

South Africa Black Freedom Requires Socialist Revolution

Mandela/ANC Front for Racist Capitalist Rule



Reuters photos

On eve of South African elections, ANC leader Nelson Mandela visited Johannesburg Stock Exchange to promise bourgeois unimpeded capitalist exploitation of black working masses.

MAY 10—Today Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), was sworn in as president of South Africa. It is only four years since he was released from prison after being locked up for 27 years by the racist regime. Yesterday, Mandela walked arm-in-arm into the newly elected multiracial parliament with his former jailer, apartheid ruler F.W. De Klerk. The inaugural ceremonies drew an international crowd of celebrities and dignitaries, including Hillary Clinton, Al and Tipper Gore, three planeloads of American cabinet secretaries, Congressmen and Senators. There were 46 present and former presidents, prime ministers and other heads of state and government, at least nine kings, princes and sheiks and UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali. This "New World Order" gala was to celebrate a supposed "negotiated revolution." But in the desperately poor black shantytowns from Cape Town to Johannesburg, revolution is yet to come.

The first nationwide multiracial elections in South African history will open up a period of unprecedented political and social turbulence in that country. The heroic struggles of the black masses over the past two decades have forced the white ruling class to abandon the rigid system of racial oppression known as apartheid, in which there was a garrison "democracy" for the privileged white minority and totalitarian police-state repression of the vast non-white majority. Over the past decade and a half, the blows of revolt chipped away at the apartheid edifice, legalizing black unions, eliminating the segregation laws of "petty apartheid" (against interracial marriage, imposing separate beaches and public accommodations) and "grand apartheid" (the infamous pass laws, Group Areas Act and bantustan "homelands"). But the owners of South Africa's mines, factories and farms have by no means abandoned their superexploitation of the black toilers.

Rather they are seeking to perpetuate that exploitation by utilizing as their agent the very organization claiming leadership of the black liberation movement, Mandela's ANC. As if to underline this fact, the *Financial Times* (9 May) highlighted the triumphalism of the gold and diamond mine owners: "Anglo American and De Beers Have Much to Celebrate—African Empire Open to the World." This voice of the City of London bankers commented that the mining magnates are actually coming out ahead after the "difficult years" of international sanctions. And due to the counterrevolution that swept East Europe and the Soviet Union, "this means that Anglo is no longer such a natural target for an ANC-controlled government either to break-up...or nationalise." The Randlords and their imperialist backers believe that they have preserved the bedrock of apartheid capitalism by donning "democratic" trappings.

The outcome of the election was in

fact determined well before it took place. There would be a coalition "government of national unity" between the ANC and F.W. De Klerk's Afrikaner-based National Party, the architect and upholder of the apartheid system. For the next five years, minority parties are guaranteed seats in the cabinet and effective veto power over key legislation. Now this has been amplified by a deal to include Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of the Zulu tribalist Inkatha party, giving him control of Natal province. Black workers are to be held in check by a constitutional clause permitting strikes only over job issues—i.e., a ban on political strikes such as the mass stayaway general strikes that rocked South Africa during the anti-apartheid struggle. However, just as the struggles of the black toilers for freedom and equality broke down the old apartheid system, so they will break down the neo-apartheid "power sharing" deal between the Randlords and their new black front men.

The whites, who make up 13 percent of South Africa's population, own 90 percent of the land and other productive wealth and on average have an income ten times greater than the black African majority. Given this vast and stark racial inequality, a capitalist "democracy" such as exists in North America and West Europe cannot be established in South Africa. The privileges and dominance of the white ruling class are entrenched in a series of "sunset clauses" in the new constitution which cannot be changed

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Anti-Semitic Bigot and Preacher of Black Capitalism

Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People

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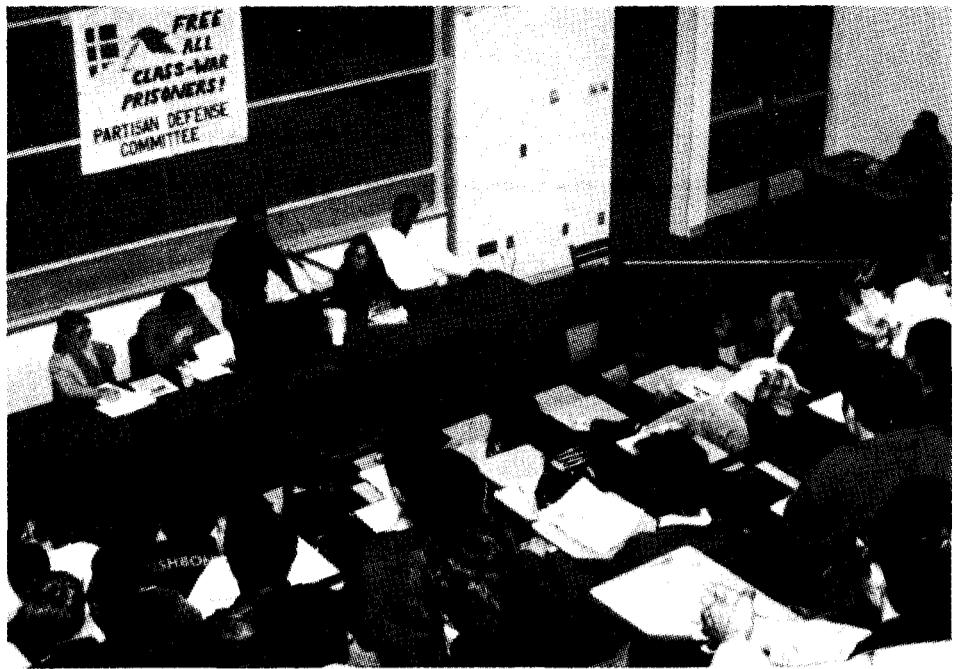


NYC Forum Demands Freedom for Geronimo

Support continues to grow for former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in his fight for freedom. Framed under the FBI's racist CO-INTELPRO vendetta against the Black Panther Party, Geronimo has spent over 23 years in jail for a crime he did not commit.

On April 21, some 100 leftists, students, trade unionists and former Black Panthers turned out to a Partisan Defense Committee forum, "Free Geronimo ji Jaga" at the Borough of Manhattan Community College in New York City. Joining speakers from the PDC and Spartacist League were Breeze Barrow of the Black Panther Newspaper Committee and Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 808. Two days later, on April 23, the PDC participated in and spoke at a demonstration of 300 people at Laimert Park in Los Angeles, initiated by the International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt).

The New York forum opened with the three-part FOX-TV news series detailing the frame-up of Geronimo, including new evidence uncovered by investigator James McCloskey, a lay minister with Centurion Ministries. The audience was told of Geronimo's recent courtroom victory in his battle against ongoing prison harassment. At an April 14 hearing on Geronimo's ongoing lawsuit, filed by PDC counsel Valerie West, federal judge Stanley Weigel stated that there was "evidence of retaliation" by California Department of Correction officials in Geronimo's January transfer to Mule Creek state prison, just days after the FOX series was aired. At Mule Creek, prison officials denied Geronimo his own cell, which he requires due to medical problems stemming from his Vietnam war trauma. Judge Weigel gave the state two weeks to "accommodate" Geronimo, saying, "I don't see why you can't find the prisoner a single cell."



WV Photo

NYC, April 21: PDC forum to defend imprisoned former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt).

Former Black Panther Breeze Barrow told of Geronimo's ongoing commitment to struggle: "He doesn't just think of himself, like 'freeing me.' He raises the question of the whole nature of political prisoners and POWs and puts it on a broader and wider level. He has been dedicated and committed. They've asked him to basically sell out. They've asked him to denounce the movement, and he's not done that." Teamsters official Chris Silvera noted, "The struggle that you witness with Geronimo Pratt and COINTELPRO in the '60s and the '70s continues today, and they call it the

RICO Act. Now they're using that to invade the unions and demolish the workers' right to determine their future and demolish our ability to struggle against the state."

Helene Brosius of the SL Central Committee told how "There is no justice for black people in this system. Racism grew and flourished right alongside of capitalism in this country, right along with it from the time of slavery. It's part and parcel of this system, and it's not going to be eradicated until this system is swept away." Brosius also drew some

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TROTSKY

Nationalism: Obstacle to Struggle for Black Liberation

The desperate conditions facing black people in the United States have led to a revival of nationalist rhetoric, purveyed particularly by Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam. But black nationalism offers no strategy for fighting the racial oppression entrenched in American capitalism. Rather, feeding off defeatism and despair in the absence of social struggle, it is an obstacle to militant struggle for black freedom. The

road to black liberation is that of revolutionary integrationism, for a workers revolution led by a multiracial vanguard party, in which black workers will play a key role. This perspective was advanced by Richard Fraser in the early 1950s fighting within the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Fraser traced the roots of black oppression under capitalism to the defeat of Reconstruction after the Civil War, arguing that the plantation system survived the demise of slavery. What survived were the social relations, by and large in the form of sharecropping rather than gang labor. Fraser was opposing the separatist call for black "self-determination" which later provided a "theoretical" justification for the SWP's opportunist tailing of both Martin Luther King-style liberalism and black nationalism as it abandoned Trotskyism.

The Negro question appeared upon the scene as a class question: The Negroes were slaves. But alongside of this grew the race question: All slaves were Negroes and the slave was designated as inferior and subhuman. This was the origin of the Negro question.

The abolition of slavery destroyed the property relations of the chattel slave system. But the plantation system survived, fitting the social relations of slavery to capitalist property relations.

Because of these unsolved problems left over from the second American revolution, the Negroes still struggle against the social relations which were in effect a hundred and fifty and more years ago....

Only once during the past 130 years have the Negro masses intimated in any way that they might take the road of separatism. This was the result of a social catastrophe: the defeat of the Negroes in the Reconstruction. This defeat pushed them back into such a terrible isolation and demoralization, that there was no channel for the movement to express its traditional demand for equality. The result was the Garvey movement. This occurred, and could have occurred, only in the deepest isolation and confusion of the Negro masses....

To propose to the mass of workers and Negroes the idea of self-determination would be wrong. For the decisive fact in the acceptance of white supremacy is the acceptance of segregation. *The slogan of self-determination requires the desire for segregation as its foundation.* Upon this foundation national consciousness is built.

In this manner the idea of self-determination cuts across the path of our strategic problem because it encourages the acceptance of segregation; and this is the case whether it is advanced as a slogan or merely held in abeyance in our theoretical analysis....

The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a *whole people* regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class.

—R.S. Fraser, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (January 1955), reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5, "What Strategy for Black Liberation?"



LENIN

The Massacre of MOVE

This May marks the ninth year since the Mother's Day siege of Osage Avenue in Philadelphia. On 13 May 1985, eleven black people lost their lives and hundreds more were burned out of their homes in the police bombing of the MOVE commune. We noted then that this massacre, ordered by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and carried out by the Philly cops with FBI-supplied explosives, represented "the signature of the Reagan regime." We vowed to sear the memory of this heinous act into the consciousness of the American workers movement.

As we commemorate the MOVE martyrs who perished at the hands of the racist capitalist state that day, it is appropriate to also bitterly recall the government's fiery holocaust which claimed the lives of 86 members of the small, integrated Branch Davidian religious group just over a year ago in Texas. Like the MOVE massacre, the Waco inferno was orchestrated at the highest levels of government by President Clinton and Attorney General Reno, as payback after several federal agents died in the initial raid on the Davidians' compound. And the government's vindictive prosecution and imprisonment of the surviving Davidians echoed the savage treatment meted out to the MOVE members.

Not one of the government officials guilty of ordering and carrying out the calculated mass murder in Philadelphia was ever penalized, much less jailed. Yet Ramona Africa was imprisoned for seven years for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor of the massacre; she was finally released in 1992, having served every last day of the maximum sentence.

Nine MOVE members are still behind bars, guilty of nothing but a courageous refusal to renounce their beliefs or their organization. We demand freedom for all the MOVE prisoners! We will not forget the MOVE massacre—the victorious American workers revolution must avenge the MOVE martyrs.

13 May 1985

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DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg

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Defend the Vancouver Anti-Fascist Six!

VANCOUVER—Six anti-fascists face trial here on May 31 on trumped-up assault charges after defending themselves and others against fascist provocateurs. The six—five of whom are trade unionists—were part of a 60-strong emergency protest organized by the Trotskyist League and the Partisan Defense Committee on May 6 last year against a meeting of the white-supremacist "Canadian League of Rights" and its founder, longtime fascist Ron Gostick. For well over an hour, the protesters—blacks, Asians, Jews, unionists, socialists, gays, youth—closed down the meeting, chanting "No Nazis in Vancouver! Fascists off the streets!" Widespread local TV coverage showed demonstrators repeatedly fending off attacks by the would-be Hitlers. Gostick's "host," infamous racist Jud Cyllorn, came out of the hall armed with an iron bar. The day after, protesters were greeted as heroes at work, on the streets and in coffee shops.

Three months later, six of them were arrested at Cyllorn's behest. One was dragged out of bed at 5 a.m. by the cops and locked up for eight hours. Another was held overnight. The demonstration had been secretly videotaped by the undercover police Integrated Intelligence Unit. The police report states that

Keep the Nazis On the Run!

"charges are warranted in this matter to assist in sending a message...[to] 'pressure groups', or radical activists." The state's "message" to labor and any opponents of fascist terror is dead clear: free rein for the fascists, state persecution for those who would oppose them.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) government in British Columbia wants to squelch any social protest in this province. Vancouver teachers strikes have been broken; meanwhile, the cops brutally beat Asians, Native people, gays and foreign students. This has only emboldened the fascists, who are out to get all those who do not fit their idea of the "pure race." Vancouver has been the scene of stepped-up racist and fascist violence: a Jewish synagogue and cemetery defaced with swastikas, gay men brutally beaten, South Asian and Chinese families firebombed.

The fascists must—and *can*—be crushed in the egg now, while they remain small in numbers. In January 1993, some 3,000 anti-racists prevented the Nazis of "Canadian Liberty Net"

from holding a rally at the Vancouver Art Gallery. While the official organizers of the protest were intent on an impotent liberal gabfest, the PDC and the TL mobilized disciplined union contingents in response to our widely distributed call, "All Out to Stop the Fascists!" That night some 500 anti-racist protesters marched on the fascists' "secret meeting" in a downtown hotel and sent the Nazis scurrying over the walls, scrambling over fences and into the darkness like cockroaches when the lights are turned on. Outrageously, arrested anti-fascist protester Gord Hill has since been convicted while another, Jody Bailey, continues to face prosecution. We demand that the charges be dropped now!

Across Canada support has rolled in to demand "Drop the charges against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters!" Union locals, including the Vancouver and Toronto locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and Local 100 of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT),

have backed the demand. So have dozens of union presidents, executive board members, stewards and other officials. Union locals and individual members have contributed hard-earned dollars to the defense campaign, as have civil rights activists and anti-racist militants.

