

Lockdown U.S.A.

Racist Prison Hell: 1.5 Million Behind Bars



Photo: Leifer/Camera 5

America's rulers have embarked on an all-sided assault on the poor, the elderly and children. In the past month, Congressional committees have voted to scrap the national school lunch program, food supplements for pregnant women and infants, assistance to unmarried mothers with children and aid to thousands of poor children with physical or

mental disabilities. There are also plans afoot to reduce the Medicare program for the elderly, while the so-called balanced budget amendment—which recently failed by one vote in the Senate—would entirely gut the Social Security system, already regularly looted by the federal government. Now the Republican-controlled Congress is rewriting the

Democrats' "crime" bill, passed last fall, to make it even more vicious, jacking up federal subsidies for spending on prisons to over \$10 billion. And crowning it all is the massive speedup on death row.

The bipartisan drive to deny millions of poor people even a semblance of subsistence has nothing to do with "bal-

ancing the budget," which is bloated by hundreds of billions in military expenditures. What they want is to be rid of a whole layer of the black population which has been deemed "surplus" by the racist rulers. The coldblooded policy of starving black welfare mothers and their kids is augmented by a racist "war on
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For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Turmoil Brewing in China

After their bloody suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising, the aged bureaucrats running the People's Republic of China smugly basked in a booming economy as other Stalinist regimes collapsed throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union. Today, working people from East Germany to Siberia face the miseries of mass impoverishment and all-sided social reaction produced by capitalist counterrevolution. In response, many leftists, especially leftover Stalinists, have desperately latched onto Deng Xiaoping's "socialist

market economy" to answer the bourgeoisie's triumphal cry of the "death of communism."

Yet capitalist financiers and industrialists around the world are also praising Deng's China, and pouring in tens of billions of investment dollars, fueling its galloping growth rate and an apparent rise in living standards of workers and peasants. Why? Many imperialist spokesmen see the "Chinese model" as a *better road to counterrevolution*, aiming at a regime of "market authoritarianism" (as an American banker in Hong Kong, William Overholt, advocates) along the lines of South Korea, Singapore and...Taiwan.

The impending death of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping is serving to throw a clearer light on developments in the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers
continued on page 8



South China Morning Post

Explosive situation in China as masses of unemployed laborers flow from countryside into cities looking for work.



Prison Bans WV Over Vietnam Photo

The authorities of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice-Institutional Division outlawed an issue of *Workers Vanguard* and prevented men and women languishing in the Lone Star State's jail cells from receiving their subscriptions. The particular issue in question (WV No. 613, 30 December 1994) was banned because of the photograph reprinted again here which depicts the utter terror U.S. imperialism inflicted on the Vietnamese people. The photograph shows Vietnamese children running away from a U.S. napalm bomb attack on their village. The young girl in the center of the picture ripped off her burning clothes as she fled.

This photograph brought the truth and horror of U.S. imperialism's dirty war home to many Americans and stirred revulsion against a government that burned babies in the name of "national security." This photograph by AP photographer Huynh Cong Ut won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize in 1973. Today, it is banned in Texas. In a "publication denial notification," the Texas authorities inform us that "page 2 contains picture of a nude child" and notes:

"(d) A specific factual determination has been made that the publication is detrimental to prisoner's rehabilitation because it would encourage deviate criminal sexual behavior."

Maybe the bureaucrats in the Texas Department of Criminal Justice get off fantasizing about human bodies blown to bits by U.S. anti-personnel bombs and find babies charred beyond recognition by Dow Chemical Company's incendiary napalm jelly a real turn-on. We don't, but neither would we underestimate the state of Texas' lust for genocide.

After all, this is the state which colluded with Janet Reno's "Justice Department" in murdering 86 men, women and children by burning them to death in the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas on the pretext of "child abuse"! This is the state whose uncontrollable thirst for death has made it the "legal lynching" capital of the country—Texas has executed over 90 prisoners since the

death penalty was reinstated in the U.S. In Fort Worth, Christian fundamentalist prison authorities have even gone so far as to establish a segregated prison population, the "Christian Rehabilitation Pod" (known by inmates as the "God Pod"), to force white Christian "morals" down the throats of people imprisoned in Texas.

The hypocritical and truly obscene morality of the capitalist state and its vast prison complex recall the words of playwright George Bernard Shaw: "The nation's morals are like its teeth: the more decayed they are the more it hurts to touch them." Looks like we really hit a nerve. *Stop government censorship of prisoners' mail! Let Workers Vanguard be read!* ■

Mao's China: A Deformed Social Revolution



TROTSKY

The Stalinist bureaucrats in China are dismantling many of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, which smashed the semicolonial landlord-capitalist rule of Chiang Kai-shek and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state. In 1955, the then-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party warned that Stalinism would imperil the revolutionary gains, and called for workers political revolution to oust the bureaucratic misrulers.

Today, in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats have vastly increased social inequality and brought the country to the brink of capitalist restoration.

China is a deformed workers state because of the Stalinist deformation of the Third Chinese Revolution.

The contradiction between the conquests of the revolution and the bureaucratic rulers is the central internal contradiction of Chinese society, determining its movement. At the same time, it is the point of departure for the Trotskyists to base their policy for China....

(6) Exploiting the social antagonisms, along with their prestige as leaders of the revolution, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has entrenched itself as an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism.

(7) The revolution, deformed by the ruling bureaucracy, manifests its proletarian character in the new property relations and planning; the superiority of these new productive relations and institutions is bound to assure a stormy growth of industry and of the Chinese proletariat, numerically and qualitatively, increasing its specific social weight and bringing it into conflict with Stalinist methods of rule, management and administration....

(12) On the road to socialism the workers would have to abolish the bureaucracy along with the Mao leadership that now heads it....

The impact of the Third Chinese Revolution, the social transformations it brought about, the blows it delivered to world capitalism, have been second only to those of the 1917 Revolution in Russia. The "Russian question" has been the main axis in world politics for nearly four decades; it now has found its extension and deepening in the "Chinese question."...

One thing is certain, there is no solution along the course of the Peking and Kremlin bureaucracies. Their narrow nationalist course, their coexistence line, brings them into conflict with the needs of the world socialist revolution, but it will not save them from imperialist assault. The interests of the working class in the capitalist countries, just as the interests of the workers of China and the Soviet Union, are expressed in the program of the permanent revolution, the program upon which the Fourth International is founded.

—"The Third Chinese Revolution and Its Aftermath," resolution adopted by 1955 Socialist Workers Party Convention



LENIN



UT/AP

PUBLICATION DENIAL NOTIFICATION

TITLE OF PUBLICATION Workers Vanguard 12/30/94 N613

The above listed publication has been reviewed and denied in accordance with Section 39 of the TDCJ-ID Rules and Regulations for the reason(s) checked below:

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REMARKS: Page 2 contains picture of a nude child.

(Qualifies for clipping. Page 2 [1 page].)

International Campaign of Protest—Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee
All proceeds from these events go to Jamal's legal defense

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Mary Ann Cantillon, Political Action Committee member, and Isabel Weese, Bargaining Committee member and former president, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391	Jerusalem B. Kidanu, Colour Connected Man Chui Leung and Aias Cienfuegos, Third World Alliance, Vancouver
Gord Hill, Anti-Fascist Info	Jim Loughheed, 1st Vice President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local
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*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.

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Rubin Hurricane Carter, Executive Director, Association in Defense of the Wrongly Convicted*	Zoltan Lugosi, Prison News Service
Lennox Farrell, Black Action Defense Committee	Peter Stevens, Partisan Defense Committee

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Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.

For more information: (416) 593-4138

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 618

10 March 1995

Union Tops Obstruct All-Out Strike

German Metal Workers Stand Off Bosses' Offensive

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 117, March/April 1995, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

MARCH 7—After provoking the first West German metal workers strike in eleven years, today the metal industry bosses agreed to a settlement with the powerful IG Metall union. Until the last minute, through ten days of the strike, the Gesamtmetall employers association refused to make a counteroffer to the union's demand for a 6 percent wage raise, instead insisting on "compensation" for the scheduled reduction of the workweek to 35 hours. The gradual introduction of a 35-hour week was won as a result of the seven-week strike in 1984. To back up their hardline stance, the bosses made elaborate plans for widespread lockouts. But the union was in a strong position, with the German economy on an upswing, profits soaring, order books full and signs of dissension in the employers' ranks. This morning, after all-night negotiations, Gesamtmetall accepted a pattern agreement for a 4 percent wage increase, and the 35-hour workweek will go ahead with no loss in pay.

The IG Metall leadership, which has long preached "social partnership" with the bosses, never wanted an all-out strike. With more than 3 million members, it certainly has plenty of muscle and could have quickly paralyzed the metalworking industry. Instead, the union tops limited the strike to 33 plants with barely 30,000 workers in the state of Bavaria. IG Metall's Bavarian leader had threatened that "if it comes to lockouts we will ensure that all hell breaks out in every town in the federal republic" (*Financial Times*, 28 February). This worried many of the metal bosses; the head of the AEG household appliances division complained that "lockouts mean war." And *Der Spiegel* (6 March) reported "hard criticism" within Gesamtmetall over the employers association's "confrontation course," as many companies sought separate deals with the union.

The strategists of the metal bosses association embarked on a hard line seeking to sharply raise the rate of exploitation, in order, they claimed, to regain "competitiveness." Over the last four years, with the cooperation of the union tops, they have been able to drive down real wages by roughly 4 percent. But with German wage costs 40 percent higher than in Japan and 70 percent higher than in the U.S., the bosses are far from satisfied. As a result of the destruction of East German industry following capitalist reunification, and the longest recession since World War II in the West, the German Labor Federation (DGB) has lost 17 percent of its members since 1991. At least a sector of the bourgeoisie thought the time had come to land a heavy blow against the workers, and has been calling for open class warfare. The head of the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce denounced the metal workers settlement as "a slap in the face."

In the period after World War II, workers' struggles in West Germany won higher wages and social services. But the decades of so-called "social partnership"—when the bosses deducted a few

crumbs from their profits in exchange for the social-democratic union tops selling out the strikes—are over. The current attacks on the unions are above all a direct result of the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. With the annexation of the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state, the DDR, the capitalists no longer felt the need to buy the loyalty of the West German workers in waging the Cold War against "communism." At the same time, the myth of a "golden West" was propagated to subvert the DDR internally.

