expectation of the anticipated new attacks on jobs, wages and working conditions. The 24-hour general strike against racist terror could be the beginning of a fightback against the international capitalists, emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet and East European degenerated and deformed workers states and ready to begin a new cold war against the workers at home.

This means a leadership which does not flinch at a fight, including defensive struggles. But the existing leaders have been mired in popular-frontism for decades; the leaders of the CGT and CP, which claim to represent the most militant and conscious workers, are totally disarmed in the face of the “death of Communism.” As Trotskyists, we say: Stalinism is dead—the class struggle lives! An action in defense of the oppressed minority populations would be a big step toward forging a class-

cover which killed nearly 10 percent of the Korean population, the U.S. imperialists failed to smash North Korea, where a social revolution from above overthrew capitalist-landlord rule. Now that the threadbare planned economy in the North has been deprived of Soviet oil as well as military support, facing a total imperialist embargo, the Stalinist regime is facing a truly desperate situation. Within the framework of “socialism in one country,” i.e., Stalinist nationalism, there is no way out. So, while rejecting the outright surrender being demanded by the imperialists, Kim can only appeal to the IAEA to return to a mythical “neutrality” and plead that the U.S. turn peaceful.

While the South Korean *chaebols* (big monopolies) salivate over the prospect of exploiting cheap North Korean labor, the “democratic” police state in Seoul pales at the prospective costs of a German-style *Anschluss* (annexation). Washington, however, is intent on pressing the regime in the North to the point of collapse.

The North Korean deformed workers state must be defended against the imperialists and their puppets in Seoul. But what's critically needed is a *revolutionary* reunification of the peninsula through a socialist revolution in the South and a proletarian political revolution in the North. An internationalist perspective in Korea must necessarily embrace the powerful Japanese proletariat, which is key to the struggle for socialism in East Asia.

The Democrats now ensconced in the White House have always been the party of imperialist war in this century. It's up to the working class in the U.S. to disarm the nuclear-armed would-be “new world order” of slavery, terror and mass murder by carrying out a victorious workers revolution here. ■

struggle leadership instead of the “*Produisons français*” (“Produce French”) chauvinist reformists and their “far-left” tails. These leaders are more afraid of the workers getting a taste of their potential power than they are of fascists in the streets.

Across Europe, workers have begun to resist the assaults on their living standards—for example, the April 2 strikes in Britain and Italy. In Germany tens of thousands of metal workers have demonstrated against the devastation wrought by capitalist reunification. In France, the workers are again showing their combativity—from the SNECMA (aeronautics industry) to the SNCF (railroads) and including the Métro and the post office. Last March 31, 60,000 workers demonstrated at Lyon to defend the trade unionists against the bosses' “justice.” A one-day general strike against the racist terror would begin to turn the tide, after a dozen years of racist and anti-worker policies of “the left” and in the face of the new anti-worker offensive.

The cops and courts are instruments of racist oppression in the service of the capitalist class. When they aren't terrorizing the immigrant areas, they are attacking picket lines, like at Renault-Cléon in 1991. *No confidence in the bourgeois state!* In this racist, capitalist country, there will be no justice for Makome M'Bowole, Pascal Taïs, Rachid Ardjouni and all the other victims of racist terror. Justice will be rendered when the killer cops are judged by those whom they took as their targets—when the power of the capitalist class and their racist lackeys in uniform is broken by a socialist revolution which expropriates the bourgeoisie and puts the workers in power. *For a workers government!*

More than ever, it is necessary to organize and fight back against the attacks of the fascists and the cops of the bourgeois state—in the factories, the campuses and the neighborhoods!

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Waco...

(continued from page 1)

Francisco Bay Area. The NYC demo drew over 80 participants, including a number of Haitians who were protesting the Clinton administration's ban on HIV-positive refugees imprisoned at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba. The signs of the SL/PDC protesters included: "Rodney King Beating, Waco Inferno: America's 'New World Order,'" "Bloody Crimes of U.S. Capitalism: Wounded Knee Massacre of Sioux Indians, U.S. Invasion of Panama, U.S. Takeover of Grenada," and "Communist Revolution Is America's Last, Best Hope."