Vancouver is a union town, an Asian and gay town, not a Nazi town. Now the people who stood up openly against the fascists are being persecuted. Defend them! **Be there, 9 a.m., May 31 at the courthouse, 222 Main Street in Vancouver! Organize your union local, community or student group—bring your banners! Fill the courtroom throughout the trial!**

Join those who have sent protests demanding "Drop the Charges!" to: Attorney General Colin Gabelmann, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, BC, V8V 1X4; fax (604) 387-6411. Send financial contributions, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmark them "Anti-Fascist Defense." Contact the Partisan Defense Committee for leaflets, posters and information at: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC, V6B 4A6; telephone (604) 687-0353. You can also write to Box 314, Station B, Toronto, ON, M5T 2W1, or call (416) 593-4138. ■

Protected by Army of Police Fascist Klan Group Stages Provocation in South Boston

BOSTON, MAY 7—Under the protection of an army of riot cops, SWAT teams and federal marshals, fascist Nationalist Movement führer Richard Barrett got away with his recruitment rally for racist terror and bigotry in South Boston today and ominously succeeded in recruiting about a score of white racist youth to join him* at the steps of South Boston High School. Some hundreds of onlookers from the neighborhood initially jeered Barrett but, ominously, many were suckered in by and ended the day cheering his message of "Neighborhood, Home, Family and Country: Go, Southie Go."

The Mississippi-based fascist Nationalist Movement hoped to cash in—and *did*—on South Boston's history of violent racist riots against school busing and the recent storm of anti-gay bigotry which resulted in the cancellation of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade. Yet in the past, the predominantly Irish Catholic residents of South Boston ran out the KKK and Nazi scum when these fascists poked their heads out of the sewers. The fascists are nativist cross-burning anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant terrorists who vow to drive "non-American elements" out of the U.S. It is a bad sign that the racist bigotry fueled by the economic desperation of this white ethnic enclave is such that the fascists now openly recruit in "Southie" among their intended victims.

As an impotent sideshow to Barrett's provocation, about 300 leftists in the "Emergency Mobilization Against Racism" put themselves under the control of the cops and marched in a police pen. They were surrounded by phalanxes of riot-equipped cops and rallied a block away from the fascists inside this wall of police. The Workers World Party, International Socialist Organization (ISO), and National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC) placed their supporters and other anti-fascists inside what looked like a cop sandwich.

Independence from and opposition to the racist capitalist state is the *dividing*



Boston, May 7: Anti-racist protesters penned in by massive cop mobilization, as capitalist state protects fascist Nationalist Movement rally.

line between reformists and revolutionaries and these miserable excuses for "socialists" certainly made clear which side they are on. While effectively relying on police protection, they chanted from within their police pen, "Cops and the Klan go hand in hand!" while the cops fended off reactionary neighborhood residents who sought to run the anti-fascists out of "Southie." While many anti-fascist demonstrators surely wanted to make a statement of strong protest against the Klan, this was a dangerous show of *weakness* in the face of the fascists—and the police. Police superintendent William Clairborne crowed: "we got the counterdemonstrators here after the [Nazi] parade was over. What more could you ask for? We

couldn't have planned it better" (*Boston Globe*, 8 May).

The Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote in a March 1934 letter to his French comrades on the struggle against fascism:

"In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to 'arbitrate'... Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point."

To give the fascists "a good beating"

requires mobilizing the social power of the integrated working class as an independent political force. But the fake left's opportunist reliance on the capitalist state is directly proportional to their petty-bourgeois despair and contempt for the revolutionary capacity of the working class. We openly declared well beforehand that "Our aim is to stop Barrett and his fascist cohorts, not to lead anti-fascist protesters into a trap set by the enemy. If the Klan/Nazis dare to show their faces where labor and minorities can mobilize, then what is necessary and what we seek is a disciplined, militant and democratic demonstration that *overwhelms the fascists*" (see "Fascists Threaten Provocation in Boston," *WV* No. 598, 15 April).

As Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Morey Seals explained at a May 6 rally at Harvard University:

"We are not a part of this 'Emergency Coalition' and I'll tell you why. We believe the leaders of the coalition have shown a misplaced faith in the capitalist police, the same police that recently scared black minister Reverend Williams to death in Dorchester. The flip side to this is the light-minded approach they have to the serious business of bringing anti-racist demonstrators to South Boston, a neighborhood made infamous during the '70s busing crisis. If there is a clear opportunity to effectively mobilize against the fascists on Saturday, then what is necessary is the broadest and most massive show of defiance possible. But both groups [ISO and Workers World Party] share a deep pessimism about the possibility of getting the working class in gear to chase the fascists out."

"We in the Spartacus Youth Club are proud of our record of mobilizing against the fascists, not just in this country, but around the world. If we are going to put an end to the scourge of fascism around the globe, we need a socialist revolution to put an end to the system that nurtures it. If you want to live in a world free of Nazi filth like the Nationalist Movement, join the Spartacus Youth Club in our fight for a socialist future. Only when working people rule this land will we be rid of the white hood, the swastika, and all forms of racist and sexist oppression once and for all!" ■

Media Slobbers Over Nixon

Eulogies for a War Criminal



Freeman/Magnum

AP

Watergate scandal forced Nixon out of the White House in 1974, but bourgeois rulers honor him for his heinous crimes against Vietnamese masses, including napalm-bombing of schoolchildren.

"Predatory Shyster Finally Croaks" was *not* the *New York Times*' front page when Richard Milhous Nixon finally croaked April 22 at the age of 81. Instead, as thousands shuffled through Yorba Linda, birthplace and now grave of the unindicted co-conspirator, the media went on a creepy binge of adulation for the mad bomber and mass murderer of tens upon tens of thousands of Vietnamese and Cambodians. Slavish praise, a "Hero's Farewell," an honor guard composed of every living ex-president and fulsome eulogies by all, from Nixon's Dr. Strangelove, fellow Vietnam war criminal Henry Kissinger, to erstwhile antiwar liberal and current White House occupant Bill Clinton. The spectacle left millions muttering darkly at their TV sets, "But he was a crook."

Nixon's last act—so typical, and the only flash of interest in the whole sordid funerary ceremony—was a pledge from beyond the grave to continue the endless battle to keep the public from thousands of hours of "White House tapes" which have been locked up in million-dollar court suits for decades. So much for the latest, and we presume final, attempted incarnation of the "new (dead) Nixon."

In a nation of crooked politicians, he stood head and shoulders above the rest. Going after Nixon for covering up petty burglary was like convicting crime kingpin Al Capone on tax evasion. Watergate, the plumbers, the "enemies list" and all the "Deep Throat" revelations were small change from our point of view—"Tricky Dick" Nixon merely managed to get caught subverting the bourgeoisie's club rules in a more flagrant way

than usual. What Reagan and Bush did around Conragate was ten times worse from the standpoint of constitutional legality, and they got away with it.

Nixon's great crime, Vietnam, was also his great service to this ruling class, which is why he is now embraced by one-time draft dodger Clinton. Nixon promised "a secret plan" to get the U.S. out of Vietnam in his 1968 presidential race. Over the next four years, he invaded Laos and Cambodia, mined Haiphong harbor and launched massive bombing raids against the civilian population of North Vietnam, including the Christmas 1972 bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. The 1970 invasion of Cambodia led to an explosion of campus protest, during which the National Guard fired murderously on students at Kent State, Ohio. Less often mentioned is the police killing of two student protesters at Jackson State, Mississippi—they were black. With the country ready to explode, Nixon and Kissinger managed to extricate U.S. ground troops and thus squelch the liberal "peace movement."

"Do you most heartily forgive Richard Nixon and all his crimes?" has become the new loyalty test in the bourgeoisie's inner circles. The uniformly maudlin media hosannas to Nixon has led columnist Russell Baker to speak of a "group conspiracy to grant him absolution" (*New York Times*, 26 April). Amid the predictable praise from Republicans, "neocons" and Nixon clones were the liberal hearts bursting with sorrow over the anti-Communist creep's death. Not surprising. All the Vietnam-era "doves" wanted was to "bring our boys home"—

to cut America's losses in its dirty, *losing* imperialist war—and Nixon delivered.

Even the occasional critical reference to Nixon's Vietnam record is framed in terms of "our side." Noting that 58,000 Americans were not the only ones to die in Vietnam, liberal Neil Sheehan tells us that "Nearly 160,000 of Saigon's troops were killed fighting Richard Nixon's war" (*New York Times*, 28 April). And what of the *million-plus* other Vietnamese—men, women and children—who were slaughtered in Nixon and Kennedy and Johnson's war? To imperialist doves and hawks alike, they were "the enemy," the "Cong." *Our* side was the Vietnamese fighters against imperialism. We said: "Military Victory to the NLF/DRV! All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

An anonymous caller to CNN came closer to the truth: "Richard Nixon was responsible for the deaths of every man, woman and child in Vietnam from January 1969 until he resigned in disgrace. He also killed four of my brothers and sisters at Kent State, and he did all of this in the name of law and order while he and his henchmen were breaking every law in the land." But the ruling class routinely breaks its own "laws" when its class interests dictate. As we noted in "Impeachment Is Not Enough!" (WV No. 31, 26 October 1973), from the saturation bombing of Indochina to the imposition of wage controls on U.S. workers, "All this the ruling class would gladly forgive Nixon, for they are deemed necessary crimes committed in the 'holy' cause of maintaining capitalist rule."

When they finally decided to dump Nixon, it was because he had thoroughly discredited the U.S. government in the eyes of just about everyone. Watergate made even middle America mistrustful of high school civics verities, and the "Vietnam syndrome" generated by America's battlefield defeat continues to haunt U.S. imperialism as it seeks to project its military power in the New World Disorder. Burying that past is what is behind the near-unanimous clamor for "reconciliation" over the First Crook's corpse: Praise Nixon and pass the ammunition.

Well before his death, Nixon had been granted the nebulous status of "elder statesman," adviser emeritus to the Clinton White House on post-Soviet Russia. The Nixon/Kissinger strategy of "détente" plus arms race had, after all, proved to be the way to destroy the Soviet Union and push China onto the road of capitalist restoration. This is hailed as his great achievement, made possible by the old Stalinist bureaucracies' betrayals, as they drank champagne with Nixon while their Vietnamese comrades were being bombed.

On Nixon's "China breakthrough," Gore Vidal pointed out in the *Nation* (16 May): "Other Presidents could have done what he did, but none dared because of—Nixon. As pictures of Johnson and Mao come on the screen, one hears that solemn baritone: 'I am not saying that President Johnson is a card-carrying Communist. No. I am not even saying that his presence on that wall means that he is a Communist. No. But I question...' As Nixon had been

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Liberals wanted Nixon out because Watergate affair undermined "credibility" of imperial presidency; Trotskyists called for workers struggle against both capitalist parties of bloody Vietnam War criminals.

Impeachment Is Not Enough!

WORKERS VANGUARD



International Campaign Protests Repression of Kurds



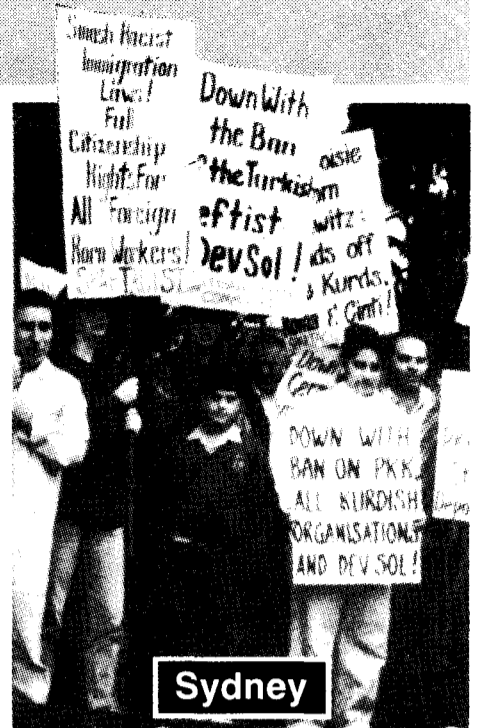
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April 14: International campaign of demonstrations protested German government repression and expulsion of Kurds.

Joining in a coordinated series of actions around the world, on April 14 demonstrators picketed the German consulate in New York with chants of "Racist Fourth Reich—hands off the Kurds!" The protest was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to demand an end to the German government's ban of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and 35 other Kurdish organizations, as well as the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol, and to raise the alarm against the threat of mass expulsions of Kurds to near-certain torture and death in Turkey.

In the last year, some 4,000 have been killed in Turkey's genocidal war on the Kurdish national minority of 15 million. To back up its NATO ally, Ankara's imperialist patrons in Bonn outlawed a wide range of Kurdish political, cultural and social organizations last November, subjecting the 500,000 Kurdish immigrants in Germany to a virtual state of siege (see "Protest Germany's Anti-Kurdish Repression!" WV No. 598, 15 April). In March, cops in Berlin surrounded the Technical University to prevent a celebration of the Kurdish New Year, beating and arresting people. Several hundred Kurds were arrested for blocking Autobahns.

Meanwhile, five Turkish and Kurdish members of the group Antifascist Gençlik languish in a German prison, grotesquely accused of having killed

a Nazi terrorist. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the KfsV defense organization have played a prominent role in protesting every assault by German imperialism on the rights of Kurds, Turks and other immigrants, demanding freedom for the Gençlik militants and calling for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazi thugs.

The urgency of this international protest campaign was underlined by the threat that Kurds arrested in protests face imminent deportation, as demanded by Christian Democratic chancellor Kohl and ordered by Bavaria. While the federal justice minister, Free Democrat Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, expressed reservations about this (she wants speeded-up trials), now the Social Democratic (SPD) candidate for chancellor, Rudolph Sharping, has come out for "deportation of violent Kurds" if Turkey promises not to mistreat them (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9/10 April)! Challenged by a Spartacist League spokesman at an April 14 press conference in New York, Sharping defended Germany's racist attacks against the Kurds.

The crackdown is an election campaign issue in Germany. Kohl wants to send Bundeswehr soldiers to Bosnia and deport immigrant "troublemakers" to Turkey. Aspiring to be co-rulers of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, the

SPD wants to show it isn't "soft on Kurds": at least one of the arrested Kurds was reportedly deported by the SPD state government of Baden-Württemberg, while more than 30 Kurds have been "forcibly repatriated" by the SPD-led government of Lower Saxony to Turkey where they face what one German foreign ministry official genteelly referred to as "intensified interrogation methods"...not to mention death squads (*Der Spiegel*, 11 April).

The New York protest was one of five that day initiated by fraternal social and legal defense organizations affiliated to sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) outside German embassies and consulates. The Toronto protest brought out a contingent of PKK supporters, as did one in Sydney, Australia, which was also attended by supporters of the Australian Kurdish Association and the Iranian Komala. In London, the demonstration was joined by a number of British leftist groups and a sizable contingent from Devrimci Sol. Turkish leftists from the CIK and ACTIT organizations also took part in the Paris protest. The demonstrations denounced the anti-working-class Turkish regime of prime minister Tansu Ciller, which has mounted a murderous offensive with 300,000 troops for a "final solution" against the Kurds.

This unity in action against the com-

mon class enemy represented a significant departure from the sectarianism and nationalism which permeates the Turkish and Kurdish left, including support by the PKK for attacks against Turkish restaurants and cultural centers. As a demonstration spokesman remarked in New York, such indiscriminate terrorism is not only criminal but suicidal:

"In order to achieve the national liberation of Kurdistan, it will require the overthrow of four capitalist governments in the Middle East. This can only be achieved through the closest revolutionary unity of all the workers throughout the region."

Signs raised the call "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" while protesters chanted, "1, 2, 3, 4—Down with Turkey's terror war! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Emphasizing the internationalism of these actions, signs demanded "U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans!" Protesters in New York chanted, "Haiti embargo—we say no! Racist Clinton's got to go!" In Paris, the Mitterrand/Balladur government was denounced for its attacks on Kurds and police terror against youth of North African origin. Demonstrators in other cities carried signs attacking the racist anti-immigrant policies of their "own" bourgeoisies. Demonstrators concluded by singing the revolutionary workers anthem, the *Internationale*, in several languages. ■

assigned the part of *the Nixon*, there was no other Nixon to keep him from those two nice excursions, ostensibly in search of peace."