The dismantling of the "social state" is part of a broader development throughout Europe. In Italy, the rulers

de facto "grand coalition" with the CDU/FDP cabinet through its control of the Bundesrat, the upper house of parliament. At a meeting with federal chancellor Kohl and employers' representatives at the end of January, DGB union leader Dieter Schulte responded to the bosses' demands for "labor flexibility" by offering to introduce Saturday work with no premium pay. Last year, IG Metall chief Klaus Zwickel worked out a deal with the SPD government of Niedersachsen (co-owner of Volkswagen) to introduce a four-day workweek at VW as a "job-saving" measure. In reality, this turned out to be a 20 percent wage cut, and saved no jobs at all.

IG Metall workers rally in Frankfurt, February 15. With more than 3 million members, an all-out strike by powerful metal workers union could spark working-class offensive against German capitalists' war on labor and minorities.



want to break the power of the workers movement and solve their budget crisis by immiseration of the working people. Italian workers answered with the largest general strike in decades, which forced the bourgeoisie to postpone its pension "reform" and led to the fall of the right-wing Berlusconi government. But with the support of the Italian PDS (Democratic Left Party), the bourgeoisie was able to install the Dini government of "technocrats" which seeks to ram through the same brutal program against the workers.

The showdown in the German metal industry was anticipated for some time. The re-election of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrat/Free Democrat (CDU/FDP) coalition government last October, although by a razor-thin margin, gave the green light to assaults on social services. The head of the German Employers Association, Klaus Murmann, demanded that Germany "say goodbye to the welfare state in its present form" (*Capital*, November 1994). But by year's end, more moderate elements in the bourgeoisie were beginning to get worried about a wholesale assault on the "German model" of class collaboration. Under the headline, "They're Setting the House Aflame," *Der Spiegel* (26 December 1994) wrote: "Almost daily the employers' representatives are demanding new givebacks from wages and benefits. They say they want to improve the competitiveness of the economy. In reality they are threatening social peace. Even in their own ranks, the proposals are controversial...."

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the leaders of the unions offered to continue collaborating. The SPD is in a

But the profit-hungry employers wanted much more.

To undercut labor costs and weaken the union, the bosses have begun transferring production to low-wage countries such as Mexico, South Africa, and above all the former deformed workers states of East Europe. This trend will now undoubtedly escalate. Volkswagen pays workers in its Skoda works in Czechoslovakia one-tenth as much as VW workers earn in Wolfsburg. The trade-union bureaucrats' only "answer" is the poison of protectionism, which sets unionists against their fellow workers abroad. Given the intensifying international competition, this is a call for trade war, which ultimately leads to imperialist war. And the SPD knows its place: today they defend "production site Germany," tomorrow, as in the past, it will be defending the "fatherland."

The Social Democrats also played a key role in the drive for capitalist reunification, which whipped up German nationalism, preparing the ground for the rising racist terror against immigrant communities that was reinforced by the wholesale destruction of the East German economy. In West Germany as well, unemployment has been at the highest level since the immediate postwar years, and economic insecurity has fed Nazi attacks in the West. The SPD's support for gutting the right to asylum helped spark the 1992 Rostock pogrom, and through its stranglehold of the unions it blocked strike action in protest against the fascist arson attacks that killed Turkish workers and their families in Mölln and Solingen. The Spartakist Workers Party fights for full citizenship rights for immigrants and for mobilizing the

power of the working class to smash the fascists.

While the bosses' offensive was stalled, the IG Metall strike could have been the springboard for concerted class struggle across the board. For starters, the metal strike should have been extended to the entire country. This would have brought VW workers, angry over the "four-day workweek" swindle, into the streets. Turkish workers concentrated in the Ruhr are a stronghold of union militancy. The economically weaker East German workers, who showed their will to struggle in a solid 1993 metal strike, need the full strength of the unions behind them in fighting for equal pay for equal work. But the DGB bureaucrats do everything to keep the workers' struggles in East and West separate. Meanwhile, the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR), in its self-appointed role as "people's representative" of the East, is supporting an SPD-led government in the state of Sachsen-Anhalt, whose economics minister was in charge of the chemical industry for the Treuhand, the hated government agency which has laid waste to East German industry.

Metal workers showed their readiness to strike together. At the beginning of the strike, a bus with workers from Zwickau (in the East) showed up at the

gate of a plant in Ingolstadt in Bavaria to walk the picket line, while a solidarity delegation from the auto workers in Stuttgart showed up at AEG. In contrast to the U.S., Britain or France, where unions have been greatly weakened over the last decade, IG Metall remains a powerhouse of German labor. But in the long run, in the face of the bosses' threats to shift production to low-wage countries, it is necessary to wage an international workers struggle. This underscores the need for the leadership of an internationalist workers party, built in struggle against social democracy—both West (SPD) and East (PDS) variants—which is the main obstacle to waging and winning even defensive struggles.

The answer to the current offensive of capital is not to uphold a non-existent "social market economy" and the institutionalized class collaboration of "social partnership." It is necessary to wage a broader struggle to defend social gains, such as the day-care centers which were shut down by the thousands in the East as a result of the restoration of capitalism. Not just a 35-hour week, but a fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours is necessary, to divide up the available work among all those seeking it, with no loss in pay. But such a plan, together with a massive program of public works, can not be carried out under capitalism. What's needed is a workers government based on the power of democratically elected workers councils. In contrast to the DDR deformed workers state with its myth of building "socialism in half a country," this can only be done through international extension of the revolution leading to a Socialist United States of Europe. ■



Join the Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Rallies in U.S., Paris, Tokyo, Sydney

Around the United States, in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, and Washington, D.C., and internationally from Berlin to Paris to Tokyo and Sydney, Australia, trade unionists, students, minorities, leftists and death penalty abolitionists came together over the last three weeks in rallies and demonstrations to demand, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

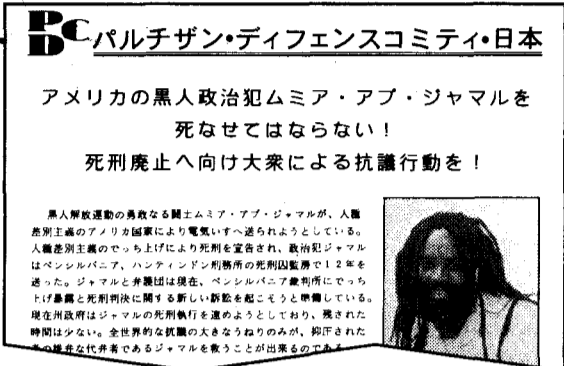
At a February 21 protest rally outside the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, a statement was read from the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs (CGT) dockers union in Marseille: "Today they condemn a man to death because he had the courage to say 'No' to barbarism and arbitrary cruelty—but above all to racism against blacks and the poor... Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!"

In London, several members of parliament have endorsed a motion by Labour MP Neil Gerrard which reads, "That this House is dismayed at the decision of the Governor of Pennsylvania to begin signing death warrants; believes that the death penalty is barbaric; and in particular calls on the Governor not to sign such a warrant in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, when there is grave concern that a serious miscarriage of justice took place in his conviction."

The life of Jamal—a former Black Panther, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist who was sentenced to die for his political beliefs—is in imminent danger. On February 28, Pennsylvania's Republican governor Tom Ridge signed three death warrants. While the state house gears up to open the execution chambers which have not been used since 1962 in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia police have renewed their vendetta to silence Jamal through death (see article on page 5).

At a February 25 Oakland rally, held at the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 hall, Jamal's lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, told a crowd of some 200 people, "The opposition is strong and the odds are great, but the support that's developing is also strong... So it just might be that this case becomes the focal point of the national and even the international debate on the death penalty."

Although modest in size relative to the urgent task at hand—to save the life



Leaflet by Partisan Defense Committee of Japan calls to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" PDC-initiated rallies in Tokyo (right), Sydney, Australia (below).



Spartacist Japan

Australasian Spartacist



of this courageous and eloquent spokesman for the oppressed—the united-front rallies and protests sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal organizations internationally have brought together individuals and organizations behind which stand thousands of workers, youth, minorities, opponents of the death penalty and others who can and *must* be mobilized in Jamal's defense. In the proletarian tradition of anti-sectarian defense work, embodied in the slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all" and carried forward by the PDC, many other left organizations

were encouraged to participate in these rallies, and did so with speakers and literature tables.

• In Sydney, Australia, a February 9 rally at the Automotive, Food, Metals and Engineering Union hall raised over \$900 for Jamal's legal defense. Speakers included student and trade-union militants as well as Sam Watson, manager of the Aboriginal Legal Service in Brisbane.

• On February 16, a rally in Boston, whose speakers included well-known Boston University professor Howard Zinn, raised over \$600 for Jamal's defense. The same day a rally was held in Atlanta, co-sponsored by the Georgia State University Black Student Alliance, whose president has suggested a city-wide action conference for Mumia bringing together all the BSAs in the area.

• In Paris, the February 21 protest demonstration was supported by the Committee for the Defense of Liberties and Human Rights, the League for the Rights of Man, the CGT National Journalists Union and Voie Proletarienne (OCML). Letters of protest to Governor Ridge were read from the Confederation of Kurdish Associations in Europe, from Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld in the name of the "Sons and Daughters of Deported French Jews," and from the CGT union of proofreaders as well as the dockers.

• In Washington, D.C. a rally on February 25 at Howard University was addressed by Mrs. Dorothy Copp Elliott, whose son Archie was killed by the police in Prince George's County, and by George Moffat, a former political prisoner from South Africa, who spent 15 years imprisoned on Robben Island. Leigh Dingerson, executive director of

the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, told the rally, "You can't take the slime out of the swamp, and you can't take the racism out of capital punishment. It simply would not exist and could not exist if it weren't for the disparities that make it up."

• At the February 25 rally in Oakland, which was co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, statements of support for Mumia came from Congressman Ron Dellums, Angela Davis and author Alice Walker. ILWU International president Brian McWilliams sent a letter of protest to Governor Ridge. A statement from the Northern California Newspaper Guild noted its "special duty to prevent an activist journalist from becoming the first U.S. political execution...since the Rosenbergs."

From behind bars at Mule Creek State Prison, former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been imprisoned for close to 25 years for a crime he did not and could not have committed, wrote of Jamal's "compassion and outstanding abilities" and called "for those who have supported me to join the struggle to save the life of Mumia." A moving personal account by Jamal's sister, Lydia Wallace, brought a standing ovation from the crowd who contributed over \$1,700 to Jamal's defense.