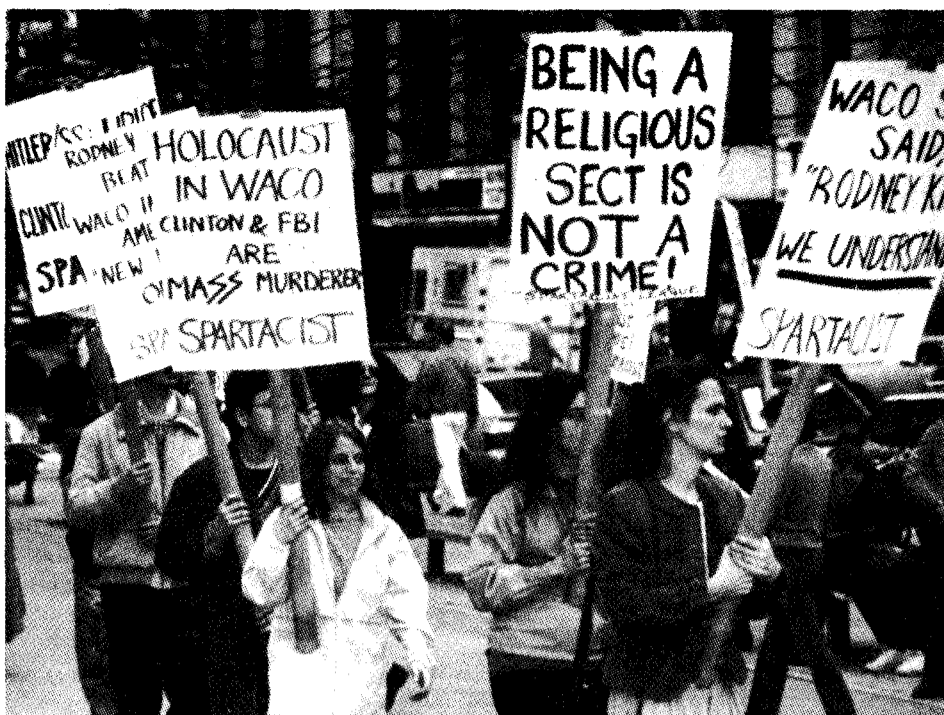
We print below the text of the press release issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. immediately after the Waco massacre.

* * *

The charred corpses of 87 men, women and children who perished in the firestorm resulting from the FBI's barrage of CS gas, flash-grenades and battering rams are the direct responsibility of the White House. President Clinton gave the green light, Attorney General Janet Reno personally supervised the plan, and the FBI's storm troopers

moved in to carry out the government's "final solution" against the small, integrated Branch Davidian religious sect in Waco, Texas. After a murderous raid by federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents armed to the teeth and a 51-day siege, almost a hundred people have now been subjected to a flaming apocalypse for the sole "crime" of being a non-conformist religious sect which dared to defend itself against government assault.

The Spartacist League/U.S. and Partisan Defense Committee have called emergency demonstrations of protest and outrage, at 5:00 p.m. today, Monday, April 19, outside the Federal Building in Manhattan, New York City and at federal offices in other cities around the country to denounce the government mass murder in Waco. An SL spokesman, in condemning this outrage, noted that the Branch Davidians received the same death sentence meted out to the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, bombed by the Philadelphia police on Mother's Day (May 13) 1985, using C-4 plastic explosives donated by the FBI. Eleven black people were murdered there, including five children, and an entire black neighborhood was laid to waste. "Like the racist cop beating of L.A. black motorist Rod-



WV Photo

Spartacists held emergency demonstration outside New York Federal Building, April 19, after FBI massacre of Branch Davidians.

ney King," said Spartacist spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, "the Waco holocaust is the domestic image of America's 'New World Order.' This is U.S. imperialism's 'Desert Slaughter in Iraq brought home.'"

A banner outside the compound of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect said, "Rodney King—We Understand." It is no accident that the feds' onslaught in Waco came two days after the slap-on-the-wrist verdict for two racist cops in L.A. With troops poised to occupy the inner cities coast to coast, amid a massive police-state mobilization, the racist rulers breathed a collective sigh of relief that the urban ghettos and barrios did not explode in outrage over another outright racist acquittal. They seized the moment to incinerate the Waco commune.

In the gray light of dawn, the FBI moved in the heavy artillery—M-60 Combat Engineering Vehicles, Bradley fighting vehicles and heat-seeking reconnaissance planes—in a bid to drive out or exterminate the 70 adults and 25 children still inside the wooden structure. The whole area had already been ringed with razor-sharp concertina wire. Electricity and water were cut off. The intent was to create a firetrap with no escape. Naturally there were no fire-

fighting vehicles present to put out the flames. Now the government wants to blame the victims, but the Waco assault was deliberate mass murder, decided at the White House.