For all the "new Nixons" we've been sold in his checkered career, in fact there was only "the Nixon." And what might he have achieved, his Dr. Strange-love recently speculated, "had some-

body loved him?" Such a defense is usually reserved for serial killers like Joel Rifkin or Jeffrey Dahmer—though of course that's not exactly inappropriate here.

There are good reasons nobody ever loved "Tricky Dick." Nixon made his debut as a venal, vicious witchhunter in the 1946 California Congressional race

against Jerry Voorhis, a typical New Deal Democrat. The Nixon campaign flooded Protestant and Catholic areas with a smear leaflet titled "A Local Jewish Political Plot Exposed," portraying Voorhis as a spokesman for "subversive Jews out to destroy Christian America." Nixon achieved notoriety by tearing down Alger Hiss in the 1948 anti-

Communist witchhunts in Congress.

Nixon hit his stride in his vicious 1950 red-baiting Senatorial victory over California liberal Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas, calling her the "pink lady, right down to her underwear," while appealing to "the boys": "You wouldn't wanna vote for a woman, would ya?" By the end of the campaign, thousands of white households had received postcards from a supposed "Communist League of Negro Women," bearing the message "Vote for Helen for Senator. We are with her 100 percent." This was the archetype of decades of GOP "dirty tricks" to come. By comparison, George Bush's racist "Willie Horton" ploy—posing the 1988 election as a vote against a "black rapist"—was almost subtle.

Of course, you have to be a monster of some sort to make it as chief executive of U.S. imperialism. Cold War Democrats John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were just as war-mad over Vietnam, not to mention JFK's arrogant Bay of Pigs fiasco. The ruling class honors its own, be they megalomaniacal mass murderers or self-aggrandizing shysters. It will take a victorious workers revolution to finally mete out justice to *all* the imperialist war criminals. ■



UPI

"Tricky Dick" with other witchhunters from McCarthyite House Un-American Activities Committee, made his mark as vicious anti-communist redbaiter, exemplified by 1950 smear campaign against California liberal Helen Gahagan Douglas.



Wide World

Bitter Fruit of Government Intervention

Teamster Contract Stinks

Vote It Down!

MAY 9—Quickly bowing to “mediation” by the Clinton administration, International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Ron Carey “suspended” the national freight strike and ordered picket lines taken down at midnight on April 29. As word reached the lines, strikers were furious with both wings of the IBT bureaucracy—Carey and his government-linked “reformers” who killed the strike, and the venal “old guard” who wanted it to go down to defeat in order to discredit Carey. They even rushed strikers back on April 30 in order to deny them another week’s \$200 strike pay! Carey is using a mail ballot to try and keep Teamsters dispersed and isolated as they vote this month. This is a union-imposed “cooling off” period. We say: Vote it down!

The three-week strike by 70,000 Teamsters drivers and dock workers was a key battle for labor. Here was a chance to reverse the devastation of the unions after almost two decades of a concerted assault by the capitalists and their government! The Teamsters have taken a beating in recent years, but it’s still a powerful union with the capacity to tie the economy in knots. Although the bosses’ media pulled a curtain of silence over the strike, class-conscious workers saw this was a chance to avenge countless defeats. But they were frustrated once again by the labor bureaucracy acting as *company cops*.

In many instances during the strike, Teamster strikers set up picket lines at rail yards, at longshore docks and non-union outfits running scab freight. They were greeted by other unionists—who honored their lines in piggyback yards in Atlanta and longshore docks from L.A. to Tacoma. This showed the poten-



Determined Teamster strikers, now being sold out by all wings of the union bureaucracy.

tial to transform this defensive strike into an offensive battle, to launch an organizing drive to recapture the over-the-road freight industry for the union. We said from the beginning that for this strike to win it had to spread, extending to UPS and the non-union outfits. Fighting to win meant defying all the legal restrictions the government uses to strangle labor struggle. But the interests of the strikers were sacrificed by a union misleadership that is bound by a thousand ties to the bosses’ government and the Democratic Party.

Ron Carey and his regime run by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) were installed in a government-

run election, a product of the “racketeering” suit that put the IBT under the thumb of the feds. Teamsters have lately been massively rejecting the sellouts and sweetheart deals imposed by the “old guard.” So the regime the government put in, Carey and the TDU, called a limited strike, handcuffed the Teamsters into playing by the bosses’ rules, wearing out the strikers and sending them back to work *in order to give the bosses what they wanted from the beginning—a new category of cheaper labor*.

From the beginning, the union tops sabotaged the strike. They refused to call out all the Master Freight locals, keeping 40,000 Teamsters on the job. UPS, used by shippers to move scab freight, was never shut down: 160,000 Teamsters were kept working there. Then, when Teamster pickets tied up freight terminals, they were hit with strikebreaking attacks by state troopers and SWAT teams with gas and dogs. And as soon as Clinton said “jump,” Carey asked “how high?” The IBT leaders entered federal “mediation” and quickly called off the strike—just as the business press was beginning to report shortages due to the walkout.

During the strike, the “old guard” continued to practice the grotesque class collaboration which was their signature when they ran the International. Carey opponent R.V. Durham, a North Carolina bureaucrat, postured against the sellout, but pushed to shut down the picket lines and denounced Carey for striking, saying he “should have stayed at the bargaining table.” And in the midst of the Master Freight strike, Durham filed union charges accusing Carey of engaging “in an illegal breach of contract strike and picketing against UPS”—a one-day strike that Carey sold out and Durham scabbed on!

As a Teamster in Local 85 in San Francisco told *Workers Vanguard*, this contract “stinks.” Caving in to a key demand in the bosses’ giveback list, Carey gave up the right to strike over grievances, agreeing to binding arbitration. The *Wall Street Journal* (29 April) gloated that it’s a clause “the companies have been trying to kill since Jimmy Hoffa strong-armed it into the 1964 master freight agreement.” The amount of

freight shipped by “intermodal” (rail) will almost triple, to 28 percent, wiping out the jobs of thousands of Teamsters drivers.

Carey says he won “job security.” He lies. The agreement does *nothing* about “double-breasting,” where union firms set up non-union subsidiaries. This practice, along with the explosive growth of other non-union carriers, has cost almost 200,000 union jobs under the Master Freight Agreement (MFA) in the last 15 years. According to Carey’s bureaucratic opponents, “Roadway Express and CF Motor Freight have been allowed to permanently close 41 terminals,” which will result in thousands of transfers and layoffs.

What the trucking bosses wanted was to cut full-time union members and introduce \$9-an-hour part-timers to reduce their wage structure. Carey gave them what they wanted in principle: a category of workers that replaces full Teamster jobs. The new “casuals,” working less than a full shift, will replace all overtime on the docks. Their pay, \$14.45 an hour, will be permanently frozen well below MFA scale, and inflation will cut it back further. Other dock workers lose 15 percent of the raise in wages and benefits, breaking their equality with drivers. The two-tier gap in wages for new hires is increased, and it takes a third longer to reach full pay.

Stabbing some of the best union defenders in the back, Carey took down picket lines *without amnesty* for dozens of militants facing firing and criminal charges. Strikers like Jesus Acuna from Local 208 (Pico Rivera, California), and other unionists like Ironworker Philip Ambrose who defended Teamster picket lines, are being abandoned by the IBT bureaucrats to persecution by the capitalist state in order to make an example of them and suppress militancy. All Teamsters, all of labor, must come to the aid of these courageous brothers and fight to mobilize the unions to demand: Drop the charges against all strikers!

Teamsters must draw the lessons from the strike: any serious class struggle will inevitably face the full arsenal of the capitalists—their courts, cops and anti-labor laws, their Democratic and Republican Party politicians. For that kind of battle you need a leadership that fights for the *unconditional independence of the working class from the capitalist state*. We need workers’ leaders who are prepared to defy the laws which were created to hogtie labor struggle—like Taft-Hartley injunctions and Landrum-Griffith prohibitions against “hot-cargoing” (refusing to handle) scab products. Those were the tactics developed and used with such power by the Trotskyists who led the early over-the-road organizing drives that forged the modern Teamsters union.

Waterboys for the Bureaucracy

Any strikers who might have thought the state was neutral got a quick education from police clubs and judges’ injunctions. Teamsters across the country have a deep mistrust of the government designs on their union—many know in detail the history of how the wealthy Kennedy clan went after Jimmy Hoffa in order to break the union’s power to shut down freight across the country.

Government intervention in the Teamsters didn’t begin with the Kennedy Democrats’ 40-year vendetta and Reagan’s Justice Department, but goes back to the jailing of the Minneapolis Trotskyist Teamsters in World War II. For the past two decades, the fake-militant

California Teamster Striker Defend Jesus Acuna!

LOS ANGELES—In a powerful show of solidarity, 150 Teamsters packed a courtroom here on April 28 to stand behind their union brother, Jesus (Jesse) Acuna. Two weeks earlier, at the ABF terminal in Pico Rivera, a low-life scab driving a double trailer tried to run down Teamster pickets. But it was union member Acuna who was charged with attempted murder and held on \$500,000 bail! Acuna was finally released on bail in the early morning hours on May 4, after bail was reduced to \$30,000. The judge ordered Acuna to stay at least 200 yards from the picket line.

At court hearings, Teamsters from five different Southern California union locals have turned out for Jesus Acuna. He is one of at least six strikers here who were shafted when the union tops in Washington “suspended” the national freight strike without getting amnesty for them and dozens of other strikers around the country. At the April 28 hearing, some retired Teamsters told representatives of the Par-

tisan Defense Committee that when workers were victimized during the 1970 Teamster wildcat, their union locals backed them up and a big group of students from UCLA came down and rallied with the strikers.

The PDC, the class-struggle defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has protested to the L.A. district attorney that “The trumped up charges against Jesus Acuna are an attempt by the trucking bosses to cover up the brutal attacks by police and scabs against striking Teamsters.” The next court hearing is on May 12. Los Angeles labor—longshoremen, janitors, hotel workers, drywallers, teachers—must rally to the defense of this brother who faces jail for defending his union on the picket line.

The PDC has contributed to Acuna’s defense. Family and union supporters of Acuna are asking that donations be sent to: Jesse Acuna Defense Fund, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241.

Feds Frame Up West Virginia Miners

Labor: Defend Jerry Dale Lowe!

On June 13, Logan County miner Jerry Dale Lowe goes on trial in federal court in Charleston, West Virginia in a vicious federal frame-up aimed at the United Mine Workers (UMWA) and the entire labor movement. Lowe, the UMWA Local 5958 mine safety committee chairman and a strike captain during the 1993 coal strike, faces up to 50 years in prison and a \$1 million fine on charges of "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce." West Virginia labor must defend Lowe. UMWA Locals should declare a "memorial day" on June 13 and turn out in the thousands for his trial. *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

Lowe is one of eight miners from Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine near Yoyle who were framed on federal interstate commerce charges for allegedly throwing rocks (!) at a scab convoy leaving the mine on July 22 last summer. Lowe faces additional charges in the death of a scab contractor who was shot in the back of the head while leaving the mine. The shot came from the area where the company guns thugs from Elite Security were. These goons repeatedly shot at Ruffner miners during the strike.

Seven of the miners accepted a plea bargain on charges of destruction of property, and on April 29, in a court packed to overflowing with West Virginia miners, were sentenced in state court to 120 days in jail and a \$500 fine. The feds may seek to use their testimony in Lowe's trial.

The frame-up of the Logan miners is

a crucial case for the miners and all of labor. But the UMWA tops have been silent, surrendering the union men who did their duty on the picket line to this vindictive prosecution by the Clinton

December's contract, Trumka's entire program is one of class collaboration. He says the union "must leave behind the adversarial 'us vs. them' mentality of the past," while enforcing humiliat-

against the union for "strike violence." Jerry Dale Lowe must not share the fate of the four Kentucky miners from the A.T. Massey strike, who were railroaded in 1987 and remain in jail to this day after Trumka and the UMWA tops refused to lift a finger in their defense. Again in 1989-1990, nine miners from Milburn, West Virginia were the target of a frame-up by provocateurs and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms which sent seven union men to jail.

Workers Vanguard has called for a fight inside the union to bring out a massive

Jim Noelker



Logan County miners picket union-busting Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine during 1993 UMWA strike.

administration. Not one word of the case has appeared in the *United Mine Workers Journal*. After the ten-month-long "selective strike" last year, union president Richard Trumka pushed through a sell-out contract which specifically excluded from amnesty any strikers facing federal charges, in other words, the Logan County miners.

Like the "labor-management cooperation" which is the centerpiece of last

ing court-ordered "strike training" sessions where miners are told to tolerate scabs. In fact, the feds cited such sessions in their indictments of the Logan miners! Trumka hides behind the anti-labor Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) in refusing to mount an official union defense of the strikers. But that didn't stop Arch Mineral, who employed the gun thugs, from filing a RICO suit

outpouring of solidarity in defense of the Logan County miners. Drop the charges! Clinton—hands off the Logan County miners!

A leaflet from UMWA Region II (covering Districts 17, 28, 29 and 31) calls for funds for the miners' defense to be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Ave., S.E., Charleston, WV 25304. Earmark for "Ruffner miners." ■

opposition in the union—the TDU—has repeatedly dragged the union into the bosses' courts and gone running to the federal prosecutors, even pushing to give the government control over union pension funds. And the entire reformist "left"—notably the TDU's press agents in *Labor Notes* and *Solidarity's Against the Current*, as well as their "critical supporters" of the ISO (International Socialist Organization)—cheered them on.

The Teamsters for a "Democratic" Union buried any fight against racial and sexual oppression, even refusing to defend the Farm Workers union when it was under attack by the growers and the Teamster bureaucracy. The TDU never even opposed the IBT tops when they organized cops and prison guards! As a token of their "good faith" toward the capitalist state, TDU wrote into its constitution a prohibition against "politics." Of course, that doesn't stop prominent TDUs from appearing at gatherings festooned with Clinton campaign buttons.

Carey was installed in the Marble Palace through the December 1991 elections which were run lock, stock and barrel by the feds, and the TDU got over half the seats on the General Executive Board. One TDUer bragged to the *Chicago Tribune* (15 December 1991): "We carried the water and chopped the wood." Now these waterboys for the bureaucracy and the feds have gotten their payback.

In contrast, the Spartacist League and *Workers Vanguard* have fought down the line against government interference in the labor movement and for class independence from the capitalist state. We oppose Carey just as we oppose the venal, pro-capitalist bureaucrats who ran the Teamsters before the Carey/TDU pro-government crowd were installed. When it comes to putting labor's muscle on the line against the bosses and their government, the "new" Teamsters are indistinguishable from the "old." And delivering the union into the hands of the capitalist state is about as corrupt as you can get. We say the union must clean

its own house—feds and finks out!

As we warned early in the history of the TDU:

"The capitalist state's constant striving to subordinate the unions to its control is in fact the major obstacle both to union democracy and to putting the unions on a class-struggle course."