• In Tokyo, on February 26, over \$300 was raised at a forum attended by death penalty opponents in Japan, the only other major industrialized country which still has the death penalty. Speakers included a Meiji University law professor

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Urgent: Send Funds for Jamal Defense!

YOU CAN HELP—JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL! Jamal fights with his voice and his pen. We must organize mass protest to save his life and fight the racist death penalty. Take petitions. Ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" The organized force of labor, minorities and death penalty abolitionists must be brought out in social struggle and protest to stop the executioner. For information on how you can join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Par-

tisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

SEND \$\$\$ FOR JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE NOW! Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money being raised through these rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. Since February 9, over \$12,000 has been collected and pledged! More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

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Youth Outrage Over Racist Cop Killing

Paterson, N.J.

Paterson, New Jersey has been rocked for more than a week by protests over the coldblooded police killing of black high school student Lawrence Meyers. The 16-year-old youth was shot in the back of the head by white housing cop Ronald Cohen February 21 during a joint "drug patrol" with city police outside the bleak Ellison Street housing project. Lawrence Meyers died three days later. He was buried on March 2.

For three straight days after the shooting, hundreds of Meyers' fellow students at Eastside High School and other youth, predominantly black, took to the streets in outrage. Students at Eastside and John F. Kennedy High walked out twice to march on City Hall. A vigil has been kept at a shrine placed at the site of the shooting.

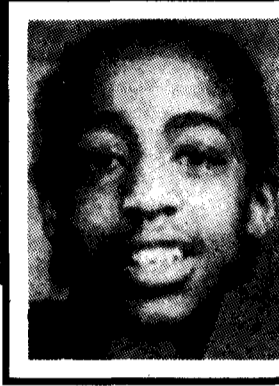
Cohen was granted leave with pay, giving the usual cop alibi that the unarmed youth had tried to grab his gun. But eyewitnesses say that Meyers had his arms stretched out in front when he was shot. One angry youth at a March 3 protest said, "Suspension with pay, a.k.a. a paid vacation. I'd like to see justice." Many protesters recalled the racist cop killing of another 16-year-old black youth, Phillip Pannell, in nearby Teaneck in 1990. Cohen has now hired the same lawyer who got Pannell's killer acquitted of criminal charges.

Paterson cops responded to the outpouring of protest with a virtual state of siege, surrounding Eastside High and arresting 33 demonstrators. "They treat us like animals," said a Hispanic student. On February 23, cops maced over 100 youth as they walked out of an NAACP meeting shouting for justice, while a National Guard helicopter hovered overhead. Earlier that day, a police cruiser ran down 16-year-old Roberto Rodriguez while elementary school students watched in horror.

The cops have gone out of their way to provoke a riot which they could use



High school students protest killing of 16-year-old Lawrence Meyers (right) by Paterson cop. Police responded with virtual state of siege.



to justify a bloody massacre. The day after the shooting, as Meyers lay in the hospital on life-support systems, they went on the air to say he had died. Two days later, an Eastside High student was arrested for "inciting a riot," only hours after he had urged protesters at City Hall to stay calm. That night, riot-clad cops blocked off the street in front of the school after school officials canceled a talent show. Defying the cops, the students stood their ground and refused to go home.

Following Meyers' killing, black youth have been voicing their bitterness at the rotten conditions around them and the cop terror that constantly hounds them. "We live in a kind of slavery," said one. An unemployed cook remarked bitterly, "This used to be a real city of opportunity—Silk City!—but now there's nothing." Thousands of black families moved here from the South after World War II to work in the city's teeming textile mills, followed by large numbers

of Hispanics. Today this aging industrial city symbolizes the decay of capitalism.

Paterson is notorious for racist repression. Despite a population which has a large majority of blacks and Hispanics, and a growing number of immigrants from the Near East, the police force is overwhelmingly white. In 1966, middle-weight boxing contender Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, targeted by the government for his outspoken advocacy of black self-defense, was framed up with his friend John Artis for the murder of a Paterson couple. Carter spent 18 years in prison before the courts admitted he was innocent. And it was at Eastside High that principal Joe Clark became a Rambo "hero" during the Reagan years for walking around with a baseball bat threatening students.

City officials turned to the NAACP to put a lid on the boiling anger over Meyers' killing, but their efforts failed utterly. They have also looked to an outfit called "Black Cops Against Police

They Want to Silence the "Voice of the Voiceless"

Philly Cop Vendetta Against Book by Mumia Abu-Jamal

On February 15, the *New York Times* reported that Addison-Wesley Publishing Company was planning to publish *Live From Death Row*, a book of commentaries by Mumia Abu-Jamal. In response, the Philadelphia police launched a campaign to stop Jamal's book, to seize the \$30,000 advance promised the author, and to escalate their efforts to silence Jamal by execution. The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and Pennsylvania's state house hangmen have cranked up a media blitz, grotesquely branding Jamal the "Donald Trump of death row" and adding the chilling threat that Jamal should be "meeting his maker." Rich Costello, head of the Philadelphia FOP, sneered that the only words the public should hear from Jamal are "good-bye."

Last year, the FOP pressured National Public Radio into canceling broadcasts of Jamal's commentaries. Today they seek to extend their campaign of cen-

sorship to book-banning. They know and fear Jamal's searing indictments of this whole system of racist injustice, his commentaries which radiate with a humanity that speaks to people across the country. They want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him.

In a column written from death row, Jamal indicted the racist hypocrisy behind this vicious campaign:

"How many politicians screamed 'outrageous' at the news of convicted criminal (ex-cop) Stacey Koon's Legal Defense Fund which has, according to one report, netted an estimated \$4.7 million in donations? This cop, *videotaped* in the act of beating Rodney King senseless—serving a measly 30-month federal bit!—is getting funds for lawyers and to help his family. Where's the outcry?"

"I, after having had one court-appointed lawyer (who was later disbarred), and another on appeal, am fighting, quite literally, for my very life, against an unjust and an illegal Death Sentence, have decided to finally

try to hire a good lawyer, and the buzzards of the FOP and political hitmen screech their objections."

Refusing to bow to the pressure of the FOP, Alison Pratt of Addison-Wesley said, "Here is a voice of the voiceless. We've never heard an articulate voice from death row talking about what it's like to be there." Another spokesman for the publishing company announced that Jamal's book will be available in bookstores in May.

In response, Pennsylvania's prison officials are publicly discussing plans to discipline Jamal for carrying on "commercial activity" while on death row! Already they have abrogated Jamal's lawyer-client privilege, confiscated legal correspondence and prevented visits by legal assistants. Jamal's contact with his legal team and supporters has been restricted in a transparent attempt to prevent him from assisting in the preparation of a petition

for a new trial being prepared by his attorneys.

Brutality," led by DeLacy Davis, which along with the Nation of Islam has gotten a hearing from many of the protesters. The existence of such an organization, which is composed of black policemen from cities and townships in New Jersey, speaks volumes about the depth of vicious cop racism in the state. Davis describes the nationalist demagogue Leonard Jeffries as his mentor and recently spoke alongside NOI anti-Semitic bigot Khalid Muhammad at a meeting in Paterson.

The NOI and Davis' black cops joined in policing the March 3 protest, and both promote the racist "war on drugs," which has now claimed Lawrence Meyers as a victim. By channeling the anger of Paterson's desperate ghetto youth away from the racist capitalist oppressors, they also help set the atmosphere in which some white youth who have come out to express solidarity have been driven off.

Leading the March 3 protest were Al Sharpton and Herbert Daughtry. While marchers chanted "Stop the killer police!" Daughtry and other speakers issued liberal appeals to vote out the city's white mayor. Meanwhile, reformist groups like the Workers World Party have called for a civilian police review board. Behind this demand, like the call to put a handful of black faces in high places, is the illusion that the racist capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

Ironically, while Paterson City Hall last week was encircled with cops clutching riot batons, student protesters could see a Black History Month flag flying above City Hall. Today, the legacy of slavery survives in the segregation, poverty and racist police brutality of capitalist America. The road to black liberation lies in building a revolutionary workers party, which can link the masses of dispossessed black youth with the multiracial working class. This is the power that can sweep away the racist profit system and begin building a socialist society in which justice and equality are not empty rhetoric but a living reality. ■

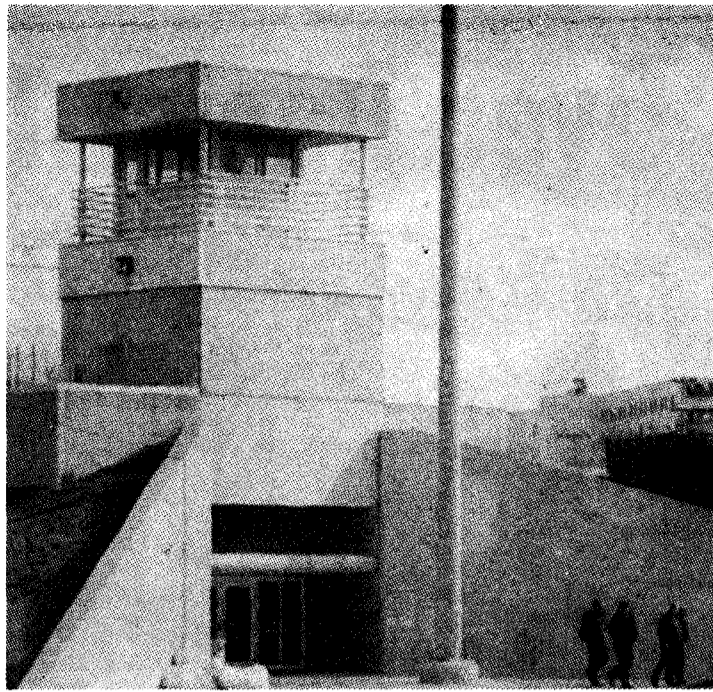
Lockdown...

(continued from page 1)

crime" which snatches young men and women from the streets and throws them into prison hellholes. Jails replace (non-existent) jobs, billy clubs are substituted for the blackboard. In the calculations of the American bourgeoisie, the inner-city ghettos which used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for the auto plants and steel mills—a "reserve army" of the unemployed to be tapped when the economy needed them—are simply written off, patrolled by police who act like an occupation army and devastated by poverty and disease.