On Sunday, Vice President Al Gore wept tears for those who died 50 years ago in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. But the methodical burning down of the Waco commune, carried "live" on television, recalled nothing so much as the Nazis' razing of the Warsaw ghetto. Clinton-Gore have carried out their own holocaust against another religious minority who evidently have "no right to exist" in this racist capitalist society. The Clinton administration has carried out its own Operation Prairie Slaughter, igniting a massive firestorm against its perceived domestic "enemies," a small group who did no harm to anyone.

The Spartacist League spokesman noted, "From Republican Bush to Democrat Clinton, the racist rulers show what they have in store for anyone who dares to defy the state. The murder of these innocent people, burned at the stake by this bloodthirsty government, cries out for vengeance. It will take a socialist revolution to mete out real justice to the police torturers of Rodney King, to the FBI arsonists in Waco, to the U.S. military bombers of Baghdad." ■

Massacre of MOVE, Philadelphia, 1985



UPI

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

system in the North as well as the South. Though this meant little to the kangaroo court, Choi was certainly not guilty of perjury. Choi's I.S. is affiliated to the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff. In the early 1950s, Cliff and his cohorts refused to defend North Korea against U.S. and British imperialism. Three million Koreans were slaughtered in the Korean War, conducted under United Nations auspices. For the next 40 years, workers in the South have been subject to police-state rule in this U.S. protectorate, while the North has been subject to unrelenting imperialist sabre-rattling.

On April 5 the Partisan Defense Committee sent a letter of protest to the Korean Embassy, stating: "Now, with former dissident Kim Young Sam at the helm the South Korean government carries on its war against the Korean working class as it joins its U.S. quartermasters in beating the drums for war against the North Korean workers state. We demand that all charges be dropped against Choi Il Bung and he be immediately released. Free all trade unionists and leftists."

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. You can aid the program to support class-war prisoners and other activities of the PDC by becoming a monthly sustainer: many

contribute \$10, \$25, \$50 and \$100 a month. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Los Angeles...

(continued from page 3)

governor Pete Wilson scapegoats immigrants for the state's budget shortfall, millionaire L.A. mayoral candidate Richard Riordan pushes a jingoist campaign against "illegal aliens." And all the mayoral candidates, including liberal favorite Mike Woo, support Prop 1, which would put over 1,000 more cops on the streets.

The Spartacist League has fought to bring out the power of labor to stand with and defend the ghettos and barrios from racist cop terror. Against the police invasion of South-Central last year, we called for "powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers" to "organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations." At the time, Latino janitors organized in SEIU Local 399 marched through Pico-Union to protest the mass arrests and deportations. But the labor tops, beholden to Clinton's Democratic Party, refused to lift a finger then or now.

Our Verdict Will Come

Sentencing of Koon and Powell is scheduled for August, at the time of the

trial of three black men charged in the vicious and indefensible beating of white Teamster truck driver Reginald Denny. At best, the cops may spend a couple of years behind bars, if that long. Civil rights lawyer William Kunstler commented on the calculation behind the jury's verdict: "If we convict two, there'll be no rebellions, there'll be no uprising. If we let two off, we'll be on good grounds with the police."

Now this slap on the wrist is passed off as "justice"—after a brutal beating seen by millions around the world, after two years and two trials, while dozens of other black and Latino men have been gunned down by killer cops in the meantime. That alone tells you that the capitalist rulers consider cop terror against minorities "business as usual." "This is a system not designed by us and it does not include us," said one black caller to an L.A. radio talk show after the verdict.

Damn right! The capitalist system is designed to extract profits from the blood and hides of the working people; as the system sinks into utter decay, the black population is ever more vulnerable to being socially marginalized and destroyed. Institutionalized racism is the bedrock of American capitalism, from KKK lynch mobs to cop terror on the streets to the predominantly black death rows in the nation's prisons. Black Democrats like Bradley and Jackson who preach faith in the system while pleading for a handful of cosmetic reforms serve only the enemies of the oppressed. The cops and courts are at the core of the

capitalist state—they can and will serve only the interests of the oppressor.