—"Hands Off the Teamsters!"
WV No. 158, 20 May 1977

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

The national freight strike sharply illuminated the crisis facing the working class. The AFL-CIO union tops have presided over the dismantling of hard-won union gains and even the destruction of the unions themselves. Why? For the most part, the present ossified bureaucracy—a bunch of aging fat cats who can barely make it into the pool at Bal Harbour and couldn't run a serious strike if their dues checkoff depended on it—were installed in the post-World War II purge of the "reds" who built the industrial unions in the 1930s. They are beholden to the Democratic Party, and their fundamental loyalty is to their capitalist masters, not to their union members.

It's a commonplace today to say that the PATCO air traffic controllers "shouldn't have been left to stand alone" back in 1981. But the pattern was repeated time after time—at Hormel, Greyhound (twice!), Eastern Airlines, Pittston mines—as the AFL-CIO chiefs and their own union leaders knifed strikers in the back. This was class war, or more specifically, "one-sided class war," as one of the top union misleaders put it. So why was it one-sided? The Spartacist League and our newspaper *Workers Vanguard* called on the unions to "Shut Down the Airports!" in '81. That would have stopped Reagan cold. But that meant going right up against the capitalist state, and this the labor fakers will not do. Why not? Because they are the bosses' agents within the unions, literally the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

So when American capitalism was in crisis in the 1970s and the bosses needed to increase their rate of exploitation—the amount of profits they rake off your labor—the union tops did the dirty work for them. Mass layoffs and plant shutdowns, massive givebacks and two-tier wages, smashing militant locals and standing by as whole unions were smashed (PATCO)—if the bosses asked for it, the bureaucrats did it. Social-democratic union leaders like the Machinists' Winpisinger or UAW's "Solidarity House" were no different from and frequently outdid the rest of AFL-CIO officialdom in ripping up union gains: taking \$5 billion from the workers' pockets to give to GM and Chrysler in return for a seat on the board.

The Teamsters have had a reputation as a "maverick" union, and Jimmy Hoffa could talk tough to the likes of Bobby Kennedy. Under the guise of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies," the IBT International regularly endorsed Republicans, from Nixon to Reagan and Bush. But while they had tremendous potential power, the Teamster tops feared to use it. It is telling that the last national freight strike was in 1979. The Teamster tops, too, were loyal to capitalism, as Dave Beck whined before the McClellan Committee; Fitzsimmons did whatever his boss in the White House told him to, Presser was an FBI agent, and Hoffa never called the all-out national trucking strike the Kennedys feared. That is why the Teamsters, too, have lost their former strength.

Leon Trotsky, who led the Russian Revolution together with Lenin, wrote in 1940 that "Either the trade unions of our time will serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capital to subordinate and discipline the workers and to obstruct the revolution or, on the contrary, the unions will become tools of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). Under the pro-capitalist misleaders, the labor movement has in

fact acted as an instrument for subordinating the workers to capital—with disastrous results for the unions themselves.

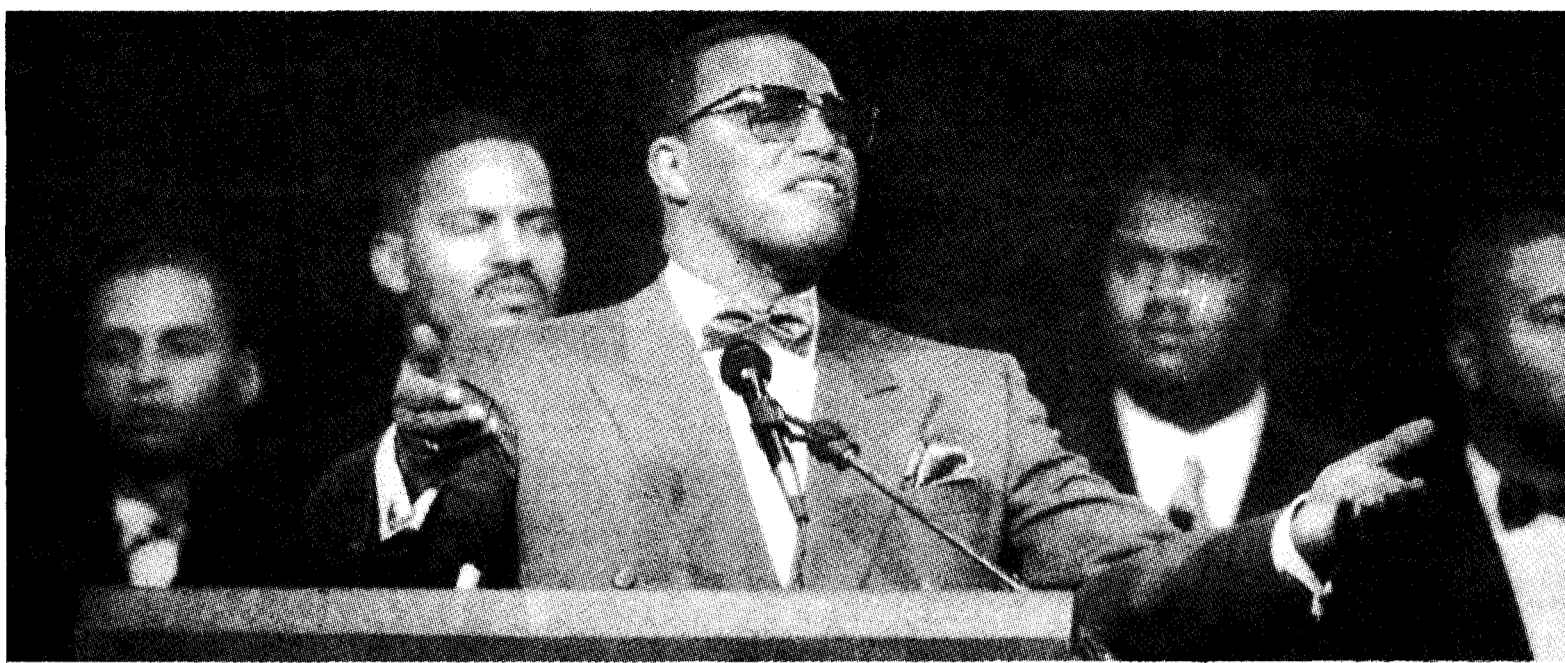
As we said in "Feds Hands Off Teamsters!" (WV No. 530, 5 July 1991):

"A rebirth of class-struggle unionism would directly confront the state. The sellouts and finks and social democrats who just beg for crumbs from the capitalist table think they can use the government as it is using them. But anyone who seriously proposes to fight drug-testing witchhunts, government-supervised union elections, police scabherding and the like had better have a class-struggle program to mobilize against the cops, the courts and capitalist politicians and their flunkys. For the complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state! Feds: get your dirty hands off the Teamsters!"

American labor, despite enormous episodic militancy (sit-down strikes, flying pickets), has failed to break from the partner parties of capital. This is key. The two unions which established a reputation for hard-nosed economic struggle—the Mine Workers under John L. Lewis and the Teamsters under Jimmy Hoffa—did so when they were most estranged from the Democratic Party. So instead they supported the hardline anti-union Republicans! The fact is that Lewis drove communists from the UMW in the 1920s, long before the postwar CIO purge, and Hoffa was part of the Tobin regime that railroaded the Minneapolis Trotskyists. Today more than ever the fight to forge a workers party on a class-struggle program is vital to saving the unions and transforming them into organs for workers struggle.

That cannot be accomplished on a narrow economist basis, but requires that the workers movement act as the champion of all oppressed sectors of society, linking up with the impoverished residents of black ghettos and Latino barrios, fighting against protectionist poison that would divide us from our class brothers and sisters from Mexico to Japan, and opposing the capitalist state down the line. ■

Anti-Semitic Bigot and Preacher of Black Capitalism



Cummins/Newsday

Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People



Muhammad/NY Times

Louis Farrakhan (top) aspires to be capitalist exploiter of black working people. Nation of Islam rent-a-cops police housing projects on behalf of racist rulers.

When the nightriders and cross-burners of the Ku Klux Klan staged racist provocations against Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday in eight state capitols last January, the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League went into action to mobilize the power of the labor movement and blacks to stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois. Despite the combined forces of the capitalist state, some 500 people, primarily blacks and unionists, braved arctic weather and turned out to stop the Klan/Nazis. The cops and courts, state authorities and various federal agencies went all out to protect the KKK as they spewed their racist filth. Speaking on the steps of the state capitol, a Klan leader denounced racial integration...and praised Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, as a "real leader for the Black man" (*Chicago Defender*, 17 January).

In recent months, the media has been filled with a barrage of articles denouncing the Nation of Islam (NOI), particularly focusing on the grotesque anti-Semitic ravings of Farrakhan spokesman Khallid Abdul Muhammad in a speech last November 29 at New Jersey's Kean College. In the halls of Congress, the parliament of the U.S. ruling class, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly (with some opposition and abstentions from the Congressional

Black Caucus) and the Senate unanimously for special resolutions condemning Khallid's speech, and the New Jersey State Assembly went into special session to denounce him. Among the racist critics were Senator Jesse Helms, who denounces affirmative action for black people as sucking the blood of whites, and Senator Al D'Amato, who referred to the minority poor of New York City as "animals."

The blatantly hypocritical attacks by America's racist rulers on the Nation of Islam don't stop with words. In January,

New York City police, given a green light by newly elected mayor Giuliani, launched an assault on Harlem's NOI Temple No. 7-A (see "NYC Cop Vendetta Against Black Muslims," WV No. 592, 21 January). More recently, on April 30, Canadian immigration authorities used their "hate crime" laws to ban Khallid Muhammad from visiting Toronto to speak before a black student group. We oppose all such bans on free speech, whether they are imposed directly by the racist capitalist state or through college administrations.

Make no mistake, the anti-Semitic ravings of Khallid and his ilk are poison, adding to the climate of bigotry and reaction whipped up by the Rush Limbaughs and other right-wing zealots who spew their filth from the airwaves daily. And in this racist country, blacks will be the main victims. The struggle for black liberation requires politically combatting ominous demagogues like Khallid and Farrakhan and exposing them as the *tools of white racist reaction* that they are. The NOI leader literally yearns for a return to Jim Crow segregation. For all his rhetoric about "power," Farrakhan seeks to carve out a profitable niche for black capitalism in exploiting the ghetto market. He peddles his services to the bourgeoisie to head off class consciousness across racial lines and as a guarantor to keep the black masses down.

It is a measure of the extreme crisis of black leadership, reflecting the isolation of the oppressed black population, that such figures are getting a hearing beyond the narrow limits of the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan has drawn thousands of participants to "black men only" rallies in several cities. Many black youth are attracted to his "in your face" denunciations of the white establishment, seeing him as a black leader who confronts the white power structure. In particular, Farrakhan appeals to many black univer-

Clinton's racist tirades against "black-on-black" crime in 1993 Memphis speech are echoed by Farrakhan's Nation of Islam.



sity students who find their hopes for advancement frustrated as the openings for the black middle class—which was greatly expanded during the 1970s as the government promoted a “talented tenth” as a buffer against black unrest—slam shut in their faces.

But as the praise from the Illinois Klansman underlines, Louis Farrakhan is in league with some of the most reactionary forces in this country. Farrakhan is praised by fascists, he colludes with them, accepts money from them: in 1985, he invited California Klan leader Tom Metzger to an NOI rally in L.A. and received a \$100 donation from this racist terrorist. Farrakhan's real appetites are to be a power broker in and around the Democratic Party: he not only campaigned for Jesse Jackson but even praised yuppie racist Clinton's plan to “end welfare as we know it.” Lately, Farrakhan has promoted himself as a *cop* for this racist ruling class against impoverished black youth, joining in the chorus blaming them for ghetto crime.

Farrakhan's message to the capitalists is that the dreadful conditions being imposed on the black population can be more efficiently (and cheaply) enforced by the NOI than by the despised cops and discredited politicians. Farrakhan writes that if the NOI were given “unhindered” reign, “we could effect a change in the lifestyle of our people that would allow us to do more with less wages.” He even proposed to America's rulers that “helping us to make a new beginning on the continent of Africa, first with the inmate population”—i.e., to set up a *penal colony* run by the NOI—would be a good way to get rid of many of the black “permanent underclass.” This would, he claimed, “gain for America a strong foothold on that strategically important continent” (Louis Farrakhan, *A Torchlight for America* [1993]). In support of this cynical plan, Farrakhan cited Australia, where penal colonies of Europeans grew into a modern nation (after murdering the Aboriginal population or driving them from their land).

Farrakhan's appetite to crack the whip over the ghetto population is shown in his government contracts to police public housing. The NOI used its “Fruit of Islam” security squads in 1988 when it began patrolling Mayfair Mansions and another apartment complex in Washington, D.C. The “NOI Security Agency” then won contracts to guard federally subsidized apartment complexes in Pittsburgh in 1991, in Philadelphia and Los Angeles in 1992, and in Chicago and Baltimore in 1993. The latter two contracts are still in operation, with the Baltimore contract alone expected to bring in \$2.8 million. The NOI is part of a joint venture in Chicago currently negotiating a \$5 million contract to guard another project on Chicago's West Side. Farrakhan has also contracted to provide low-cost security for such companies as Federal Express and the Ramada Renaissance Hotel in Washington.

We warn: repression of black youth by NOI rent-a-cops serves the racist rulers no less than that carried out by white (and black) official cops. Remember, *Louis Farrakhan is the man who declared that courageous black militant leader Malcolm X was “worthy of death.”*

ADL Zionists: Bad for Blacks, Bad for Jews

So why the furor from the racist powers that be against Farrakhan, and why now? The Nation of Islam has been purveying anti-Semitic filth for years. But of late, Farrakhan & Co. have made a big push to go “respectable”—and they have been getting some response. Last September, Maryland Democratic Representative Kweisi Mfume, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, announced a “sacred covenant” with the NOI to support the “war on drugs” and fight “black-on-black crime.” It was this official acceptance by mainstream black Democrats that lay behind the frenzied outcry against Farrakhan in the bourgeois media.

The publication of Khallid's speech



Francolon/Gamma-Liaison

provoked a cynical uproar by the racist bourgeoisie. It is truly obscene to see the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant rulers of this country delivering pious lectures against racism.

Running point for these big-time racists were the Zionists of the “Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. The outcry over Khallid's speech surged following publication of excerpts



Brent Jones

NOI leader Louis Farrakhan displays his “empowerment”-for-profit wares: plugging “POWER” line of soap and cosmetics products in the mid-1980s.

in a full-page ad in the *New York Times* last January by the ADL. But while they are perennially up in arms against black anti-Semites like Farrakhan, the Zionists work hand in glove not only with America's racist rulers but even with ultrarightist Christian fundamentalist Moral Majority bigots. For years the ADL ran a massive spy operation in collaboration with local police, the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, targeting leftists, Arab Americans and anti-apartheid militants and passing the information on to Israel and South Africa. The Zionists feel right at home with their apartheid allies, whose treatment of the black masses parallels Israel's murderous repression of the Palestinian Arabs. It doesn't bother the ADL that their Afrikaner partners openly supported Hitler as he was carrying out the Holocaust against Europe's Jews.

Indeed, these self-described spokesmen for the Jewish people have a long and sordid history of *working against* militant struggle against anti-Semitism, from opposing mass protests in the U.S. against Hitler's *Kristallnacht* pogrom in 1938 to denouncing anti-fascist mobilizations today. When 2,500 Jews, many of them Holocaust survivors, took to the streets of Evanston, Illinois in 1980 to sweep away a gang of Nazis, the ADL opposed this defense against a fascist provocation. And when the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a successful anti-KKK/Nazi demonstration in Phila-



Anti-Semitic Farrakhan spokesman Khallid Muhammad (above) earlier worked for Idi Amin (left), bloody dictator of Uganda.

delphia in November 1988, the ADL tried to sabotage it by launching a vicious campaign to defame the anti-fascist forces as “violent.” While condemning integrated anti-fascist struggle, the Zionists are whipping up racist hysteria in an effort to produce a police crackdown against blacks, as they have done for the past two years in New York with their incendiary racist propaganda over Crown Heights.