A couple of statistics sum it up. Over a million manufacturing jobs were lost in the U.S. in the 1980s, on top of the wholesale destruction of whole swaths of Midwest industry the decade before. *For every place lost on the assembly lines, one has been added in the prisons.* Since the mid-1970s, the country's state and federal prison population has *quadrupled*, recently passing the one million mark and growing at the rate of 1,500 a week. Added to the nearly half million held in local jails, the total prison population of over 1.5 million equals that of the city of Philadelphia. And black people account for 54 percent of those behind bars—more than *four times* their proportion of the population as a whole—as compared to 35 percent only 20 years ago.

Since the feds geared up their "war on drugs" in the early '80s, the prisons have been filled to overflowing. This was



Carter/NY Times

Oklahoma State Penitentiary's H Unit: Prisoners are buried alive in high-tech hell of isolation and sensory deprivation.

America today. Not least among the factors driving the phony "war on crime" is a powerful political lobby which seeks to reap ever greater profits from the burgeoning system of incarceration and execution. Combined federal, state and local spending on prisons jumped almost eightfold in the past 20 years, to a rate of \$30 billion a year. California alone has devoted \$10 billion to prison construction in the past decade. And many of the new facilities are designed to be "supermax" high-security institutions, in which prisoners are locked up in isolation 23 hours a day behind high-voltage electrical "death fences." The prototype for these new facilities is the federal

sion and persecution. With nothing to offer the masses of black poor and working people but ever-deeper degradation and immiseration, the capitalist ruling class is intent on extinguishing any sign of protest with brute force. *A victory in the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal will strike a blow against the entire system of legal lynching and racist repression.*

Return of the Chain Gang

We have noted that the death penalty in the United States is rooted in the racist legacy of the slave system. Today, in their vendetta against black youth, reactionary politicians from both capitalist parties are moving to bring back the penal code of the Jim Crow South in all its horror. In the past few years, state legislatures in Alabama, Indiana and Washington have even considered bills to have "sex offenders" castrated. Describing a special session of the Mississippi state legislature last fall, the *New York Times* (17 September 1994) reported: "There was talk of restoring fear to prisons, of caning, of making prisoners 'smell like a prisoner,' of burning and frying." Mississippi has now banned TV, radio, stereo and weight-lifting equipment in prison. In a direct throwback to the days of the chain gang, all inmates will now have to wear striped uniforms with the word "convict" across the back. And Alabama just spent \$17,000 for 300 sets of leg irons to be worn by chain gangs.

When it comes to prison "reform," Mississippi—which ranks at or near the bottom of the 50 states on virtually every educational or social indicator—is in the forefront. Congress is now insisting that subsidies to the states for new prison construction mandated by Clinton's crime bill last year be predicated on cutting back or eliminating parole and imposing stiffer sentences. Meanwhile, Congress and the states are enacting new laws daily which will gut the rights of prisoners and the accused, from restricting habeas corpus appeals to eliminating the constitutional ban on police searches without warrants. They want to go back to the days when a 19th-century judge (echoing the infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision that blacks "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect") declared that

a prisoner was "the slave of the state," who "not only forfeited his liberty, but all his personal rights."

From California to Florida, state and local governments are banning anything resembling educational, rehabilitation or recreational facilities. Among the measures passed with overwhelming bipartisan support by Congress last year was one cutting off educational opportunities for inmates. In 1989, the Supreme Court ruled that prison officials had full discretion to ban any publication considered "detrimental," from porn to political material. Texas prison authorities recently decreed that *Workers Vanguard* was *verboten* because we ran the world-famous photo of Vietnamese children running naked from a U.S. napalm attack (see article, page 2). Joining a nationwide trend to deny prisoners the relief of an occasional cigarette, California and Texas now even refuse to allow death row inmates a final smoke as a last request before execution!

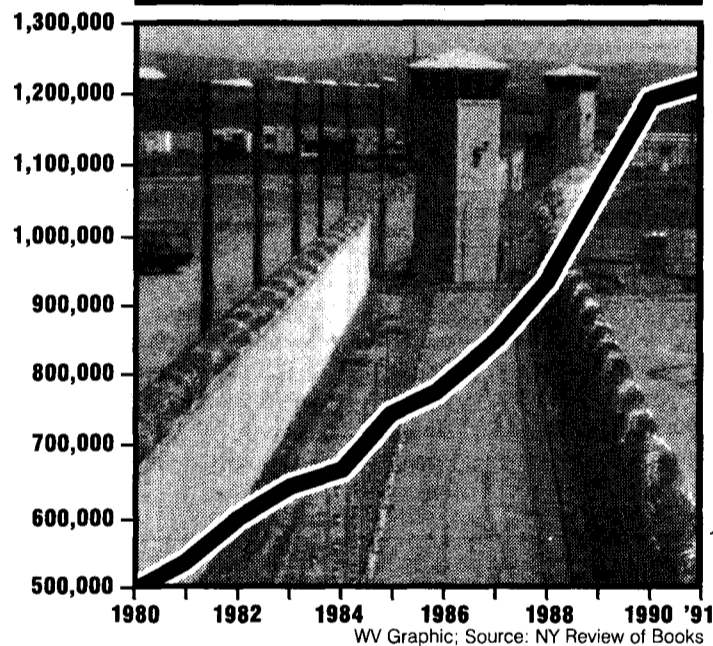
Such increasingly inhuman prison conditions provoked 374 riots in 1992-93, more than three times the number in the previous three years combined. ACLU National Prison Project spokesman Alvin Bronstein has warned that by making "prisons so harsh," politicians and prison authorities "will ensure another Attica," the 1971 prison rebellion in upstate New York which was drowned in blood by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who unleashed a cop massacre which left 43 people dead. Today, U.S. rulers appear almost eager to provoke a revolt of prison inmates which they could use as a pretext for a major bloodletting.

In the past decade, 33 inmates have been shot to death by prison guards in California alone. The *Los Angeles Times* (22 September 1994) reports that guards shoot prisoners as a "routine and accepted way of breaking up fights among convicts."

Rape, an ever-present horror of prison life, has also been made an instrument for control and humiliation of inmates. *The Dilemmas of Corrections* (1991) noted: "The contribution to sexual assaults between prisoners that is made by correctional officers...is legendary." Conservative estimates indicate that more than 290,000 males are raped in prison every year, a virtual death sentence for many given the high levels of AIDS in prison. On top of this is the willful misuse of medical care to punish prisoners. A three-part investigative report in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (3-5 October 1994) cited "hundreds of cases" of "incompetent, negligent or punitive" medical care "reminiscent of prison conditions in centuries past."

The treatment inflicted on the mentally ill in prison has become a major social issue because of the slashing of funds for psychiatric care. There are now more mentally ill people in New York's state prisons than in its psychiatric hospitals, a third of them with severe illnesses like schizophrenia and manic depression. Yet, even when convicted of mild crimes, these people are placed in maximum-security prisons where they are subjected to the most stressful treatment. In 1990, the Supreme Court approved forcible injections of anti-psychotic drugs by prison authorities without recourse to

Skyrocketing Prison Population



America's No. 1 "growth industry": Number behind bars has more than tripled since 1980, topping 1.5 million in federal and state prisons and local jails in 1994.

a deliberate policy decision to send hundreds of thousands of youth to jail. Fully 60 percent of federal prison sentences are now meted out for drug offenses, in many cases simple possession. A slew of Congressionally imposed mandatory minimum sentences has led to the spectacle of tens of thousands of teenage kids being locked away for years without any chance of parole for getting caught with small amounts of crack or marijuana. While black Democrats like Jesse Jackson promote this racist crusade with demagoguery about "hope, not dope," we have insisted from the outset that the "war on drugs" is a racist war on black America.

Before 1981, the juvenile arrest rate for drug offenses was higher among whites than blacks. Yet while federal agencies concede that drug use remains higher among white youth, the arrest rate for blacks has skyrocketed. To take but one example, in Baltimore, the number of young blacks arrested for drug sales climbed from 86 in 1981 to over 1,300 a decade later, while arrests of white juveniles remained constant. Today, a staggering 56 percent of all black men in Baltimore between the ages of 18 and 35 are ensnared in the "criminal justice" system, with comparable figures in other major cities.

The "prison-industrial complex" is just about the only "growth industry" in

penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, which even the U.S. Court of Appeals described in 1988 as "sordid," "horrible" and "depressing in the extreme."

Sitting behind bars at the Greene supermax prison in Waynesville, Pennsylvania is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal's case has become the focus of opposition to the barbaric death penalty. This former Black Panther and acclaimed black journalist, widely known as the "voice of the voiceless," has been condemned to death solely for his outspoken opposition to racist oppres-

States are bringing back chain-gang labor. Prisoners in Hawaii working on pineapple plantations.



Hawaii Correctional Industries

judicial hearings. This is bitterly ironic when one recalls how the imperialists railed during the Cold War against the use of drugs on prisoners in Soviet psychiatric institutions.

A more recent form of high-tech torture in U.S. prisons is the use of electric shocks. In Los Angeles County, eight people were killed between 1987 and 1989 by guards using Tasers, stun guns which shoot darts that deliver a paralyzing 45,000-volt shock. An offshoot of the Taser gun is an electrical shock belt called React, which has been purchased by some 250 local police forces. The belt, worn by prisoners during court appearances, can deliver a 50,000-volt shock to the back muscles at the push of a guard's button.