Revolution is the only solution, as the Black Panthers used to say, but it must be based on the social power of the integrated proletariat, not the impotence of the lumpenproletariat. Last year's multi-racial upheavals showed the anger and militancy which could be mobilized in a struggle to tear down this system of brutal exploitation and oppression. That requires the leadership and program of a revolutionary workers party which fights to sweep away this racist system and its hired killers. Vengeance for Rodney King and the myriad others tormented and murdered by racist, capitalist injustice will come with the victorious socialist revolution. ■

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New York Times, Feminists Smear Abortion Rights Pioneer

Bill Baird, Courageous Fighter for Women's Liberation

On April 14, the *New York Times* printed an insidious article setting up abortion rights champion Bill Baird. Under the outrageous headline, "The Devil of Abortion," reporter Lindsey Gruson twisted quotes from his interview with Baird into a lying portrait of

WV Interview

defeat. Baird was dismissed as a "zealot for a cause, turned casualty." And the article retailed familiar slanders of Baird by Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan, "who has suggested he is a Central Intelligence Agency plant." This is pretty rich coming from the likes of Friedan and Steinem, herself a witting and willing recipient of CIA monies in the late '50s and early '60s.

The *Times*' baiting of this heroic man, who has for over 30 years steadfastly fought for women's right to abortion, is truly sinister. In the 1960s and early '70s Baird worked to educate women—especially poor, minority women—on the dangers of unsafe, back-alley abortion methods, establishing the nation's first free birth control and abortion counseling clinic. Arrested numerous times, his clinic in Hempstead, Long Island firebombed by a deadly anti-abortion fanatic in 1979, Bill Baird has earned the respect of millions of women. His 1972 Supreme Court case (*Baird v. Eisenstadt*) extended access to contraception to everyone and established the right to privacy on which the *Roe v. Wade* decision, legalizing abortion nationwide, was based. His 1976 case (*Baird v. Bellotti*) struck down a Massachusetts law requiring parental consent for teen abortions. We salute his courage and determination in his long struggle for women's liberation.

Workers Vanguard called Baird at his Hempstead clinic on 17 April to express our anger at the *Times*' deadly, baiting piece, and to extend our solidarity with

his work. As Baird pointed out, the "Devil" headline (which was apparently changed in some editions) is a dangerous provocation that religious fanatics could hold up as justification for murder. We print below excerpts from our conversation with Baird:

Baird: The day the article came out, I was the speaker at the University of Richmond law school in Virginia. I was debating a woman who's president of a group called "Feminists for Life," a group of nutty women who think that they're speaking for the majority of women in this country, who say the embryo is a person from conception. In fact, I got a standing ovation from the audience. But the Virginia version of the *New York Times* had a whole different headline.

WV: They have "The Devil of Abortion," in my *Times* from Brooklyn.

Baird: Now that's amazing. The *New York Times* headline that I got says, "Abortion-Rights' Scorned Prophet." The subheadline: "Hated by Both Sides, Bill Baird Raises Hackles, Not Funds."

What makes it so absolutely untrue is that the writer was here in my office, with 44 plaques on my wall, four of them this year. On May 7 the American Humanist is honoring me at their national conference as Pioneer of the Year. NARAL [National Abortion Rights Action League] from the state of Pennsylvania gave me their highest award January 23. Two weeks ago in New Jersey, the Freedom from Religion Foundation gave me their highest award, and last week in Sacramento, California, I was the keynote speaker for the American Atheists, and they gave me their Man of the Year award. So to suggest that all groups hate me....

But when I was in Virginia, that edition of the *Times* had a headline that said, "The Devil of Abortion." Then somebody faxed me the California headline, which is even worse: it says "Abortion Rights Zealot Is Enemy Among Allies." I'm the enemy! Man, this is the *New*

Bill Baird shows photo of his Hempstead clinic, firebombed by an anti-abortion terrorist in 1979.



WV Photo

York Times, quoting me as a devil without quote marks around it, calling me the enemy—a guy who's had three U.S. Supreme Court cases for women, jailed eight times for women, firebombed for women, shot at as late as a couple of weeks ago. They blew a hole right through my window.

I'm trying to get people to write letters to the *New York Times*, just basically saying how wrong it is to have such a distorted headline. How dare the *New York Times* put out a headline without quote marks around the word devil? First of all, there's no such thing as a devil. Second of all, to call me a devil—if you knew how many hate calls [I get], and this is very scary, for people can say they would kill me now, because they now have proof positive I am the devil. If the *New York Times* says I am the devil, then I am the devil.

WV: We wanted to express our disgust at this article and this attack on you. We are also interested to know what you have to say about what's going on in the United States right now.