The Genocidal Logic of Nationalism

Farrakhan and his followers certainly give plenty of ammunition to the Zionists and Congressional bigots. In his despicable racist tirade at Kean College last November, Khallid Muhammad railed against Jews as the “blood suckers of the black nation” who “crucified Jesus in a kangaroo court.” He sounded like a Nazi apologist for Adolf Hitler, claiming the Jews brought the Holocaust on themselves: “You see everybody always talk about Hitler exterminating six million Jews. But don't nobody ever ask, ‘What did they do to Hitler? They went in there in Germany, the way they do everywhere, and they supplanted, they usurped, and a German in his own country would almost have to go to a Jew to get money.’ This is an obscene provocation, not only to Jews *but also to black people*, who would have been herded into the Third Reich's gas chambers along with Gypsies, Slavs and others deemed *Untermenschen* (subhuman) by the Nazis.

In this same speech, Khallid urged black South Africans to kill all whites: “We kill the women. We kill the babies, we kill the blind. We kill the cripples. We kill them all. We kill the faggot. We kill the lesbian.... Kill the old ones too. Goddamn it, if they're in a wheelchair, push them off a cliff in Cape Town.... When you get through killing them all, go to the goddamn graveyard and dig up the grave and kill them a-goddamn-gain because they didn't die hard enough.” In his vicious rantings, Khallid takes the reactionary and ultimately genocidal logic of nationalism to a hideous con-

clusion. Not only are these sick fantasies an assault on elementary humanity, but calls to race war in South Africa, where the racists have the overwhelming preponderance of firepower, would force all whites into the apartheid *laager* and could only lead to a bloody defeat for blacks.

Khallid Muhammad has reportedly emerged as the spokesman for “hard-core” elements in the NOI resisting Farrakhan's turn toward (relative) “respectability.” His pronouncements are featured on records by “gangsta rapper” Ice Cube. But it's not just fantasies. Khallid boasts that he once worked for the grisly dictator Idi Amin in the mid-1970s, saying he “was in Kampala, Uganda, ready to kill some white folks” when Farrakhan called him to ask him to rejoin his movement (*New York Newsday*, 28 February). The Nation of Islam leader and his lieutenant vituperate against Jews in this WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) dominated country. In Uganda, Amin launched a murderous pogrom against Asian merchants. Tens of thousands were driven into emigration, and their businesses were taken over by Amin's cronies. Like boycotts of Korean grocers in American ghettos, this cynical chauvinism is typical of nationalists of an oppressed group who are the would-be exploiters of their “own” people.

Under pressure from the media and politicians, Farrakhan distanced himself from Khallid, calling his statements “repugnant” and “mean-spirited”; at the same time the NOI leader defended the “truths” spoken by his aide. And what were these “truths”? Farrakhan explicitly endorsed Khallid's absurd claim that 75 percent of slaves in the antebellum South were owned by Jews. (In reality, the not very numerous Jews in the South in 1860 owned a tiny fraction of the four million slaves, and only a tiny proportion of the Atlantic slave trade involved Jewish merchants.) Farrakhan cited the NOI's book *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, a pseudo-academic hate-mongering tract which tries to give the impression that Jews dominated the slave trade by stringing together seemingly endless examples of Jewish slavers, lists of ships owned by Jews, etc. This racist trash recalls the infamous “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” (also occasionally distributed by the NOI), a Russian tsarist forgery used historically to “prove” a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.

Farrakhan's lieutenant Khallid is just a little cruder in presenting the same nationalist poison that Farrakhan has spewed for years. A decade ago, the NOI leader declared “Hitler was a very great man.” Farrakhan has claimed he was misquoted. The transcript of the radio address shows that Farrakhan indeed said it, word for word. He also said, “I'm not proud of Hitler's evil against Jewish people,” and “don't compare me with your wicked killers.” But while saying “He wasn't great for me as a black

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Farrakhan...

(continued from page 9)

person," Farrakhan added: "he was a great German." Farrakhan recognized in Hitler a fellow nationalist demagogue, and emphasized: "He rose Germany up from nothing. Well, in a sense you could say there's similarity in that we are rising our people up from nothing." If Nazis ever come to power in this country, they would try to do to black people what Hitler did to the Jews: genocide. As we wrote in "The Sinister Farrakhan" (WV No. 355, 25 May 1984), "Anyone who calls Hitler 'a great man' should be reviled by every black person."

Khallid Muhammad has gone on to continue his anti-Semitic diatribes in a number of other speeches recently, including at Howard University on April 19 (together with anti-Semitic academic Leonard Jeffries). In his rantings, Khallid said of the demented random slaughter on a New York commuter line last December, that he "loves Colin Ferguson, who killed all those white folks on the Long Island train." Khallid's appearances have thrown Howard into turmoil, to the extent that the university president was forced to step down. Last fall, the student newspaper, *The Hilltop* (19 November 1993) headlined, "Muslim Leader Brings Bold Message to University." While the number of hard-core Farrakhanites on campus is limited, and the rabid anti-Semitism and anti-white rhetoric are not broadly popular, the NOI leader is viewed by a significant part of the student body as someone who gives the finger to the system and who's trying to "uplift the race." On the contrary, if this poison triumphs, it will bring black people down—no one will profit but the purveyors of this filth and the white racists themselves.

The NOI seeks to isolate black youth from the possibility of social struggle by diverting the justified outrage against their dreadful oppression into poisonous bigotry. Pushing the fraud of "black capitalism" as the answer to racism, unemployment and police brutality—all inherent in the capitalist system—these pseudo-nationalists want to have exclusive rights to rip off the black population. That's why, behind talk of "self-pride," they do everything to reinforce a defeatist, pessimistic outlook which accepts—even extols—racial segregation. Farrakhan's reactionary perspective has nothing to do with fighting against the ruling class which holds the real wealth and power in this country. Anti-Semitism is sucker-bait and it lets the racist bourgeoisie off the

Apostles of the myth of liberation through "black capitalism": (from left to right) Elijah Muhammad, Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington.



UPI photos



Historical Pictures Service

hook. It is capitalism which forcibly keeps black people at the bottom of a vicious racist system of exploitation and oppression. By seeking to set black people against Jews and other vulnerable groups, the racist demagogues of the NOI are stoking the flames of right-wing reaction whose first targets will be black people.

Farrakhan's Reactionary Program for Black Youth

Today as the U.S. gears up to confront its imperialist competitors in the New World Disorder of trade wars and war on the living standards of poor and working people at home, the liberal Democrats have united with right-wing Republicans to reduce "overhead costs" by slashing the minimal social welfare measures that exist in this country. Intent on cutting the budget deficit fueled by years of Cold War military spending, the ruling class is closing down schools and trying to cut health care costs. The hellish conditions in America's black and Hispanic ghettos are getting more and more inhuman as unemployment, poverty and desperation continue to grow. The capitalist rulers' "answer" to these conditions is to ax welfare and ban guns in the hands of the people. Particularly since the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval touched off by the racist acquittal of Rodney King's cop tormentors, there is a bipartisan campaign for more arrests, more prisons and more executions to keep the ghetto and barrio poor in line.

Conditions for black youth have gotten much worse today than at the time of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. During World War II, millions of blacks migrated from the South to the booming war industries in the North and West. By the '60s increasing numbers were in unionized, relatively well-paying jobs in heavy industry. When mil-

lions were thrown out of work in the mid-1970s recession that turned much of the Midwest into a "rust bowl," black workers were hit the hardest. Many became permanently unemployed. Subsequently many U.S. manufacturing operations were shifted to low-wage plants overseas. Since they're not needed as wage slaves, ghetto youth are today considered by the ruling class to be an expendable "surplus" population. The capitalists see no need for them to be educated or—for the most impoverished and desperate—even to be *alive*.

The bourgeoisie has been introducing cost-cutting "reforms" whose effect would be for layers of the minority population to literally *perish*. President Clinton promises to "end welfare as we know it" for 14 million people—three-quarters of them children—who live on the brink of survival. The most vulnerable are black youth in the inner cities. Meanwhile, the AIDS epidemic and deadly diseases of poverty like TB ravage the people of the ghettos and barrios while the bourgeoisie closes hospitals in minority communities. And on top of this there is deadly racist repression and regimentation, as Clinton's "anti-crime" bill proposes putting 100,000 more cops on the streets and building ten mammoth regional high-security prisons. The nation's death rows are crammed to capacity, its inmates mostly black and Hispanic. With the dramatic worsening of life in the ghettos, over the decade of the 1980s the death rate for black youth aged 15 to 24 years increased by a staggering 24 percent.

But while the black poor were being ravaged, a dependent layer of black yuppies, fostered by the policies of both capitalist parties, was able to move out of the ghettos—only to confront vicious segregation in the suburbs. Seeing themselves as the social elite of the black

community, they are receptive to the fraud of black-owned business and "empowerment" as the "solution" to ghetto poverty. Today, almost half of all black income is earned by only 20 percent of black families, a degree of inequality which is greater than among the white population. (This fact alone explodes the nationalist myth that the fundamental division in society is race and not class.) The children of this black petty bourgeoisie, facing the daily humiliations of enduring racism and desperately conscious that the opportunities which were available to their parents are largely closing up for them, are turning in despair from the goal of integration and some have provided an audience for Farrakhan's demagoguery.

When Farrakhan talks of gaining "power," he's really trying to get influence with the capitalist politicians, today in the Democratic Party. Farrakhan gained national attention in 1984 when he hustled votes for Jesse Jackson's campaign in the Democratic presidential primaries. When Clinton was elected president, Farrakhan called on him to convene the country's "spiritual leadership to spearhead a moral rejuvenation among the American people." Farrakhan also hailed Clinton's plans for welfare "reform" and called on the president to "galvanize America to make a great sacrifice" and "summon great courage" to "cut federal spending" and "raise taxes across the board" (*A Torchlight for America*).

Farrakhan's program sounds like something dreamed up by the far-right John Birch Society. It reflects petty-bourgeois contempt for the masses of black poor and working people. He joins the chorus calling for a get-tough policy to fight "black-on-black" crime, opposes abortion, calls to "change homosexual behavior," and calls for schools segre-

Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm X Dead



Robert L. Haggins

Harlem, 1963: Malcolm X appeared with Farrakhan (far right) at his side. Farrakhan (Louis X) and Nation of Islam newspaper later denounced Malcolm as a traitor and pronounced him "worthy of death."

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

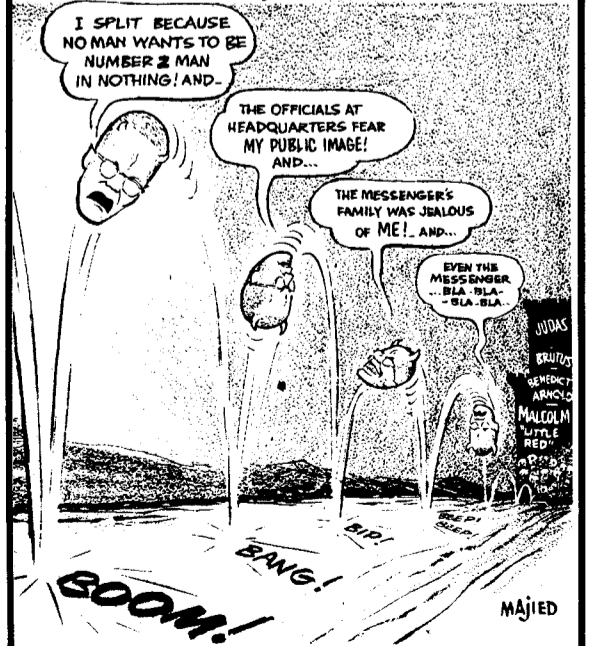
If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about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

Muhammad Speaks
4 December 1964

Muhammad Speaks

10 April 1964

On My Own



gated by sex. His attitude toward the rights of women can be seen by the fact that women are excluded from many of his meetings (along with the white "devil"). He holds up Saudi Arabia, where people accused of theft have their hands cut off, as a model of fighting crime. But his current angle is to sell his services as enforcer for the bourgeoisie in the ghettos, policing the black population as the ruling class carries out across-the-board attacks on the minority population.

Black Nationalism and Despair

Farrakhan's growing hearing among black youth is reminiscent, on a smaller scale, of Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" movement of the 1920s. As with Farrakhan, Garvey's mass appeal was born of despair and social disorganization in a period of rising Klan terror, police repression and racial segregation. In the North, blacks brought into industry during the First World War were kept out of the trade unions by the narrow, racist craft leaders of the AFL and in many places were kicked out of their jobs. Garvey offered a dream of a reactionary black utopia in Africa, but like the NOI ultimately looked to black-owned small businesses, preaching "self-reliance" and black capitalism.

Garvey's basic ideas were taken up by the Nation of Islam, which began in 1930 when Elijah Muhammad was won to the teachings of a Detroit salesman named Wallace Fard, who he said was the incarnation of Allah. But the accommodationism at the heart of this doctrine was made explicit by Farrakhan, who renounced Elijah Muhammad's call for American blacks to be given a separate state or returned to Africa, instead proposing a program to segregate and exploit the black population within this country. In a 1985 speech, Farrakhan declared:

"So Elijah Muhammad advocated separation in a state or territory of our own either here or elsewhere...."

"If you say we must return to Africa, what nation in Africa is willing to receive 40 million of us in the condition that we are in? Let's be reasonable...."

"America is not willing to give us eight or ten states, or even one state. Let's be reasonable."

—Louis Farrakhan, *Back Where We Belong* (1989)

Instead, Farrakhan launched "People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth" (P.O.W.E.R.) which marketed the ill-fated "Clean 'N Fresh" line of cosmetics. The NOI's "black capitalism" schemes are in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, the apostle of black "emancipation" through self-help and private enterprise. And in the same way that Washington's National Negro Business League was financed by the white Scottish-born multimillionaire Andrew Carnegie, Farrakhan's perspective is premised on the benevolent acquiescence of the white power structure. In fact, he advertises himself as an alternative to revolution:

"I say to you, it is in America's best interest to permit us to do this. For right now blacks are becoming increasingly disenfranchised, and we are a social tinderbox. And if black people rise up in an evil manner, we could foment revolution inside this country, and so weaken America that she could not entertain war with her enemies on the outside."

—*Back Where We Belong*

Black people need jobs, housing, schools, health care and a fight to smash all forms of discrimination and oppression. What Farrakhan offers blacks instead is to become cockroach capitalists or their victims.

The idea that a sizable black capitalist class can develop in this profoundly racist society is, in the words of black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, a "social myth" (*Black Bourgeoisie* [1957]). While some black yuppies may dream of growing rich by setting up high-tech companies, and a few minority contractors are kept in business by government set-aside programs, there can never be a sizable black bourgeoisie in this country. Black-owned businesses account for

a mere 1 percent of the country's gross receipts. According to *Black Enterprise*, five out of the top nine black-owned businesses are car dealerships! Systematically denied loans, blacks start fewer businesses than any other ethnic group in the U.S. And if a black-owned company gets large and profitable, it is simply bought out (as happened last summer to the Johnson Products cosmetics company, a leading symbol of black enterprise).