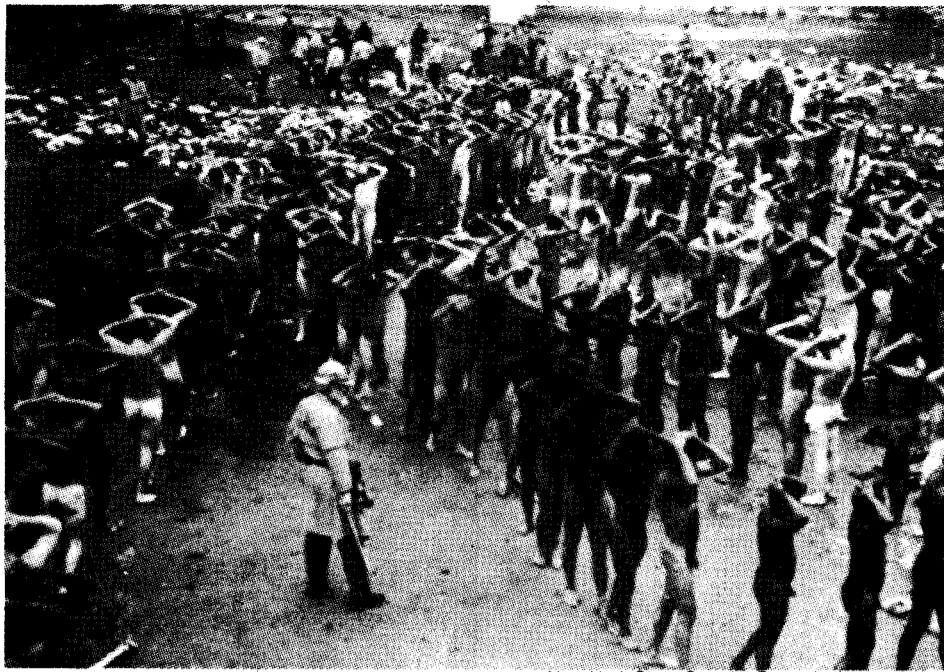
High-Tech Hellholes

The "new wave" in prison torment is the so-called maximum-security prisons in which inmates are virtually buried alive in six-by-eight-foot solitary confinement cells with no furniture and only reinforced concrete slabs to serve as bed and table. Solid steel doors, opened electronically by remote control from a central guard post, prevent communication—or even eye contact—with other inmates. Prisoners are fed alone through a slot in the door and are denied access to libraries, training and recreational activity. For the brief period when prisoners are allowed to leave their cells, they are forced to wear leg irons and escorted by a number of heavily armed guards.

These high-tech hellholes have their origins in 1950s "psy-war" experiments on brainwashing techniques. Centered on the use of isolation units and sensory deprivation, they sought to "modify" the behavior and attitudes of political prisoners and resisters. In a chilling report on the prototype supermax prison at Marion, Illinois, journalist Russell Miller wrote in the London *Sunday Times* (23 May 1993):

"The regime makes no pretense at rehabilitation. Its function is psychological emasculation, to crush the spirit, strip a man of the last vestige of defiance and force him to conform to the most punitive system the courts will allow and the public will tolerate."

Key to these new "maxi" prisons—the most recent is the Florence, Colorado federal prison—is the ability not only to control prisoners, but to *kill* them. As the "industry" journal *Corrections Today* (July 1992) coldly commented, "When contemplating the design of a new max-



New York State Special Commission on Attica
Attica, 1971: Prisoners stripped and herded into the yard following Governor Rockefeller's bloody suppression of rebellion, leaving 43 dead.

imum security facility, issues related to the use of deadly force must be addressed early in the planning process."

Among the four new super-maximum prisons in California is the notorious Pelican Bay State Prison near the Oregon border. Since its opening barely five years ago, guards have fired on inmates on 129 separate occasions, wounding 23 and killing three. Last month, a federal judge in San Francisco ruled that "the use of excessive force for the purpose of punishment and deterrence" at Pelican Bay violated the constitutional ban on cruel and unusual punishment. Among the examples cited was that of mentally ill inmate Vaughn Dortch, who was thrown into a scalding bath that left him with second- and third-degree burns over a third of his body. One Pelican Bay prisoner remarked bitterly, "I think hell is a better place than this."

Another maximum security institution in California is the Calipatria State Prison, which opened in 1992. An internal prison memorandum recently published in the *People's Weekly World* (24 December 1994) exposed the openly racist policies which are rampant throughout the prison system: "Visits for Black and Mexican inmates will be behind the glass, limited to 15 minutes per inmate per day. Visits for white and other inmates will be unrestricted... Black and Mexican inmates will be escorted to canteen 10 inmates at a time. White and other inmates will have access to the can-

teen during their normally scheduled yard periods.... There will [be] no yard activities for Black and Mexican inmates. There will be normal yard activities for white and other inmates...." There are ten suicide attempts *every month* in Calipatria.

Not surprisingly, leftist political prisoners—including American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, Ray Luc Levasseur of the Ohio Seven, Puerto Rican nationalist Alejandrina Torres and New Left activist Susan Rosenberg, among others—have been particularly singled out for these supermax facilities. A former warden at Marion frankly stated that its purpose "is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large" (Ward Churchill and J.J. Vander Wall [eds.], *Cages of Steel* [1992]). Former California Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been locked away for 24 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit, has waged a constant struggle against attempts to subject him to a harsher prison regime, and has repeatedly been denied parole for refusing to renounce his political beliefs.

Capitalist Decay and Genocide U.S.A.

The bourgeoisie's vicious drive to imprison and execute ever-increasing numbers of ghetto youth reflects a sinister impulse to genocide against a layer of the black population. Particularly in the wake of the multiracial plebeian uprising which rocked L.A. after the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, the ruling class is dead-set on suppressing a generation for whom capitalism in decay offers no productive employment. Spending on education and social services has gone bust, while prison construction booms. Last fall, Texas simultaneously added \$1 billion to the "corrections" budget while rejecting a \$750 million bond issue for education. Similarly in California, the Department of Corrections

hired 26,000 people in the last ten years while the higher education system lost 8,000 jobs. The capitalist ruling class leaves no doubts about its priorities.

While a "reserve army" of unemployed workers is a necessary and inevitable feature of capitalism, the growth of a large sector of permanently unemployed "outcasts" has historically impelled the bourgeoisie toward annihilation of those it considers "surplus" population. In the early years of capitalist development, preceding and during the industrial revolution in Britain, the bourgeoisie deliberately drove vast numbers of peasants off the land, through such measures as the "enclosure laws," in order to create a pool of labor for large-scale manufacturing. But, as Karl Marx explained in *Capital*, "this 'free' proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufactures as fast as it was thrown upon the world." Draconian laws were enacted to intimidate and destroy the resulting mass of unemployed vagabonds. During the 16th-century reign of Henry VIII, some 72,000 beggars and thieves were hanged—when England's population was scarcely a few million.

Today, with capitalism in decline, there is again a drive to get rid of whole sections of the population. But now it is not because the productive forces are too immature to find useful employment for all, but rather because they have vastly outgrown the limits of a system based on production for profit. The 20th century is marked by high-tech barbarism, epitomized by the slaughter of two inter-imperialist world wars, punctuated by the Holocaust and the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and continuing with countless fratricidal and genocidal conflicts. Augmenting these bloody slaughters, many of them the product of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, are the "peacetime" phenomena of widespread famine and epidemics which ravage much of the Third World and the current "social policy" of the U.S. bourgeoisie directed at devastating and decimating a whole layer of the country's minority population.

What we have called "Genocide U.S.A." is not an ephemeral aberration due to the political victories of right-wing Republicans but rather a strategic policy embracing a bipartisan consensus. It is no accident that the labor bureaucrats and black misleaders—from Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan—are at best impotent and at worst complicit in this drive toward death, because they are committed to the maintenance of this racist capitalist system. The only way out of a grisly future of homelessness, starvation and prison for millions of minority youth lies in a revolutionary struggle to sweep away the capitalist profit system. And the key to that lies in forging a revolutionary workers party which will mobilize the social power of the multiracial proletariat to act as a tribune of all the oppressed in the fight for a socialist society in which there will be an equal and productive place for all. ■

Save Jamal...

(continued from page 4)

who has authored two books on the death penalty in Japan, a representative of the Japanese Association for the Abolition of the Death Penalty and a spokesman for the Spartacist Group Japan.

• In Los Angeles on March 4, a forum in defense of Jamal was held at the SEIU Local 399 (Justice for Janitors) hall, the union which last year held a protest demonstration demanding freedom for Geronimo ji Jaga. A statement from Jamal was read by renowned actor and orator William Marshall.

• The same night, in Chicago, a rally co-sponsored by the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal brought out 175 people and raised over \$1,800 for Jamal's legal defense. The West Side NAACP chapter, the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, as well as Locals 308 and 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)—representing over 10,000 Chicago transit workers—were among the endorsers of the rally. Operation Push came with 30 people. Bernard Branche of Local 308 announced that the local had donated \$1,000 to Jamal's defense. ATU International vice president Jackie Breckenridge said of Jamal, "The only thing that he's attempted to murder is racism, fascism, discrimination, bigotry and oppression.

That's why he's on death row."

Darby Tillis, who himself spent more than four years on death row, spoke powerfully to the Chicago rally: "I am one of almost 450 persons in this country who was convicted of a capital crime and later found to be innocent. The death penalty is unfair, biased, racist and discriminatory.... I was used and abused to get a message to the public at the expense of my life. Innocent—put up to ridicule and killed. Powerless, desperate and frustrated, I sat helpless."

Speaking to the Oakland rally, Don Alexander of the Partisan Defense Committee emphasized that the fight to save Jamal is part of a broader fight against racist capitalism. Declaring that the death penalty is the "continuation of the legacy of slavery in which black people can be killed with impunity," he explained:

"We built this country—workers, blacks and immigrants—it must and it will, be ours! Our coming together for this united-front rally to save Mumia is a way to do our duty and to defend ourselves. To get rid of this sick ruling class with its electric chairs, gas chambers and lethal injections requires the mobilization of the working class to seize state power. This requires building a multiracial workers party to lead the struggles of all the oppressed. Then we can build a genuine socialist society of material abundance in which the wealth of the world belongs to the world of labor. This will end the long nightmare of class society. We add our voices to those around the world in fighting to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty!" ■

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China...

(continued from page 1)

state. Deng's rise to power in 1978 marked the ascendancy of forces in the bureaucratic apparatus that aimed to decentralize much of China's nationalized economy and break up collectivized agriculture while inviting in foreign capital investment. The professed aim was to turn China into a modernized economic superpower by the year 2000. Where official Maoist jargon called upon party members to "serve the people," by the mid-1980s Communist Party cadres were trumpeting Deng's watchword, "to get rich is glorious."

Deng dubbed his policies "socialism with Chinese characteristics." Yet the introduction of "market reforms" was not a "Chinese" phenomenon, but a tendency common to all Stalinist bureaucracies, with their national dogma of building "socialism in one country." Sitting atop the economic foundations of workers states while depriving the workers of political power, Stalinist reformers have looked to market mechanisms to correct the rigidities of bureaucratic planning without endangering their own positions. "Market socialism" had earlier been introduced in Tito's Yugoslavia and later in Hungary, giving rise to domestic capitalist-restorationist forces which helped destroy both of these deformed workers states.