Baird: I think we're being conned left and right by Clinton. I can certainly give you absolute proof that the death of Dr. David Gunn could have been prevented easily. I have in my possession a series of letters from the FBI to me, 15 years ago, where I begged them to investigate the terrorism that I saw building. They wrote me back and they said they have no interest in investigating that. Then I have a legal brief from 1980, where I filed a lawsuit against the FBI to force them to investigate who's behind this terrorism, and to protect clinics. Nobody would help me with this. NOW and all the others said I was nuts, and they all looked the other way.

WV: Right, they thought they'd won the battle.

Baird: When you have a true pioneer such as myself on the front lines, you get these "Big Three" as I call them, Friedan and Gloria Steinem and Robin Morgan. Robin Morgan said in her book *Going Too Far* that men like Bill Baird are in this movement because women will come across—sexually, that is—quicker. It's such an insult to you, and an insult to me, to think that I would exploit you, or myself be exploited. So it's such nonsense.

WV: Fortunately people like Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan do not stand for the majority of women in this country that you've helped. The *New York Times* isn't going to come out to Hempstead and interview the women that you've helped.

Baird: Tens of thousands of black poor people, as young as ten years of age, I've helped here. I'm the only white guy here now, you know—Hempstead is like Harlem, in that it's very, very black, it's very, very poor, very, very tough. And this reporter was scared to death about his car, and I said, look, we'll just tell the guy that you're with me and we'll watch the car.

Was it your group that ran a headline a few years ago that said, "Feminists Try to Ban Bill Baird in Boston"?

WV: Yes, that was us [WV No. 502, 18 May 1990].

Baird: That's probably going to be one of the most famous headlines—I show that all over the United States. On television, on radio, I show it to talk show hosts, college lectures, I'll show it at Harvard on Monday. That those women threatened to castrate me for coming to Boston, the very city that I went to jail for! There was the *Baird v. Eisenstadt* case, and *Baird v. Bellotti*, which gave teenagers the right to abortion. And later they overturned my conviction as a felon.

WV: But that was already after you'd had to serve time, that's the thing that's such a crime about it.

Baird: They stripped me naked, I still am scarred. They stripped me naked in prison, I had to worry about rape every night. I've lost my wife and children. I've paid my dues—I mean, how dare they say that I can't be heard?

WV: Well, you speak to the needs of the majority of the women in this country—not Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, who are yuppie feminists in it for careerism, the upper crust of women who have turned their backs on the poor and the black women of this country. They never wanted to fight about the Hyde Amendment, for example, which 17 years ago basically took away the right to abortion for all women on welfare. And you were the one who was working to provide it, to make up for that loss. So we wanted to adamantly express our admiration again. ■

JUST OUT!

No. 42
Spring/Summer 1993
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No. 42 SPRING/SUMMER 1993

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League \$1.00

From East Berlin to Tashkent: Capitalist Counterrevolution Tramples on Women

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Eastern Germany, April 1992: Media industry workers demand equal pay and work protesting starvation wages forced on former DDR workers after capitalist reunification.

Punctured Equilibrium

Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx

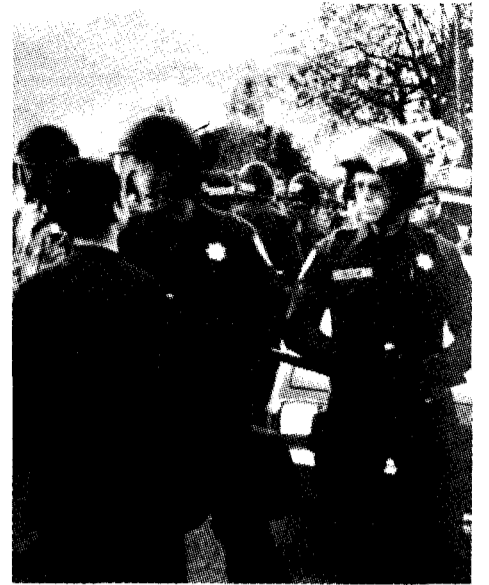
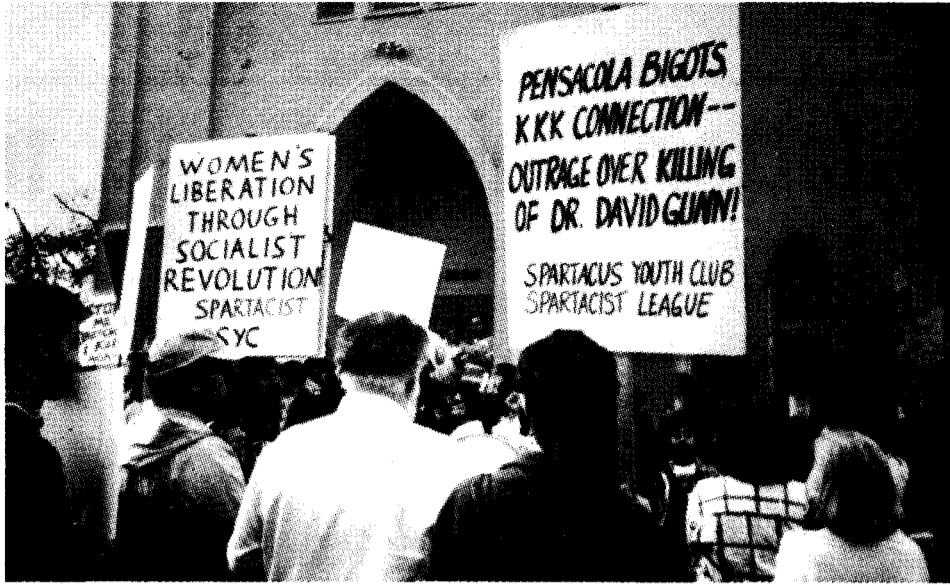
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Protesters Shut Down Operation Rescue Bigots