Even at the upper end, the status of middle-class American blacks is permanently threatened. Race, not economic earnings, is the overriding factor that determines where black people can live, what clubs they can join, and whether they can make it home late at night without being harassed (or worse) by the police. While generations of immigrants of various national and ethnic groups were able, at least partially, to dissolve into the "melting pot" and begin to climb the social ladder in the U.S., black people remain forcibly segregated at the bottom. This is the racist legacy of the fact that, while the Civil War destroyed slavery in the U.S., the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the bourgeoisie in the Compromise of 1877. It will take socialist revolution through integrated working-class struggle to finish the Civil War!

Why the Nation of Islam Wanted to See Malcolm X Dead

When Farrakhan appeared on Arsenio Hall's TV talk show on February 15, Hall said his research department had determined that the "question that comes out of the neighborhood most often is 'Who killed Malcolm X?'" Since the movie, there are a lot of people who feel, 'Minister Farrakhan had something to do with that.'" Farrakhan replied: "Because of the fact that I wrote an



Bobby Seale (left) and Huey Newton, leaders of Black Panther Party, which was destroyed by government murder and frame-ups of dozens of its leaders.

article in the *Muhammad Speaks* saying that Malcolm was 'worthy of death,' and several months later Malcolm was assassinated, the press would like for black people to believe that Farrakhan had something to do with the assassination.... I don't know who murdered Malcolm."

Shortly afterward, Jack Newfield wrote a column in the *New York Post* (1 March) quoting Rev. Charles 37X Kenyatta of Harlem saying that "former Fruit of Islam leader Capt. Yusef Shah (Joseph Gravitt) admitted to him that 'Farrakhan was personally involved in the planning of Malcolm's assassination.'" The NOI filed a lawsuit against the paper and Newfield seeking a \$4.4 billion award for defamation.

Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, has also accused NOI leader Farrakhan of complicity in the assassination of her husband. Shabazz made the accusation on a March 13 WNBC-TV television program in which reporter Gabe Pressman asked her, "Do you think that Louis Farrakhan had anything to do with the death of your husband?" Shabazz replied: "Of course. Yes.... Nobody kept it a secret. It was a badge of honor. Everybody talked about it. Yes."

Pressman also aired an excerpt from

American Nazi party delegation as invited guests of June 1961 Nation of Islam convention in Washington, D.C.



Farrakhan's 1993 "Savior's Day" speech shortly after the release of Spike Lee's film *Malcolm X*, which suggested NOI complicity in the assassination. Farrakhan is seen violently thundering in response to his accusers:

"Did you teach Malcolm? Did you clean up Malcolm? Was Malcolm your traitor, or ours? And if we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours?"

Previously published excerpts of that speech quote Farrakhan declaring:

"Every prophet had a community of zealots that when you rose up against the prophet the people would rise up and kill you. When you hurt the prophet, the people say, you must die! The Messenger

talk tough, but they never do anything, unless somebody bothers Muslims'."

Malcolm let it be known that he wanted to see the Muslims abandon their abstentionism in the face of the historic struggles for black rights that were shaking the country: "I felt that, wherever black people committed themselves, in the Little Rocks and Birmingham and other places, militantly disciplined Muslims should also be there." In contrast, Farrakhan teaches that the mass civil rights struggles of the 1960s were a *mistake*. He recalls with nostalgia the era of Jim Crow segregation, when there was a greater margin for the development of small, black-owned businesses because white-owned corporations scarcely tried to attract black consumers:

"When civil rights broke down the desegregation laws we began to lose black businesses and spend our money with white businesses. So throughout the South the economic advancement that we gained under Jim Crow is literally dead." —interview in *Emerge* (August 1990)

The contrast could not be greater with Malcolm X who, by the time of his assassination, had begun to perceive the roots of oppression in capitalism: "You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker."

White Nightriders and Black Separatists

The fact that Farrakhan's principles are directly opposed to those of Malcolm X is clearly demonstrated by his policy toward the racist terrorists of the KKK. The NOI invited Tom Metzger—former Grand Dragon of the California Ku Klux Klan and now the force behind W.A.R. (White Aryan Resistance), a nationwide network of racist skinhead thugs—to its September 1985 forum in Inglewood, California and accepted a \$100 contribution from this notorious fascist. According to the right-wing *Washington Times* (30 September 1985), Metzger declared that his tie to the NOI was a "logical one": "They want their own government and their own territory and that's exactly what we want for them and for ourselves. They speak out against the Jews and the oppressors in Washington."

Historically, there has been a tendency for the black nationalists and the KKK to intersect, since they both stand for maintaining hard racial separation. Marcus Garvey met with Klansmen in the 1920s. But the Nation of Islam has had longstanding links with far-right groups. In particular, the NOI got funding, starting in 1960, from Texas oil millionaire H.L. Hunt, who financed such ultra-right movements as the Minutemen and

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Farrakhan...

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the John Birch Society (Karl Evanzz, *The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X* [1992]).

In 1961 George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, attended with his followers a Nation of Islam rally in Washington addressed by Elijah Muhammad, as well as other NOI functions. In 1962 Rockwell was invited to address the NOI's Savior's Day Convention in Chicago. Rockwell, dressed in full Nazi regalia, cried: "Elijah Muhammad is to the so-called Negro what Adolph Hitler was to the German people. He is the most powerful black man in the country. Heil Hitler!" (*The Judas Factor*). Rockwell even wrote a letter to his followers about Elijah Muhammad and the NOI:

"I was amazed to learn how much they and I agree on things; they think that blacks should get out of this country and go back to Africa or to some other place and so do we. They want to get black men to leave white women alone, and white men to leave black women alone, and so do we.

"The Honorable Elijah Muhammad and I have worked out an agreement of mutual assistance in which they will help us on some things and we will help them on others."

—James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart* (1985)

Moreover, while hundreds of civil rights workers were being beaten by the KKK, NOI cultivated relations with the Klan. After his break with the NOI, Malcolm X revealed that he had been ordered by Elijah Muhammad to represent the NOI in a meeting with KKK leaders on 28 January 1961 in Atlanta. The existence of this meeting was the subject of a secret FBI report reproduced in Clayborne Carson's *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (1991). As summarized by Michael Friedly in *Malcolm X: The Assassination* (1992):

"The reason for the meeting was to institute a nonaggression pact between the two groups since they were both, after all, fighting for the same goal: the separation of the races. The pact was formalized, and the KKK agreed to help the Muslims in their goal of setting aside a couple of states for their homeland after they were freed from the laws of the United States government."

While Malcolm X never adopted a class-struggle strategy of revolutionary integration, he broke with Elijah Muhammad's refusal to confront the KKK and Nazi racist terrorists. In the spring of 1964, Malcolm wired the leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then the most radical wing of the civil rights movement, offering to send some of his people South to "give the Ku Klux Klan a taste of their own medicine" (Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* [1965]). And the following January Malcolm X sent a telegram to American Nazi Party führer Rockwell:

"This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense—by any means necessary."

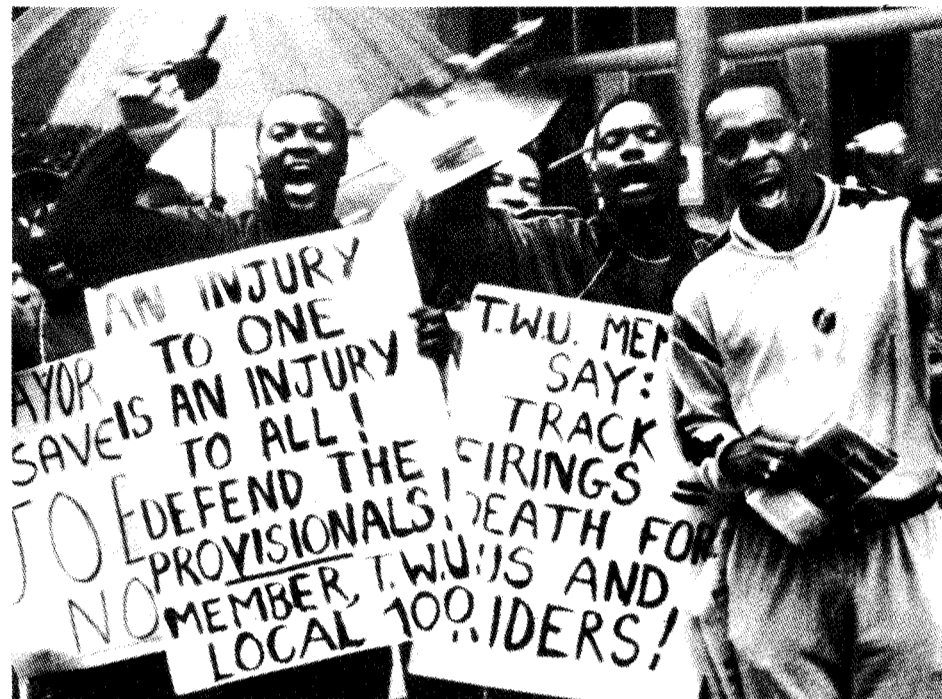
—Malcolm X Speaks (1965)

The Panthers: "Revolutionary" Nationalism vs. Cultural Nationalism

The Nation of Islam's condemnation of Martin Luther King Jr.'s prostration before his tormentors sometimes struck a responsive chord. The famous cartoon in *Muhammad Speaks* captured King's spirit: "If there is any blood spilled on the streets, let it be *our* blood!" As King led the black masses into a dead end, the NOI's condemnation of Christian

submissiveness could appear to some as something it wasn't, namely, a political criticism of King's pacifistic liberalism and ties to the white ruling class. However, the NOI abstained from the historic struggles of the black masses because to do otherwise would deny its very reason for existence.

It was the Black Panther Party, formed in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, which represented the best of a generation of radical black militants who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class and its kill-crazy cops. The Panthers considered themselves the heirs of Malcolm X because they were inspired by his advocacy of armed black self-defense against racist attacks and sought to organize independently of the Democrats and Republicans. However, as self-



Black proletariat will play a vanguard role in integrated working-class struggle for socialist revolution. Above, New York City transit workers demonstrate against layoffs.

declared "revolutionary nationalists," the Panthers rejected the Marxist understanding that the working class, because it is exploited and concentrated and organized in the process of production, held the potential social power to overthrow the racist capitalist system. Instead the Panthers proclaimed the lumpenproletariat, especially ghetto youth, the vanguard of the American revolution.

The main political opponents the Panthers confronted were what they called "pork chop" cultural nationalists, such as Ron Karenga, who preached "voluntary segregation," black capitalism and rediscovery of African culture as a program for black liberation. (Cultural nationalists like Karenga, incited by COINTELPRO, revealed themselves to be pro-police thugs and were responsible for the murder of a number of Panthers.) The Panthers fought the cultural nationalists' reactionary program which meant withdrawal from struggle. Huey Newton remarked in a prison interview:

"Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. 'Papa Doc' in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

These remarks could apply equally well to Farrakhan's NOI. And indeed, Black Panther leader Elaine Brown's description of the charged confrontation which took place between Newton and Farrakhan in 1971, at a time when NOI members were slugging it out in the streets with Panther newspaper salesmen, testifies to the depth of political hostility between the two organizations (Elaine Brown, *A Taste of Power* [1992]).

The racist capitalist state mobilized its security forces to eliminate the Black Panther Party through arrests, frame-ups and cold-blooded murder. The massive repression against the Panthers and other

militant black groups decimated the Panther leadership within a few years and wiped out an entire generation of potentially revolutionary black leaders. Government documents concerning the FBI's COINTELPRO conspiracy against mainly black radicals reveal a vast operation on the part of the racist bourgeois state. Through nearly 300 FBI operations against black groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s—233 of them against the Panthers alone—virtually every militant black leader was either physically eliminated or slammed in jail on a string of charges long enough to hold him for years. Former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is still in prison, framed up for a murder which the government *knows* he did not commit.

deeply rooted in the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Genuine black emancipation, fulfilling the promise of the Civil War, is only possible through proletarian revolution. The murderous U.S. ruling class knows this well, and so does Farrakhan—that is why they both stand in dread of militant black struggle. Farrakhan writes that "the condition of black people in America makes us the Achilles heel of this nation" (*Back Where We Belong*).

Nationalism proved to be a dead end for a generation of black militants. Black people in the U.S. are not a nation but an *oppressed race-color caste* integrated into American society while forcibly segregated at the bottom of it. The genuine alternative to both the liberal accommodationism of King and the illusory separatism of the NOI is for common struggle of the multiracial working class against the racist special oppression of blacks and other minorities and to overthrow the capitalist system which spawns it. This program of *revolutionary integrationism* must be successfully rooted in the working class and the black masses if the pent-up fury of the oppressed is not to explode in directionless conflagrations or be dissipated into the schemes of pro-capitalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan.

That black nationalism is today getting a hearing—and in its most reactionary expression—is a symptom of the despair of a whole layer of black youth who have never seen successful social struggle. The appeal of separatists is fed by a deep feeling of *black isolation* in a virulently racist (and hypocritical) society. It is telling that today it's left to the communists to fight for even the most basic democratic rights such as the right to be served at restaurants. When the Spartacist League called pickets around the country last summer to protest discrimination against black people by the Denny's chain, the NAACP led by former civil rights activist Ben Chavis was only interested in negotiating an "empowerment" agreement for black franchises, suppliers and managers, and above all a black board member, while Denny's workers slave at minimum wages without union protection.

Yet we noted that the May 1992 *multiracial* revolt in Los Angeles demonstrated that U.S. society can be polarized along *class* lines:

"But we have also insisted that the desperate condition and increasing numbers of the black ghetto poor must not obscure the fundamental fact that *black workers still play a strategic role in the American economy and even more so in the organized labor movement*....

"These black proletarians can serve as a bridge between the ghetto poor and the organized labor movement. Conditions are overripe for a massive social explosion in this country extending from the ghettos and Hispanic barrios to white skilled workers, many of them one paycheck away from bankruptcy and eviction. The eruption of integrated protests following the acquittal of the racist cops in the Rodney King case signals the potential for just such a new wave of militant social struggle."

—WV No. 551, 15 May 1992, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 9

The fight against racial oppression is *key* to workers revolution in the U.S. The labor movement is the one powerful racially integrated force in this society. Their strategic position in the labor movement makes it possible for black workers to lead in bringing down the entire racist, capitalist system through united class struggle. Black women, whom the nationalists seek to keep "in their place" as producers of babies, belong in the forefront of the fight for black freedom. Black and white and Latino and Asian revolutionaries, armed with a communist program and organized in a multiracial communist vanguard party which acts as the tribune of the people, can lead a fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited for workers revolution, to smash imperialist domination throughout the Americas, Africa and the world. ■

But the Nation of Islam and other right-wing cultural nationalists were left unscathed. Where the Panthers and the early and contradictory "black power" movement initiated by SNCC identified with the colonial enemies and victims of U.S. imperialism, Farrakhan asks America's racist rulers to help him set up jails in Africa where they can dump ghetto youth! The Nation of Islam shares Booker T. Washington's view that the races should be "as separate as the fingers," but it has no qualms about working hand in glove with the white racist state.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Tragically, as the Panthers were destroyed by bloody state repression there was not the communist intervention of a revolutionary party sizable enough to win the best of these radical black youth. In the early 1960s, the core of the future Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), fought for such an intervention into SNCC and other components of the left wing of the civil rights movement. The RT's 1963 document, "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," insisted:

"The rising upsurge and militancy of the black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism.... We must consider non-intervention in the crisis of leadership a crime of the worst sort."