Deng's reforms and his "open door" to imperialist (and exile Chinese) capital are now threatening to throw the country into turmoil. Last year, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences warned that the country could break up like Yugoslavia after Deng dies. Unlike the multinational Yugoslav federation, which was torn apart by separatist forces, in China national minorities constitute only 8 percent of the population. Rather, the breakup of the centrally planned economy into a hybrid of state firms, local collectives known as "township and village enterprises" and an imperialist-dominated capitalist sector has created an increasingly independent layer of bureaucrats-turned-entrepreneurs tied to the world capitalist market. The danger that growing regionalism poses is seen clearly in Guangdong province, around the new city of Shenzhen, where "free-trade" SEZs (special economic zones) were first developed. The area is becoming increasingly integrated into the economic sphere of capitalist Hong Kong, which shares strong cultural ties with the region's Cantonese-speaking people.

In a speech last June, president and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin declared that the party and state were "in danger of collapse" from rampant corruption, with officials enriching themselves by playing off their connections to foreign investors, selling



Marshall/JB Pictures

Growing class division in Deng's China: high rises spring up next to impoverished workers' district in Guangdong province, site of first "free trade" Special Economic Zones.

off state property, etc. The autonomy of regional "economic warlords" has grown to the point where they rarely listen to directives issued in Beijing, while banditry and even clan feuds are erupting around the country. Recently, a group of intellectuals, comprised mostly of veterans of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests but including former editors of the CCP's *People's Daily*, offered two petitions to China's National People's Congress, calling for investigating corruption and "human rights" abuses and for a range of "democratic" measures including a "constitutional democracy."

Such abstract calls for "democracy," in the absence of any declaration of defense of the Chinese workers state, however deformed, against capitalist forces, amount to a program for bourgeois rule, which would be anything but democratic. The petitioners claim that "the values now esteemed and striven for by the societies of mankind are the upholding of human dignity and the safeguarding of fundamental human rights." This is the same language used by anti-Communist "dissidents" in East Europe and the USSR, who were actively supported by the Western imperialist powers. The term "democracy" became a code word for capitalist counterrevolution which swept the former Soviet bloc, bringing nothing but misery, and certainly no democracy, to workers, minorities and women.

The Stalinist bureaucracy's delicate balancing act between world imperialism and the workers and peasants in whose name they rule cannot last much longer. On the one hand, they are pressed

by the demands of foreign capital and its local "compradors," whose property rights will not be secure without the establishment of a bourgeois state. On the other, there are signs of rising proletarian struggle, from the capitalist SEZs to state-owned industries where workers are faced with the dismantling of "cradle-to-grave" benefits, which are among the most cherished gains of the 1949 Revolution. This situation cries out for the leadership of a communist-internationalist vanguard, fighting to defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution through a political revolution overthrowing the bureaucracy, and linking up with proletarian struggles in South Korea and especially in imperialist Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

Social Unrest Wracks China's "Socialist Market Economy"

While the number of "labor-management disputes," many of them protesting corruption, reached 12,000 in 1993, a rise of 50 percent from the year before, the number of strikes and labor protests, including violent attacks on managers and property, rose again by 66 percent in the first quarter of 1994. (The right to strike, previously recognized in China's constitution, was dropped in 1982.) "I think the government should be very careful about what they do to the workers of China," warned a retired steel worker. "If they infuriate the workers, there will be no stopping them" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 October 1994).

There is also the threat of rebellion by poor peasants left out of the Chinese economic "miracle." At least 100 million peasants made "surplus" by the breakup of agricultural collectivization roam the cities searching for work, living in segregated enclaves and taking on jobs that longtime residents refuse. This is in addition to the estimated 70 million peasants who provided the labor for both the SEZs and the rapidly expanding local "collective" industries in the first decade of market "reforms." Others are mortgaging their futures to ruthless smugglers for a chance to emigrate. Poverty rates are increasing faster in the countryside than in urban areas, while the population squeeze is tightening with leasing of farmland to private industrial developers. Peasant unrest was recorded in 20 of China's 29 provinces in 1993, along with almost 3,000 violent attacks on tax collectors!

The issue of inflation is particularly volatile: together with anger at official corruption, this fueled the working-class upheaval in May-June 1989 that nearly toppled the government. Last fall, inflation reached an annual rate of 27 percent, the highest since 1989. Sounding the alarm against rising prices at a time of social stress and political transition, the 22 February *People's Daily* noted that

prices for basic foods in 1994 rose over 50 percent, which disproportionately affects urban residents.

The fear of social "chaos" helps explain why the regime, to the consternation of international bankers, has increased investment in state-owned plants over the last five years. More than 70 percent of investment in China still goes to state-owned factories, although their share of national output has fallen to 43 percent. Last month, Beijing declared an outright moratorium on closing state factories in key industries, and has recently imposed price controls on foods and other items. Meanwhile, the government is scrambling to assemble a "unified social security system" for laid-off state workers, in order to begin applying bankruptcy regulations demanded by imperialist investors.

The head of China's State Council Research Office defended the continued high level of subsidies to the state sector by referring to the collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe: "Some argue that privatisation has become the main trend in world economics, including in China. But this would deny the basis of socialism in China and there is considerable debate in capitalist countries over the success of privatisation. Prospects for it in former socialist countries are not so rosy" (*South China Morning Post*, 8 February).

But this current shift in no way contradicts the experience of the last seven years, which proved that in the absence of massive working-class struggle to defend proletarian property forms, no wing of Stalinism can be expected to fight capitalist counterrevolution. It is not communism that has failed, but its Stalinist perversion. The liberating program and goals of Marxism envision advancing social and economic development through international workers revolution.

Imperialist Rivalry Over China

The imperialists are themselves increasingly worried about political instability in China. Foreign investment, which fueled China's economic boom over the last 17 years, dropped in 1994, pointing to a slowdown of the economy. The tussle between China and the U.S. over "pirated" software, CDs and videotapes points to American worries that Chinese administrators haven't yet learned to "respect" bourgeois property rights like copyright laws. But despite its occasional tongue-clucking over "human rights" and threats against trade with China, the U.S. bourgeoisie is loath to shut the door to business opportunities here lest it cede ground to its Japanese and European competitors. Still, as it did during the anti-Soviet Cold War, the imperialists' "human rights" rhetoric can serve to rally pro-capitalist forces inside and outside the country seeking to undermine the Stalinist-ruled workers state.

The high level of U.S. trade with Deng's China has been subjected to shrill denunciations by die-hard anti-Communists like *New York Times* columnist A. M. Rosenthal. Another stalwart of the "let's get tough with Red China" crowd is AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who in this case combines anti-Communist fanaticism with flag-waving protectionism. On their left flank stand the "State Department socialists" of the International Socialist Organization, whose newspaper *Socialist Worker* (June 1994) condemned Clinton's "appeasement" of Deng when the U.S. renewed China's "Most Favored Nation" trade status (granting imports from China the lowest level of U.S. tariffs). This is scarcely surprising, since their British mentor Tony Cliff refused to defend the USSR and China (which he labeled "state capitalist") against U.S. imperialism in the Korean War of 1950-53.

The initial phase of Deng's "open door" policies was dominated by light-industrial plants in SEZs in southern Guangdong and Fujian provinces. These plants are mostly owned by Hong Kong and Taiwanese companies, whose brutal



Der Spiegel

Volkswagen joint venture in Shanghai. Deng's "open door" to imperialist exploitation fuels capitalist counterrevolution.

exploitation rivals that of early 19th-century textile mills. The SEZs have since expanded throughout key industrial centers like Shanghai, Wuhan and the Northeast, where Japanese, American and European capital is geared toward advanced technology and heavy industry like power production and aircraft manufacturing.

Renewed interimperialist rivalries touched off by the collapse of the USSR are certain to heat up over China, whose masses of available labor, developing internal market and geographical position in booming East Asia have made it, unlike Yeltsin's Russia, a gleaming target for capital investment. Here the goal of Japanese imperialism to recreate a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere trade bloc runs directly up against the U.S., whose key asset is its global military power. The last time these powers competed for China, the result was the extension of World War II to the Pacific.

The bureaucrats in Beijing have their own "big power" ambitions. By operating its own businesses, the 3-million-strong People's Liberation Army (PLA), the world's largest, has fueled a military buildup, which has set alarm bells ringing from Taiwan to the Pentagon. This development has precious little to do with defending the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism, and everything to do with promoting Chinese nationalism, which serves to derail working-class anger at the corrupt

bourgeois-democratic "dissidents" and world bankers—is the need for social stability. In this vein, the regime has recently been on a campaign to uphold Confucian values, seeking to inculcate among the masses passive acceptance of the bureaucracy's "heavenly mandate" to rule. Also, after the 1989 "Beijing Spring" was drowned in blood, a new "People's Armed Police" was created specifically to control "social unrest." The key armed force, however, is the People's Liberation Army. While the PLA's plunge into the market economy has turned many army commanders into aspiring bourgeois exploiters, it is nevertheless the only central state body with a coherent, authoritative countrywide structure.

At a time when the government admits that 80 million people worry about getting food and warmth, the newly rich flaunt their wealth: businessmen's dinners in SEZ boomtowns cost ten times a worker's annual wage. Such ostentatious displays have produced nostalgia for the days of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), when egalitarianism, however distorted, was part of the popular consciousness and official ideology. A cab driver in Chongqing declared, "In his day, even though living standards were very low, everyone was equal in rights. Today the country is more developed and the living standard is higher, but there is also a big difference between those who have money and those who do not" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1994).

Soviet Union (dubbed "social imperialist") as a *greater enemy* than American imperialism. Thus the stage was set for Mao's embrace of President Nixon in 1972, initiating a strategic alliance against the Soviet Union, while the U.S. was raining death and destruction on Vietnam. In the aftermath Beijing opened the door to foreign investment, while beginning the liquidation of collectivized agriculture.