Napa, California

OAKLAND—Abortion rights protesters mobilized in Napa on April 7 and stopped a planning meeting of "Operation Rescue" bigots. The anti-abortion fanatics had said they were meeting to draw up plans to target abortion clinics on Easter weekend. This was a sinister threat, particularly following the assassination of Dr. David Gunn in the parking lot of an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida on March 10. California abortion doctors have also been subjected to constant stalking and threats.

In Napa, the pathetic clot of a half-dozen "right-to-lifers" never even made it into the church to plan their weekend attacks. They were overwhelmed by 80 spirited, chanting abortion rights activists, and had to be protected by a wall of cops in riot gear, including some carrying shields. The bible-thumping bigots huddled briefly in a "prayer circle" on the steps of Kolby Academy, then fled to their car, surrounded on all sides by chanting pro-choice protesters. The cops finally hustled the last of the anti-abortion fanatics off in a sheriff's van. Their plans for Easter weekend clinic disruption never materialized in the Bay Area, although



WV Photos

they did block clinics in Anaheim.

Abortion rights activists had mobilized in response to a call by the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR). A team of Spartacists participated in the action, raising signs protesting the murder of Dr. Gunn, calling to "Stop Deadly 'Right-to-Life' Terrorists!" and for "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Spartacus Youth Club member Kathleen Harris called for defense of the clinics and pointed to the impotency of the

liberal feminist strategy of lobbying the Democrats to stop Operation Rescue. Our chant "Defend the clinics, take a stand—Free abortion on demand!" was taken up by the crowd.

Some BACORR activists taunted Operation Rescue with chants of "Pray! You'll need it! Your cause has been defeated," apparently a reference to Clinton's promises to enact legislation maintaining legal abortion. But as the assassination of Dr. Gunn tragically demonstrated, the cowardly "right-to-life"

terrorists have hardly been defeated. The loss of support from the Reagan/Bush White House has meant an escalation of their nightriding terror, from blockades to bombs, and terrorizing patients and doctors. Even support from the White House for formal abortion rights won't help poor, black and working-class women get abortions if there are no doctors or clinics to provide them and they don't have the money to pay for them. *For free abortion on demand! Labor: Defend the clinics!* ■

Rights for Gays...

(continued from page 12)

in a way designed to restore popular support for U.S. military adventures in the Third World. The Pentagon's high-tech arsenal of death was deployed against an economically backward country in the Near East. One hundred thousand Iraqis were massacred with practically no casualties on the American side. The declared aim of the war was to defend Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. These are some of the most corrupt, socially reactionary societies on earth, where women are literally enslaved behind veils and young girls are forced to marry whoever their father wants them to. Yet the Pentagon brass used the "Desert Storm" terror exercise to show how *American* women in the "new" U.S. armed forces were making such great progress!

When Bush began his Persian Gulf War buildup, some gays saw their opportunity to win respectability in support of U.S. imperialism. Miriam Ben-Shalom, the national chair of the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Veterans of America, petitioned Bush to allow the creation of a special gay battalion to go "to the front lines in the Persian Gulf. Mr. President, let us prove our worth."