The RT was subsequently expelled by the SWP, which continued its abstentionism while tailing both M.L. King and Malcolm X. As a result of the criminal abstentionism of the SWP, the "black power" radicals never found the bridge between their struggles and the program of workers power, with the consequent loss of many thousands of black militants to the revolutionary movement.

The failure of the civil rights movement when it "went North" underlined that the oppression of black people is

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

until 1999. The army generals and civilian judges who enforced apartheid terror cannot be replaced. Police and military officers responsible for massacring blacks cannot be tried for their crimes. Capitalist private property cannot be touched regardless of the democratic will of the black majority.

But the future of South Africa will not be determined by the outcome of these elections or the carefully crafted "power-sharing" arrangements between the bourgeois nationalist ANC and the National Party. Whatever the promises of "moderation" and class collaboration by Mandela & Co., the black masses believe that at long last they have a government which represents their interests and aspirations. In townships from Cape Town to the Witwatersrand, black residents say they will have "patience"—for about two months. It is a telling example of the crisis of expectations that the ANC had to deny rumors that white families' swimming pools would be nationalized. The Mandela/De Klerk regime will confront strikes and protests by workers in the powerful and combative black unions, the occupation of white-owned residential property by homeless squatters, demands to distribute white-owned land to the impoverished blacks long trapped on the bantustans.

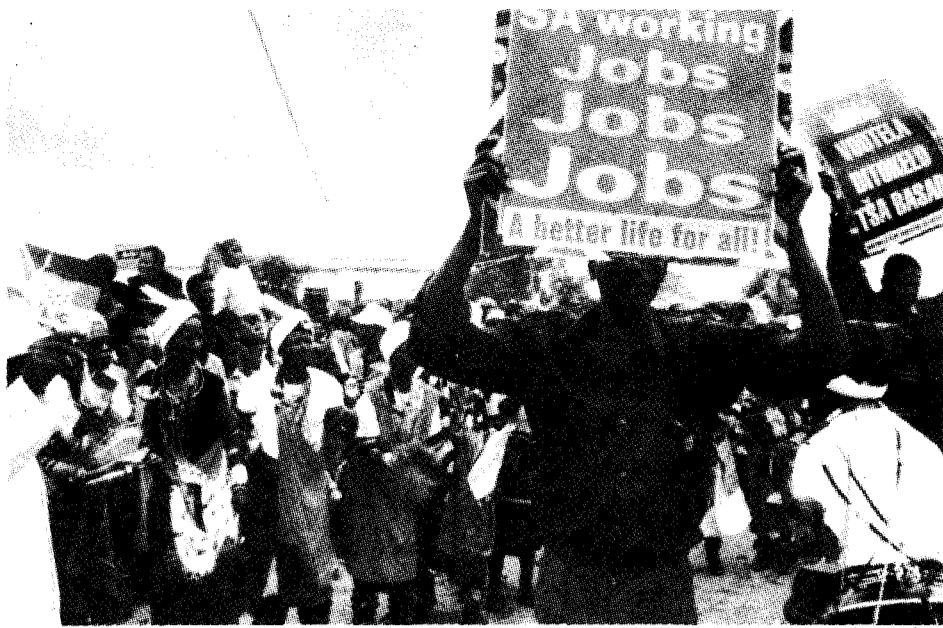
Confrontation Looming with Black Labor

In the vote results, Mandela's African National Congress got some 12 million votes, a little under 63 percent of the total; De Klerk's National Party, 4 million votes, or 20 percent; and Buthelezi's Inkatha supposedly received 2 million, or 10 percent of the vote. The ANC took an overwhelming majority in six out of eight provincial legislatures. In the Western Cape (centered on Cape Town), the Nats won 53 percent against the ANC's 33 percent, by crudely stoking fears among the "coloured" (mixed race) population over the prospect of a black government. In KwaZulu/Natal, where Inkatha is credited with over half the total while the ANC received one-third, there is evidence of massive voter fraud. However, Mandela refused to challenge this, raising speculations of a "deal within the deal," to let Buthelezi have enough votes to bring him into the cabinet. The London *Guardian* (7 May) bluntly asserted:

"The Independent Electoral Commission and the African National Congress conspired to hand control of KwaZulu/Natal to Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the hope of buying peace in the blood-soaked province."

The composition of the new cabinet tells a story about the betrayal of aspirations for black freedom and the class nature of the state. While Mandela is president and the ANC's chief yuppie Thabo Mbeki is first deputy president (and likely successor to the 75-year-old chief of state), De Klerk is now second deputy president. The ministry of finance will stay in the hands of Derek Keys, former chief executive officer of Gencor, the second-largest mining house in South Africa, who held this key position in De Klerk's NP government. The ANC's 15 cabinet ministers are heavily loaded with members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), which has long played a leading role in the Congress. Longtime SACP chief Joe Slovo is Minister of Housing and Welfare: nothing "red" about him but his trademark red socks. Slovo transformed himself from hardline Stalinist to soft-core "market socialist."

Other SACPers hold down key positions such as defense (Joe Modise, who like Slovo and assassinated SACP general secretary Chris Hani, was a former head of the ANC's armed wing, Umkonto we Sizwe), police (Sydney Mufamadi) and foreign affairs (Alfred Nzo), while former COSATU union federation leader Jay Naidoo is in charge



Butow/Black Star

ANC campaign rally in Johannesburg. Black masses' expectations of "freedom" and a better life will be shattered as new government defends interests of capitalist Randlords.

of implementing the ANC's "reconstruction accord." De Klerk reportedly complained that the Nats were not given the security ministries, but despite unease in ruling circles over "reds" in strategic positions, the fact is they will preside over the same apartheid army and apartheid police. They are prevented from carrying out even a cosmetic "purge" by the "sunset clause" designed by...Joe Slovo. So after the collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule ushered in counterrevolution across the Soviet Union and East Europe, the CP gets to join in administering a country in coalition with and in the interests of apartheid capital!

The ANC came within a couple of percentage points of the two-thirds majority that would enable it to change the new constitution and prevent vetoes by the white-right in the cabinet and new parliament. The ANC showed evident relief at this outcome, as the *New York Times* (7 May) noted:

"The decisive election outcome fell short of the two-thirds majority that would have given Mr. Mandela a free hand in writing a new Constitution, but today he professed to be pleased at the shortfall. "I feel very relieved we did not get the two-thirds majority, because already tensions were building up that we were going to write our own Constitution," he said."

What Mandela is worried about now is the looming confrontation with the black labor movement. A dispute between the ANC and its union allies broke into the open two weeks before the election, after a call by ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Slovo for a strike moratorium. Under pressure from its ranks, COSATU reacted sharply, saying it "would not in principle support any call for a general moratorium on strike action, even for a limited period" (*Weekly Mail*, 15 April).

Some of the most controversial clauses in the constitution include one that limits the right to strike to purely "economic" issues and another that sanctifies the employers' "right" to lock out workers. Last November, the black unions marched on the "power sharing" negotiations and were preparing for a general strike to knock these clauses out of the constitution. The unionists were strong-armed into calling off their strike by Slovo and COSATU head Sam Shilowa (also SACP), who promised them if they voted for the ANC, with a two-thirds majority they would immediately rewrite the constitution.

For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

In South Africa today, a genuinely communist, Bolshevik workers party is urgently needed to champion the aspirations of the black, coloured and Indian masses, as well as many anti-apartheid whites, in struggle against the bogus "power-sharing" deal with apartheid capitalism and to fight for workers revolution. In the April 26-28 elections, in fighting for the principle of proletarian opposition to all the capitalist parties, including the ANC, we gave *critical support* to the Workers List Party. The WLP

ran on an "anti-capitalist" platform against the ANC and its "government of national unity," calling for a mass workers party. As we wrote in *WV* No. 599 (29 April):

"The question of political organization of the proletariat, independent from and in opposition to the nationalist ANC, is a key strategic question for South Africa today. In this regard, the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC."

The WLP, which was initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) of Neville Alexander, while it did not present a Marxist-revolutionary



Reuters

Racist South African police, notorious for terrorizing township residents and repressing anti-apartheid struggle. They will continue their dirty job under an ANC-dominated government.

solution, at least posed the need for an independent working-class party.

In calling for a vote to the WLP, we noted that their manifesto was a standard reformist laundry list of demands. Further indication of this orientation is the fact that they reportedly accepted the election campaign funds doled out by the government for parties on the ballot. This opens them up to financial pressure from the capitalist state: he who pays the piper calls the tune. We also pointed out that nowhere in their platform did the WLP define itself in reference to the ANC, nor did it raise the need for a *socialist revolution* against the neo-apartheid regime.

Without a revolutionary program, the politics of the WOSA/WLP will inevitably amount to pressuring the ANC/NP government. This perspective of reformist pressure politics was made explicit in a post-election WLP statement (printed in *Socialist Organiser*, 5 May), which states:

"Our first salvo in the war on poverty is our campaign to have the right to work entrenched in any new constitution so that the demand for jobs for all becomes enforceable by law.... Only through the massive pressure of the streets will the parliamentary representatives of the voters be forced to bring about reforms that make a difference to the lives of the majority."

The fight for jobs is indeed a key demand in South Africa today, where 40 percent and more of the black population is unemployed. But to pose this in terms of a clause in the neo-apartheid constitution is parliamentary idiocy. What's

needed is to mobilize the *power* of black labor in concerted and militant industrial action in the struggle to sweep away the Mandela/De Klerk regime.

The ANC, in effect co-rulers of capitalist South Africa since the Transitional Executive Committee was installed last December, is now formally in office, administering the affairs of the bourgeoisie along with De Klerk's National Party. And the mass organizations of the black workers, the COSATU union federation and the SACP, are directly tied to the bourgeois ANC in a nationalist "popular front." Meanwhile, the military forces of the apartheid regime, the core of the capitalist state, remain intact, simply adding a lightly armed and impotent "peacekeeping" force to patrol the townships.

With the enormous difference that the race question plays in South Africa, this precarious situation recalls the experience of the leftist Unidad Popular government headed by Salvador Allende in Chile in the early 1970s. Like the "sunset clauses" in South Africa, Allende signed a statute of "constitutional guarantees" pledging not to touch the army. In the meantime, the UP enforced capitalist "law and order," attempting to quell strikes and land occupations, and gradually demoralizing its working-class supporters. After three years in power, the army under supposedly "constitutionalist" general Pinochet launched a bloodbath that killed tens of thousands of leftist workers and peasants, and installed a military dictatorship that drove down wages and remained in power for almost two decades. Pinochet himself is still enjoying a "sunset clause" that bans the present

"democratic" government from removing this butcher as head of the armed forces.

Thirty million black South Africans did not endure the living prisons of the mines, the "hippo" armored personnel carriers rumbling through the townships, generations of humiliation, torture and exile, just to achieve bogus "power sharing" with the fabulously wealthy Randlords and the Jo'burg stockbrokers. As the ANC military units "integrate" into the South African apartheid army, and COSATU leaders subordinate themselves to the ANC/NP regime, they will be used against the struggles of their own supporters.

Moves by the new regime to repress black struggles will rapidly discredit the ANC leadership in the face of unrest by militant sections of its base. On the other hand, attempts to conciliate the demands of the black masses may lead key sectors of the white ruling class, which retains fundamental control over the army and police, to scrap the "power sharing" deal altogether, raising the spectre of civil war. A resurgence of ethnic conflagration exacerbated by the intervention of the apartheid army could turn whole regions into bloody battlefields. Whatever happens in South Africa, one thing is certain: freedom and equality for the black African, coloured and Indian toilers demands the struggle for a black-centered workers republic under the leadership of a racially integrated revolutionary party. No "power sharing" with the Randlords! Break with the ANC! Those who toil must rule! ■

LAPD Assaults "Cinco de Mayo" Celebration

LOS ANGELES—The nation's largest celebration of Cinco de Mayo, Mexico's Independence Day, this year drew more than half a million people to downtown L.A. Packing a 36-square-block area, the crowd of overwhelmingly Latino families had flocked to "Fiesta Broadway" in anticipation of a sunny May Day of tasty food and vibrant music. But instead, the notorious racist LAPD thugs went on a rampage against the festival-goers, sending 12 people to the hospital and arresting 14 others.

Itching for the chance to inflict their new "crowd control" tactics, the police forced everyone to go through gates where particularly Latino youth were frisked. Then the cops provocatively shut down radio station KPWR's sound stage just as popular performer Stevie B. was to go on. When the young audience, which had been waiting patiently for hours, expressed their frustration by lobbing a few bottles, the LAPD launched a vicious assault, firing 12-gauge shotguns loaded with rubber bullets into the crowd and setting off a stampede of terrified Angelenos—it's a wonder no one was killed.

As usual, police and city officials are blaming the cops' victims for "provoking" the attack, smearing the youthful crowd as "gang members." The LAPD



Downs/L.A. Times

May Day: L.A. cops attack Latino participants at "Fiesta Broadway."

has always tagged black and Hispanic youth with the "gang" label, in order to treat them as criminals and thus alibi the cops' routine harassment, beatings and street executions of minority youth. The fact is that the huge crowd was remark-

ably orderly, with few disturbances reported until the LAPD caused their own. Black and Latino residents know full well how the gang in blue uniforms terrorize their neighborhoods.

Almost two years to the day since the

social explosion that rocked L.A. after the acquittal of the racist cops who nearly killed Rodney King, the LAPD—backed up by right-wing Republican mayor Richard Riordan, who was elected last year on an "anti-crime" campaign—has stepped up its repression against blacks and Latinos. The racist rulers of L.A. clearly don't recognize the implications of declaring war on the country's largest Latino community—they think they can blithely continue to ride roughshod over the people who make this city run.

In L.A., the integrated labor movement is the key to defend the ghettos and barrios against racist cop terror. Many largely Latino area unions have themselves been on the receiving end of the LAPD's batons. In militant strike actions janitors, drywallers and hotel workers have come up against these hired thugs of the capitalist state. Last fall the mostly Latino independent truckers shut down the Port of L.A. for more than a week. And just across the border, the powerful Mexican working class labors under the yoke of imperialist exploitation in "free-trade zones" and American-owned sweatshops.

A class-struggle anti-racist leadership must be forged to rouse the multiracial working class to the defense of the besieged masses of L.A. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

bitter lessons from the history of the Panthers, who lost 38 members to the government's campaign of racist murder. "The Black Panthers said they wanted to be revolutionaries, and they did. They were the best of a generation of black youth," she noted. At the same time, "There was another reason that the Panthers were destroyed. They went right up against the limits of their program.... You see in the Panthers a very, very militant organization fighting for a very reformist program."

Last month FOX-TV in L.A. ran two additional segments on Geronimo. One show detailed the role of FBI/LAPD fink Julius Butler, whose lying testimony put Geronimo behind bars. The second segment focused on the two dozen years of mistreatment, persecution and harassment of Geronimo by prison officials. It illustrates how state officials have treated Geronimo with the belief that because he was a Panther they can say any lie and can do anything to him—going all the way back to the big lie that Geronimo

supposedly committed the murder of Caroline Olsen in December 1968, at a time when the government knows he was in Oakland attending Panther meetings.