Mao's heirs have now brought the Chinese Revolution to the edge of the abyss. The situation in China today fully confirms Leon Trotsky's prognosis for Stalin's Russia in the 1930s: either the conservative, nationalist bureaucracy would be ousted through a political revolution of the working class seeking to return to the internationalist road of Lenin's October, or the workers state would succumb to the blows of counterrevolution, from within and without. This warning was confirmed in the negative by the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Workers Raise Their Heads

Due to its imperialist-financed economic growth, China's proletariat is rapidly expanding. In March, a petition circulated in Beijing calling for "freedom from exploitation," the right to strike, and the right to organize independent trade unions. The potential social power of the workers has been recognized by a section of the pro-

independent of the bureaucracy is not in itself a barrier to capitalist counterrevolution. It is quite possible to have economist "free trade unions" in China which accept the framework of capitalist exploitation. Yet the mounting workers' struggles are against the effects of precisely the kind of "market reforms" that Solidarność fought for and enacted once in power.

In the Shenzhen SEZ, 2,350 labor "disputes" were recorded in the first six months of 1993. These young workers, many of them women, are typically just a few years removed from rural life. The horrendous superexploitation they face often includes working up to 15 hours a day, seven days a week, and sleeping in "dormitories" inside the plants. Workers slave away in cheaply built deathtraps, while government "inspectors" are handsomely paid to look the other way. The government reported that in 1993 in Guangdong province there were 45,000 industrial accidents, claiming almost 9,000 lives. Last summer workers staged a militant protest outside an SEZ plant in Zhuhai after a fire led to the building's collapse, killing 76.

A variety of leftists praise the township and village enterprises, known as TVEs, as a "socialist" alternative to exploitation by foreign capital. By producing for the market rather than according to a centralized plan, the TVEs operate according to the profit principle, and in fact are generating a layer of indigenous capitalist entrepreneurs. This "communal" capitalism can be just as ruthless as the SEZ sweatshops. The horrendous casualty rate in mining accidents, estimated at 10,000 per year, is in no small part due to thousands of township-owned coal mines which account for nearly half of China's coal production.

The tremors of labor unrest are also being felt in state industries, as overseas bankers demand an end to the subsidizing of "inefficient" plants. While many actions have reportedly been led by plant managers working with the official unions to protest budget cuts, others are not so controlled. At the giant Wuhan Iron and Steelworks, managers have reduced the 120,000-strong workforce by more than half in order to turn a profit: last year workers took to "stealing" the plant's products when the firm could not meet its payroll. At least one soldier died when the army was called in. In another incident, pensioners commandeering trucks and cars blocked the key bridge in Wuhan to protest the erosion of their benefits by inflation.

Last March, some 100,000 workers protesting pay cuts marched through the two main cities of Manchuria's Heilongjiang province, where 2 million workers had lost their jobs the year before (*Business Week*, 1 August 1994). In Manchuria, the struggle to defend workers' "iron rice bowl" intersects bitter resentment toward Japanese imperialism, which ruled the area through bloody terror from 1931 until Japan's defeat in World War II. Japanese plans to expand auto parts production in this aging industrial belt have run up against worker unrest—for example, at Mabuchi Motors' factory in Dalian—fueled at least in part by anti-Japanese sentiment.

Desperate to assert control over the workers, the government has issued a new National Labor Law "guaranteeing" workers in foreign-owned companies and joint ventures the right to form unions...so long as they are affiliated with the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), the only union legally allowed. Run by the state, the ACFTU collaborates on a daily basis with the capitalist SEZ bosses to keep workers in check. "We have a union, but the union is useless," declared a worker at a Shenzhen television factory, adding that he could not recall a single instance where workers went to the union for help.

The new law also allows collective bargaining, previously permitted only in private enterprises, in all sectors. Chinese workers no longer have the benefits

continued on page 10



Peter Turnley

Contingent from Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation arriving in Tiananmen Square, May 1989. Entry of working class into mass student demonstrations posed proletarian political revolution.

bureaucracy. China's claim to the oil-rich Spratley Islands in the South China Sea has brought it close to blows with Vietnam, which despite its devastation by U.S. imperialism's dirty war defeated China's invasion in 1979.

Who Will Receive Heaven's Mandate?

The anticipated death of 90-year-old leader Deng Xiaoping has prompted debate inside the CCP leadership over how to maintain social peace in this volatile country. In early September, a group around former propaganda minister Deng Liqun, which published the magazine *In Search of Truth*, openly held a conference to discuss combatting "bourgeois liberalization." Around the same time, an anonymously authored book called *Viewing China Through a Third Eye* shook the party with its open criticism of Deng's reforms. Warning of impending chaos at the hands of the "living volcano" of the peasantry, it called for confining peasants to the land and argued against any kind of "democracy." Following a plug by CCP leader Jiang Zemin, the book sold some 200,000 copies and became something of a bible for those elements of the bureaucracy who want a tightly controlled transition to capitalism. They argue for the party to get *more* involved in business.

The one common concern of the CCP apparatus—which is shared by

But it was Mao's version of "socialism in one country" that led to disastrous policies that more than once threatened to ruin the People's Republic, and which set the stage for the rise of Deng Xiaoping. With the victory of Mao's peasant guerrilla army over Chiang Kai-shek's decrepit Guomindang regime in 1949, the People's Republic was born as a deformed workers state, ruled by a nationalist bureaucratic caste that adapted the model of the Soviet Union under Stalin to fit Mao's peasant-based nationalism. The adventurist "Great Leap Forward" of the late 1950s sought to propel China into an advanced industrial society through the herculean efforts of its peasant toilers, creating "backyard steel furnaces" out of scrap material. The result was the near-total collapse of agriculture and a horrible famine.

After this disaster led to Mao's loss of authority, he fought back in the mid-1960s by mounting the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—in reality a faction fight pitting millions of youthful "Red Guards," backed by the army, against Mao's foes in the bureaucracy. The frenzied campaigns against "capitalist roaders" and "bourgeois liberalization" shut down schools and closed factories until Mao mobilized the PLA against the youth, who were sent to the countryside to "learn from the people."

By the late '60s, the Mao regime clearly signaled that it regarded the

imperialist "dissident" movement, which has turned to labor organizing. A "Chinese League of Laborers" was founded by Han Dongfang and other "dissidents" after the Tiananmen Square uprising. As strikes and protests grew toward the end of 1994, the regime stepped up repression against all "unofficial" labor organizations.

Under conditions of strict censorship, it is difficult to determine the political direction of today's workers' struggles and their leadership. At least some of the labor activists take as their model Polish Solidarność, which led workers rebelling against the Stalinist regime straight into the anti-Communist embrace of Ronald Reagan and Pope Wojtyla. Workers must beware of "independent" union leaders tied to imperialist agencies: Han Dongfang is championed by U.S. president Clinton and backed by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy in Hong Kong, where Han is exiled. An article on the labor movement in Shenzhen noted, "Han's efforts are now limited to publishing a labour journal and attempting to maintain links with activists working in China. Some are not eager for his help," the article continued. It quotes a recent university graduate now organizing in Shenzhen: "We want to avoid any links with people outside China" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 16 June 1994).

The mere formation of trade unions

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Free Roger Warren! Canadian Miner Railroaded

TORONTO—On January 20, Roger Warren, a member of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 2304, was found guilty of second-degree murder in the death of nine scabs during the bitter 1992-93 strike against Royal Oak Mines. The scabs died in an underground explosion at the notoriously unsafe Giant gold mine near Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. On January 26, denouncing the death of the nine strikebreakers as a "despicable crime" and "an act of terrorism," Judge Mark de Weerdts sentenced Warren to life in prison without possibility of parole for 20 years. This railroad conviction and draconian sentence are an outrage!

Genuine acts of terrorism were carried out during and after the Giant strike...by the company, the cops and the courts. Royal Oak's union-busting chairman, Peggy Witte, spent over \$2 million to turn the Giant Mine into an armed camp patrolled by Pinkerton guards and attack dogs. Outside the compound, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)—dubbed the "Royal Oak Mounted Police" by the courageous strikers—fired shotgun volleys and tear gas barrages to break the union's picket lines.

As Roger Warren said, "The full force of the state was coming down on us." The Giant mine blast became the pretext for one of the biggest manhunts in Canadian history, as the RCMP sought to pin the "bombing" on the strikers. The cops questioned 400 unionists, their families and supporters, eventually deciding to frame up Roger Warren, a prominent strike militant. Six hours into Warren's 12th "interview" with an RCMP "interrogation specialist," they managed to extort a videotaped "confession." Warren retracted this statement on the witness stand, explaining that in making it he had hoped to take the pressure off his fellow unionists and unblock negotiations with Royal Oak.

While there is no official death penalty in Canada, the capitalist state is prepared to *kill* Roger Warren for the bosses. The RCMP and the Crown prosecutors know that for Warren—51 years old with a debilitating heart condition—20 years is as good as a death sentence. Roger Warren must not be allowed to die in prison! The whole labor movement must take up the fight to demand his freedom. We print below a protest against Warren's conviction, sent by the Partisan Defense Committee in Canada to federal justice minister Allan Rock.

* * * * *

22 January 1995

Hon. Allan Rock
Ministry of Justice
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear sir,

The Partisan Defense Committee protests and denounces the outrageous second-degree murder con-



Southam/Edmonton Journal
Yellowknife gold miner Roger Warren being arrested in October 1993.

viction of Canadian Auto Workers member Roger Warren. We demand he be freed immediately and unconditionally!

Roger Warren is a hero of working-class struggle. He is a militant unionist who had the courage to stand up in defense of his union and his livelihood. This is the real "crime" for which he is being railroaded to prison by the RCMP and the Crown, on behalf of Royal Oak Mines and its union-busting owner, Peggy Witte.

The state intends to bury Roger Warren in prison as a warning to anyone who would challenge the employers' attempts to break our unions and grind down our wages and working conditions, just as it did the Winnipeg strikers of 1919 and many more before and since. He will not be abandoned or forgotten by class-conscious working men and women.

Yours truly,
Peter Stevens

Drug Testing Clampdown Angers NYC Transit Workers

The federal government's new drug testing witch-hunt, targeting over seven million transport workers, has already sparked outrage among New York City subway workers. In January, conductors and motormen on the No. 7 line between midtown Manhattan and Queens launched a "work to rule" slowdown after Transit Authority (TA) bosses began hauling in workers for drug tests only minutes before the end of their workday. The TA's new "punch out and piss" policy means hours and hours of forced overtime (sometimes unpaid!) as

workers are sent miles downtown for the humiliating test.