Our side in the Persian Gulf was with the terrorized Iraqi people being carpet-bombed by American imperialism. And whether it was a lesbian army technician greasing the tanks, or a gay West Point-trained officer giving the orders to bomb the Baghdad air raid shelter in which hundreds of women and children died, makes no difference—this was a vicious war crime! The April 25th demo organizers are pushing liberal racist colonialism. They want open gays and lesbians to join the Southern "good old boys" and poor blacks from the Northern ghetto who can't get a decent job anywhere else as cannon fodder for the cops of the world protecting the interests of Citibank and General Motors.

The Family, the '50s and Anti-Gay Bigotry

Events surrounding the April 25 march are a '50s-style smorgasbord of "all-American" activities designed to demonstrate how seamlessly gay and lesbian types could fit into a sentimental

'50s "family values" Norman Rockwell pastoral if only ignorant prejudices could be overcome: there's a "Queer Scout Cookie Sellathon," gay "Forgotten Scouts" will do some park beautification, there's the wedding ceremony, a host of marching bands, country and western dancing, religious ceremonies of your choice, and for the late-night crowd an S/M Leather Fetish party followed by a breakfast for ex-SF mayor Dianne Feinstein.

Behind the hoopla, there's decades of pain and oppression, beginning with the mass witchhunts of the '50s Cold War, led by the FBI's secretly gay *fürher* J. Edgar Hoover and his lover Clyde Tolson (while the infamous Roy Cohn went after "commies" in Congress). But the problem with all gay/lesbian attempts to "fit in" is that it is not simply "ignorant prejudice" that keeps gays and lesbians still largely closeted, often fearful for their lives in a climate of growing violence against them. Even in San Francisco, where the gay community has local political clout, "gay bashing" has escalated ominously.

Bigotry against women and gays in particular flows from entrenched sexual stereotyping decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family, the root of the oppression of women in bourgeois society, and enforced by religious moral codes against "sin." Capitalist society needs the family, a bedrock conservatizing force and the mechanism by which capitalist private property is passed down from generation to generation, and so *cannot* ultimately "legitimize" those who fundamentally deviate from its restrictions.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

It will take a socialist revolution to lay the groundwork of a collectivized economy before the family can be replaced through socialized childcare and housework. Many radical-minded gays and lesbians who have come to Washington will be repelled by the sickening militarism and flag-waving patriotism that will emanate from the official platform. They should look to genuine communists for a program to fight for the liberation of all the oppressed and exploited.

There are a lot of small groups peddling often militant-sounding platforms. Take the RWL (Revolutionary Workers League) and its spin-off front group, NWROC (National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition). In its statements, this group claims to want to break with the Democrats and build a workers party, to uphold free abortion on demand and defense of abortion clinics. On April 3, the Spartacist League sent a letter proposing a joint contingent with the RWL and NWROC at the April 25 demonstration, with each organization marching under its own banners. We pointed out that the demo's overwhelming political thrust "is aimed at pressuring the Democrats in the White House, particularly to make Clinton drop the U.S. military's ban on gays, through a demonstration of their red-white-and-blue patriotism," and insisted:

"While we, like yourselves, certainly defend equal rights for gays in the military as a simple democratic demand, it is vital to simultaneously make clear our opposition to U.S. imperialism's war machine. Consequently, we think it important to bring together the forces of all those who seek to break illusions in Clinton and the Democratic Party, and to put forward a class-struggle, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist perspective."

As we go to press, we have not so far received a response.

During the Persian Gulf War, the RWL adopted a left stance, calling for a defeat of U.S. imperialism by the Iraqis. Yet now, in a leaflet for the April 25 demonstration, NWROC fails to mention at all the U.S. military, the Persian Gulf

War or American imperialism in any way. Instead it consists of fatuous appeals to build a "mass movement": "It was a mass movement that won the gains of the 1960's and 70s."

The mass movement which won the gains of the 1960s and '70s was the North Vietnamese army and Viet Cong. By defeating U.S. imperialism on the battlefield, they shook the American bourgeois order internally and radicalized a generation of American youth. This created the political climate for the abolition of the draft and the legalization of abortion as well as a more tolerant attitude toward open homosexuals.

As Marxists and Leninists, we Spartacists fight against all forms of social oppression in our struggle for international workers revolution. Thus we champion the rights of gays and lesbians while simultaneously opposing the U.S. military. At the April 25 demonstration, the SL will undoubtedly be the only organization which defends both NAMBLA (the North American Man-Boy Love Association) and Fidel Castro's Cuba, where a social revolution ripped the former Yankee neocolony out of the hands of United Fruit and the Mafia. We defend porn star Nina Hartley against Las Vegas "felony lesbianism" charges, while also defending the right of North Korea, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, to have an atomic bomb.