The FOX broadcast shows how, even as he was being held in L.A. County jail awaiting trial, Geronimo's racist jailers attempted to portray him as the mastermind of an attempt to break Panther spokesman George Jackson out of San Quentin prison in 1971. The "jail break," in which Jackson was supposed to have concealed a gun in an Afro wig, was a fabrication by San Quentin guards to justify their cold-blooded assassination of Jackson in the San Quentin yard. The FBI also tried to link Geronimo to the 1974 Patty Hearst kidnapping and to leadership of prison gangs. A lawsuit filed by the PDC against the California Department of Corrections is challenging these outrageous lies.

Geronimo continues to win support from the labor movement. In recent months, SEIU Local 1877 in Oakland and the Central Labor Council of Alameda County are among those unions to write Los Angeles D.A. Garcetti calling for Geronimo's release. On April 22, Jerry Williams, president

of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 in Chicago, sent a letter to Garcetti stating,

"On April 12, 1994, Amalgamated Transit Union—Local 308 members voted unanimously to demand the immediate release of Elmer 'Geronimo' Pratt.... Geronimo Pratt's only 'crime' was to pursue his vision of social justice. For that the state of California took away 23 years of his life. It is within your authority to right this injustice and we urge you to free 'Geronimo' now."

On behalf of his union, Leroy Collier, president of National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, wrote:

"We protest the great injustice done to this activist who fought for the liberation of Black people. We protest the continual harassment that ji Jaga (Pratt) has suffered at the hands of the prison officials for more than two decades."

Geronimo has won support from many quarters—NAACP head Ben Chavis, Congressman Ron Dellums, Amnesty International, trade unions like the powerful Longshoremen, Social Service Workers, L.A. Teachers, the Central Labor Council of Alameda County and many others. At the NYC forum, Paul Cooperstein of the PDC noted, "To

workers fighting to defend their jobs and their unions, those who fight to defend the right to abortion, who oppose the U.S.' bloody massacres as in Iraq and Somalia, to anti-racists everywhere, we say hard class struggle is needed to defeat the barrage of reaction now hitting minorities, workers, women and youth. The time is now to fight for Geronimo who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system behind bars for too long. Freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!"

The fight against Geronimo's ongoing persecution costs a lot of money. We are up against the vast resources of the state. To help defray the costs of litigation we urge you to send contributions to the PDC, earmarked "Geronimo."

* * *

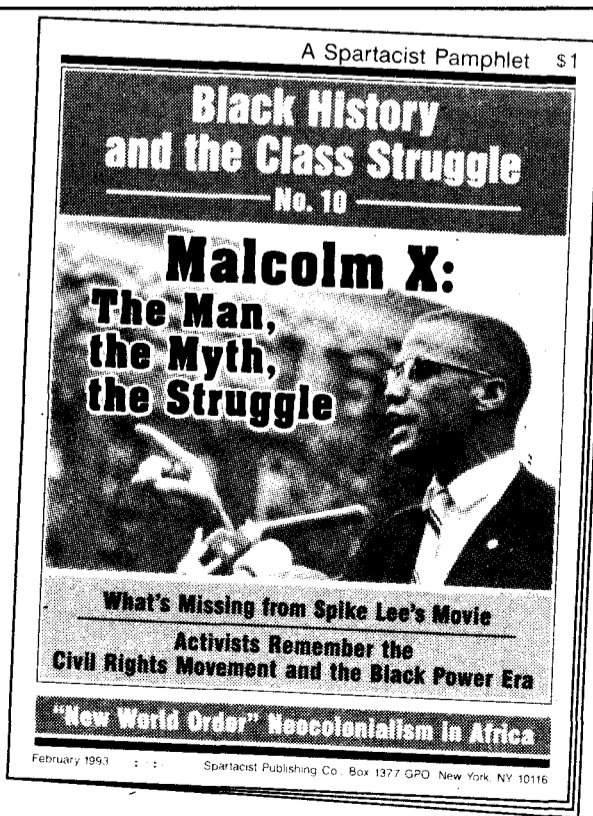
We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy, send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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- Activists Remember the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Era
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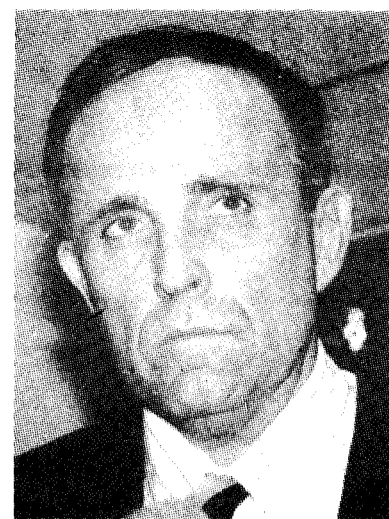
Killer Cops...

(continued from page 16)

As the Park Hill community took to the streets in outrage, Giuliani and top cop Bratton unleashed their "massive response" policy. On Saturday, 40 youth, some as young as 4 years old, were besieged by over 300 cops. One cop was seen pounding on a protester with his riot shield. By the end of the day, at least eleven protesters were arrested. The night before, when 150 residents protested the killing, cops were mobilized from all five boroughs, arresting four people and beating a photographer from the College of Staten Island. We demand: Drop all charges against the Park Hill protesters! Killer cops out of Park Hill!

Cop terror against minorities on Staten Island is Giuliani's payback to racist voters there who provided his margin of victory against Dinkins. It's his way of saying that if they stick with New York City he'll keep blacks "in their place." Giuliani inaugurated his reign with the cop killing of 17-year-old Shuaib Latif in Brooklyn, while it was Democrat Dinkins who hired more cops than any other NYC mayor in history. Giuliani's "massive response," the truancy roundups of minority youth, arming cops with 9mm guns: all this is part of the *national* racist "law-and-order" campaign sponsored by Democrat Clinton's White House. The federal government declares to residents of housing projects in Chicago and elsewhere: agree to drug sweeps or we'll throw you out on the street!

Racist cop terror *must* be fought, but how? "Civilian review boards" and "independent commissions" pushed by Fulani and other misleaders have done absolutely *nothing* to stop these attacks. The same is true with demands for more black cops, pushed by the likes of Al Sharpton, himself an admitted FBI fink. Ernest Sayon was beaten to death by a black cop. This case shows that this is only a scheme for "equal opportunity" to commit racist terror. A group called the International Socialist Organization (ISO) popped up in the Park Hill protests Saturday, recklessly leading the few dozen defenseless black youth up against the vastly larger police forces and then abandoning the protesters to face the cop attack. This is criminal! Even on paper the ISO misleads militants about the



McDarrah/Village Voice



WV Photos

NYC mayor Giuliani's racist cops launch vicious charge against black youth at April 30 Staten Island protest.

police, saying that these murderous hired thugs of the ruling class are...part of the workers movement! Their British co-thinkers support cop strikes and brag about "prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives and would read *Socialist Worker*!"

The bosses' cops cannot be "cleaned up" or otherwise reformed. The police are the guardians of a racist *system* that depends on the oppression of blacks and the exploitation of all workers for its survival. The killings of Shuaib Latif and Ernest Sayon are the bloody edge of Giuliani's attacks on all of the working people: massive layoffs, cutbacks in schools,

housing, hospitals. Minority communities must *link up* with the integrated labor movement, which has the potential to *shut this city down*. Today, militant transit workers are fighting to mobilize the full power of the Transport Workers Union behind black track worker James Frazier, a victim of a nearly fatal police shooting who was then fired by the Transit Authority bosses and brought up on phony gun possession charges.

What holds back these necessary struggles is the rotten labor "leadership" that works hand in glove with Giuliani and Wall Street on gutting the jobs and benefits of the workers of this city. We

need a new leadership, an integrated workers party, to fight for all the oppressed in struggle against the capitalist rulers. Bloody cop terror will be swept away forever when the multiracial working class runs this society—not for the profits of a few, but for the benefit of all. We need a socialist fight to destroy this system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression!

The integrated labor movement must mobilize to defend New York's besieged minority communities. Killer cops out of Park Hill! Drop all charges against the Park Hill protesters!

New York Spartacist League

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

The CHA raids involve police from nine agencies, including the sinister Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF); recently even the Secret Service got in on the act with a plan to "return order" to the projects. As CHA chairman Vincent Lane vowed that the sweeps would continue, Cisneros ultimately admitted the government probably couldn't impose mandatory searches. But extorting "voluntary consent" will be business as usual for the CHA. Lane arrogantly declares: "If you don't like it, you don't live here."

CHA residents must carry a pass reminiscent of the worst days of apartheid South Africa. Hundreds have been arrested and *thousands* driven out through harassment or eviction on pretexts ranging from drug possession to allowing non-residents to spend the night. (Lane even tried making *truancy* grounds for eviction.) In August 1992 CHA guards killed a young black man at the Harold Ickes Homes. When residents and others protested, the cops arrested 22 people. Bill Small, a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, faces up to ten years in prison on two counts of aggravated battery. We say: Drop the charges now!

The CHA's chilling police-state methods are catching on across the country. On April 27, nearly four dozen housing cops, federal agents and National

Guardsmen staged a dawn raid on three projects in the South Bronx. Armed with firearms, tranquilizer guns, battering rams—everything, it seems, except a warrant—the government commandos conducted a room-by-room search and arrested 31 people on charges of drug possession. Two days later, NYC cops killed a young black man in Staten Island during a drug sweep.

A model for Clinton's plans is the HUD-controlled Geneva Towers in San Francisco, which is surrounded by a ten-foot fence and bristles with surveillance cameras, including on rooftops. To get to their apartments—which are regularly broken into by 60 heavily armed private security guards—tenants and visitors have to pass through a "security room" where they can be frisked or handcuffed and beaten if they look "suspicious" (*Wall Street Journal*, 26 April).

Clinton's attack on the rights of a voiceless and vulnerable sector of the population foreshadows a widening assault against *everyone's* rights to privacy and to bear arms. The 1990 Gun Free School Zone Act, now before the Supreme Court, makes it a federal offense to possess any firearm—loaded or not—within *1,000 feet* of any school building, even if unoccupied. And with the passage of a ban on so-called assault weapons in the House last week, Congress is well on the way to approving Clinton's draconian crime bill, which will mean more killer cops, more prisons, more death penalties and more gun control.

The "war on crime," like the "war on

drugs," is nothing but *state terror* aimed at keeping minorities and all working people in this decaying capitalist society in line.

The CHA cop sweeps are part of a policy to depopulate and sell off CHA properties (see "From Chicago to the West Bank," WV No. 538, 8 November 1991). Democratic mayor Richard Daley and CHA boss Lane plan to turf residents out of Cabrini-Green on the Near North Side to free it up for capitalist developers expanding west from the Gold Coast. Said one resident, "It's like an Indian reservation. They want the land, so they are going to chase us off" (*Chicago Tribune*, 21 April). Meanwhile, unused luxury housing and office space continue to proliferate in and around the downtown Loop. A revolutionary leadership would mobilize Chicago's powerful trade unions to open up this housing to the homeless and the ghetto poor.

For years the Democratic politicians who run Chicago have blatantly ignored a court order for the construction of integrated public housing in scattered sites as an alternative to the CHA's high-rise "vertical ghettos." Now Lane is cynically promoting a few token scattered-site projects to cover up the destruction of public housing, while assuring suburbanites that they are "not going to be overrun with poor people" (*Chicago Tribune*, 20 April). When Daley proposed relocating most CHA residents to the suburbs rather than among *his* constituents in the all-white Northwest and Southwest Sides, it set off a firestorm of racism. Chicago

alderman James Laski raved: "If somebody wants to call me a racist for not wanting scattered-site housing in my community, so be it."

Today even the utterly reasonable demand for massive public works to construct quality, integrated housing for all runs head-on against the limitations of a decaying profit system. More than ever, the ghettos have become holding pens for a whole layer of permanently unemployed black youth condemned to an early death because this racist ruling class deems them to be a "surplus population." It will take a socialist revolution to eliminate the horrors of racism, homelessness and police terror, and unleash the resources of this society for the benefit of all the oppressed. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
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New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
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Staten Island

Giuliani's Killer Cops

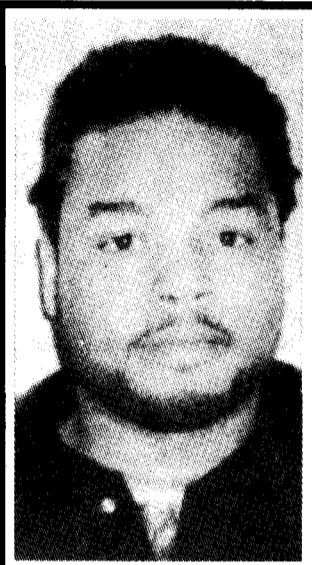
The brutal police killing of 22-year-old Ernest Sayon, a black Staten Island youth whose family immigrated from Liberia, has provoked outrage throughout New York City. The Spartacist League has taken part in protests against this racist atrocity, and issued the May 5 leaflet reprinted below.

The death of Ernest "Kase" Sayon was an out-and-out racist killing! On April 29, he was savagely beaten by one Officer Brown at Staten Island's Park Hill Apartments during a drug stakeout. The cops refused to let an ambulance crew administer treatment, and less than an hour later Sayon was pronounced dead at a nearby hospital. One Park Hill youth protester spoke for all: "This is Rodney King all over again."

To the racist rulers of this city, Ernest Sayon's death is just a bit of "collateral damage" in the "war on drugs." It's a war all right: a war on minorities and poor people left to rot by the capitalist rulers who have nothing else to offer us. As Sayon's aunt bitterly expressed, "The mayor said we're trying to clean the community up and these things are unfortunate. What are we, roaches? You don't handcuff someone and kill them. Everyone tells the same story about what happened. It was in broad daylight."

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"War on Drugs" Targets Minorities



Ernest Sayon

Staten Island Advance



April 30 protest on Staten Island against NYPD killing of Sayon was met by "massive response" of cop terror.

WV Photo

Clinton Goes After Bill of Rights

Racist Search-and-Destroy Raids on Public Housing

Chicago

CHICAGO—A 4 a.m. kick through the door, and you're surrounded in your own home by uniformed thugs armed to the teeth and screaming racist slurs. Nazi Germany? No, this is Clinton's America. As part of his racist "war on crime," the "Democratic" president is dead set on overturning the Fourth Amendment's guarantee against unlawful search and seizure when it comes to the nation's desperately poor and largely minority public housing residents.

Chicago is the testing ground for a series of repressive measures Clinton announced last month to turn public housing projects across the country into virtual concentration camps. Prepared by the departments of Justice and Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the blueprint calls for surrounding projects with "protective fencing," installing metal detectors at

all entrances, speeding up the issuance of search warrants, frisking residents and guests and writing tenant "consent" to no-knock searches into leases. The cop raids would enforce policies calling for the eviction of anyone possessing even a legal firearm.

When a federal district court ruled on April 7 that a five-year-old Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) policy authorizing random apartment sweeps without a search warrant was unconstitutional, Clinton fumed with cynical concern for the "rights" of crime victims. But Ethel Washington, president of the Robert Taylor Homes advisory council, spoke for thousands of CHA residents when she said, "The law is not supposed to be for just the rich.... They want to tear up the Constitution." A black World War II vet shouted at HUD secretary Henry Cisneros when he visited the Chicago projects, "This is what they did in [Nazi] Germany. Now they're trying to do this to the black man" (Chicago Sun-Times, 12 April).

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Clinton and cops take aim at inner-city public housing residents.

Archambault/U.S. News & World Report