And when we have our own workers state to defend, then *our* army will be in the forefront of eliminating discrimination and oppression. ■

Spartacist Forum

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BOSTON

WORKERS VANGUARD

April 25 Organizers Salute Racist Imperialism

Full Rights for Gays!



Down with U.S. War Machine!

WV Photos

The April 25 "March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation" is the first big rad-lib D.C. mobilization with a Democrat in the White House in over a decade—and predictably, illusions in the Democrats are being pushed for all they're worth by the event's organizers. A major theme is red-white-and-lavender flag-waving patriotism, as gay leaders seek to demonstrate their "loyalty" to this system in order to convince Congress and the Pentagon to overturn the military's long-standing ban on homosexuals.

The organizers of the April 25 demonstration are touting Bill Clinton as their liberator. "Many of us rejoice at winning the White House," wrote one of the march co-chairs in an official handout, while an ad in the *Village Voice* (6 April) said it would be "a day of support for the President and his moves to end discrimination of all kinds." *Voice* writer Donna Minkowitz contributed a "Forward, March!" puff piece insisting, "You need to march to make sure Sweet William fulfills his promises and goes beyond them." So Clinton should fulfill his promises? Like U.S. intervention in the Balkans to do to the former Yugoslavia what Bush did to Iraq in the bloody Desert Slaughter, which Democrat Clinton supported?

Meanwhile, members of more radical gay groups like Queer Nation and ACT UP complain, "The radical queer agenda has been excluded from any participation in the march" (*New York Post*, 13 April). Sure, the organizers want suit-and-tie respectability so they can get in with the new Washington, D.C. power elite. After a decade of solid Reagan-Bush reaction, it's clear there's a difference in Washington, but what is it? Clinton courted women's and gays' votes, exploiting their fear of the Republican right's all-sided social reaction, its hate-filled diatribes against abortion rights and against gays, its savage satisfaction in the tragic

Spartacist League and Bay Area Labor Black League fight to defend gay and women's rights, at march in San Francisco, spring 1992.

AIDS epidemic as "nature's awful retribution" on homosexuals. Clinton presents a yuppified veneer for bourgeois rule, a more "liberal" strategy for oppression and exploitation.

Pentagon War Machine: Persian Gulf Mass Terror

Following a White House meeting last week of gay spokesmen with Clinton, the head of the campaign to allow homosexuals in the military commented that

"we were being welcomed into the family." The Pentagon ban on gays is sheer ideological hypocrisy and a violation of democratic rights, but gay liberals are eagerly enlisting in the cause of imperialist militarism, which is a threat to all the oppressed.

From the time of the ancient Greeks, homosexuals have always been part of the military. The man who built the American revolutionary army and the founder of West Point, Baron von Steuben, was



Reuters

Operation Desert Slaughter in Iraq, 1991, carried out by U.S. army of imperialism and racist oppression.

gay—so flagrantly so that apparently he got into trouble even in the court of Frederick the Great, another famous homosexual military genius. In the less liberal social climate of 20th century America, gays in the army have had to stay in the closet. As Randy Shilts points out in his new book, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (St. Martin's Press, 1993), since World War II, purges of gays have increased in peacetime, but when a war looms, or the reserves are called up, suddenly discharges for homosexuality are put on hold.

The U.S. military is a microcosm of society as a whole, and just as we socialists fight against racist and homophobic violence and discrimination in "civilian" society, so we oppose it in the military as well. Open gays and lesbians have just as much right as anyone else to participate in the armed forces. At the same time, the U.S. military is a tool to defend imperialist exploitation and subjugation, especially of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, we steadfastly uphold the Marxist position of "Not one man, not one penny!" for the imperialist army.

The Democrats have always tried to put a liberal face on U.S. militarism, from Democratic president Woodrow Wilson calling World War I a "war to end all wars" to Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt presenting World War II as a war against fascism to create a world governed by the "four freedoms." However, the "liberal" image of U.S. militarism was blown to bits in the dirty, losing war on Vietnam launched by Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson. An entire generation of American youth came to see the U.S. armed forces for what they really are, a machine for terrorizing dark-skinned peoples in order to prop up right-wing dictators in the interests of Wall Street and the Fortune 500.

The Persian Gulf War was conducted
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