Subway workers on the No. 7 line are especially angry, since many conductors, train operators and track workers have been viciously harassed by uniformed transit police and "beakies" (undercover company cops) in recent weeks for such "crimes" as smoking on the job! On top of this comes the government's order of a *tenfold* increase in "random" drug and alcohol tests for transportation workers (see "Drug Witchhunt Against Transport Workers," *Workers Vanguard* No. 611, 25 November 1994).

Nothing "random" about it, the drug and alcohol witchhunt is meant to terrorize and intimidate workers while alibiing the capitalists for hellish and unsafe work conditions. Black and Hispanic workers are especially targeted—in one Coney Island maintenance shop they were the *only* ones tested—while anyone who stands up to the boss can bet their number is up. Meanwhile, Democrats and Republicans from Washington, D.C. to City Hall are chopping hundreds of millions of dollars from NYC's subway and bus system. Besides urgently needed repairs and capital improvements, the layoff ax is about to fall on over a thousand cleaners and token booth clerks. Mayor Giuliani vows to slash \$59 million from the program which gets kids to school by mass transit, and the TA is threatening to jack up the cost of a subway ride by 50 cents!

Transit workers are increasingly fed up with the misleaders of Transport Workers Union Local 100, which was barely re-elected in January over the New Directions "opposition" faction of the bureaucracy. (ND sometimes talks militant, but not when anyone mentions the word "strike," which they oppose!) All that Local 100 president Damaso Seda will do about the testing is a promise to start "legal proceedings" against the TA's new drug policy—and not a peep on fighting the imminent layoffs. In fact, Local 100 officials *volunteered* to submit the 32,000 transit workers to the victimizing tests. The union tops are truly acting as the TA's cops.

And don't expect any fight against the drug witch-hunt from "New Directions." ND-endorsed officials in Track Division only argue for "union control" of drug testing—offering up the union as Big Brother's little helper. In a recent leaflet, ND shamefully tells transit workers that they're "stuck with random testing," while advising Seda on how to implement the TA's after-hours drug and alcohol testing.

New Directions says that it's a "moot point" to defy the fed's drug witchhunt, but plenty of NYC transit workers don't think so. Recently, South African workers set a good example of how to deal with such union-busting attacks. On February 26, 6,000 gold miners at a Western Deep Levels mine protested a drug raid by South African police by walking off the job in a three-day "illegal" strike. In New York City as well, what's needed is a *union-wide shutdown* to smash the bosses' drug-testing offensive and to save jobs. When Wall Street has to hoof it to work it will dampen their interest in snooping into what transit workers do on their own time. ■

China...

(continued from page 9)

which they formerly took for granted as the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed employment, stable wages, free medical care at factory clinics, free childcare centers for working mothers, etc. Instead, 40 percent of workers in state plants now sign individual contracts, which must follow contracts drawn up between the ACFTU and plant management.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

To successfully defend the workers and peasants against the advancing counterrevolution, labor struggles cannot be limited to defensive economic confines which accept the existence of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic mismanagement. The fight must be brought to the *political* terrain by mobilizing the working masses to defend the social gains of the 1949 Revolution and stop the sell-off of China to imperialism. This fight must link up with workers' struggles throughout Asia and the rest of the world. It would do a world of good for

those Chinese workers with illusions in "democratic" imperialism to hear the experiences of workers in South Korea, where the right-wing government is backed by nearly 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there. Militant labor struggle in South Korea repeatedly confronts bloody state terror, and sympathy with North Korea is grounds for imprisonment and even death.

An upsurge by the Chinese proletariat may well lead to the formation of independent workers organizations, such as occurred in the spring of 1989, with the potential to grow into organizations like the Russian soviets (workers, peasants and soldiers councils) of 1917. Under an egalitarian-communist leadership, these soviet-type organs could topple the politically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, which mocks its Communist name as it prepares the ground for restoring capitalist rule. A workers political revolution would chart the course toward socialism by recreating a planned economy based on a regime of genuine workers democracy and proletarian internationalism.

The 1989 events, which brought China to the edge of political revolution, were preceded the year before by a strike wave caused by galloping inflation and wide-

spread anger at official corruption. The entry of the *laobaixing* ("ordinary people") into the Tiananmen Square protests shook the Deng/Li Peng regime from top to bottom. As Beijing's working people fought PLA troops sent to quell the demonstrations, "workers autonomous federations" and other proletarian organizations sprang up in 19 provinces. In China's far west, workers from the Xinjiang Auto Assembly Plant No. 3 formed the "Red Clan," proclaiming in a leaflet that "the ten years of reform have been ten years of corruption, ten years of hardship for the people." The bloody suppression of the "Beijing Spring" was answered by strikes throughout China.

Western reporters at the time were fixated on the student protesters, ignoring the role played by workers. But as we wrote then, "it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" (WV No. 480, 23 June 1989). The onerous repression that followed the suppression of the protests was concentrated against militant workers, many of whom were executed while student pro-

testers were spared this fate. The international working class must demand the release of those still languishing in prison for their stand against the blood-soaked Deng/Li Peng clique.

The resurgence of class struggle around many of these same issues and against the same aged bureaucratic misleaders again poses the question of proletarian leadership. As the International Communist League wrote in June 1989: "*The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard.*" To build such a world party of socialist revolution, to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International, requires assimilating the lessons of the destruction of the Soviet Union and the disastrous course of Chinese Stalinism which has brought the world's most populous country to the brink of counterrevolution.

Stalinism is politically dead. Today the banner of communism is upheld only by the Fourth Internationalists. This must also be the banner of those who would defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution and fight for a socialist future for mankind. ■

NYC Budget...

(continued from page 12)

black and Hispanic. A union like 1199, with 117,000 workers in New York state, can play a pivotal role in sparking a fight by all city workers and championing the rights of the poor and homeless. Against the attempts to "privatize" and close outright any city hospitals, there must be strike action by hospital workers, with picket lines backed by a massive mobilization of the black and Hispanic communities. Students mobilized against the budget cuts must be drawn into an alliance with the labor movement.

Any serious social struggle will quickly come up against the whole apparatus that the capitalist class uses to derail and suppress social struggle: the strike-breaking Taylor Law, the racist cops, and above all the ties that keep the working class shackled to the Democratic Party. From the Clinton White House on down, the Democrats are competing with the Gingrich/Pataki/Giuliani Republicans in slashing social welfare programs while spending billions for cops and jails.

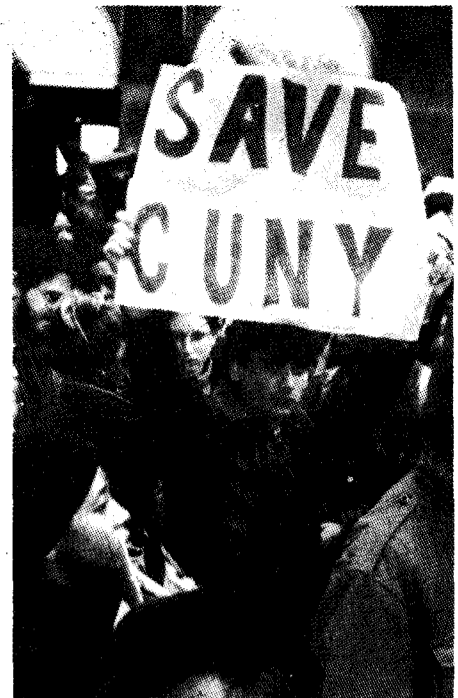
Build a Fighting Workers Party!

To the capitalist rulers, from NYC to Washington, D.C., inner-city blacks and Hispanics are "dispensable" since their labor is no longer wanted. And in the bourgeoisie's war on the poor, the unions are the "enemy within." Yet bureaucrats like AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill are so loyal to capitalism that they won't even fight the gutting of their own unions. Summoned to Gracie Mansion in late January by Mayor Giuliani, Hill whimpered, "I know there is a tough budget out there. I know the mayor is going to explain what's out there, and we're going to listen."

Militant labor action can smash this "budget of doom," but it will take unions with *social power*: the transit workers can bring Giuliani to his knees with solid



Spartacist banner (left) at March 1 hospital workers' protest. Union tops' ties to Democratic Party block class-struggle fight against capitalist attacks on labor, students, minorities.



WV Photos

strike action, backed by the rest of city labor. In 1991, a massive march of tens of thousands of city workers against budget cuts tied up the Wall Street area, pointing to the possibility of a *one-day city-wide strike*. But the union tops defended the Democratic Dinkins administration and blocked any movement for strike action. Dinkins had promised city rulers that "they'll take it from me," and the union tops did.

Once again, thousands are in the streets, but once again the organizers of the March 1 protest strictly confined it to being a pep rally for begging the Democrats to fight the cuts. Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, who is vice chairman of the state Democratic Party, led chants of "Pataki Must Go!" from the rally podium and exhorted the crowd to lobby the state legislature and the city council. Rivera baldly admits "If the Assembly doesn't fight for us, we're dead" (*Chief-Leader*, 10 March). But

looking to the Democratic Party state legislators who voted enthusiastically for the racist death penalty, and to the Democratic city council which voted overwhelmingly for Giuliani's 1994 killer budget, is a *déjà vu* end.

Rivera achieved popularity among Local 1199 workers for rebuilding the union after years of bureaucratic warfare brought it to the brink of destruction in the 1980s. But his close ties to the Democratic Party and the Catholic church hierarchy stand as a *roadblock* to the kind of working-class struggle necessary to defend the jobs of tens of thousands of 1199 members. In 1989, Rivera got Cardinal O'Connor to broker a deal at the city's Catholic hospitals which *gave up union pension money* in return for a "raise." Again this year, in a much-touted deal with the private hospitals, Rivera says he "guaranteed" hospital workers' jobs in exchange for a wage freeze (hospital workers are already atrociously

low-paid). But part-time workers and those with less than two years' seniority are "guaranteed" nothing, and even Rivera admitted publicly that if hospitals close, "all bets are off."

The situation in New York cries out for revolutionary leadership of the struggles of the working class, minorities and youth. As the Spartacist League banner at the March 1 demonstration said, what's necessary is to "Unchain Labor-Black Power! Fight for a Workers Party!" And many of the militant, class-conscious and anti-racist workers who will join in building such a party will be found in integrated unions like 1199 and the TWU, which occupy a key economic and political position in this city. In New York and everywhere, the fight to defend the unions, to beat back racist cop terror, for housing for the homeless and health care for the poor, must be part of a struggle to sweep away the profit system of the racist rulers and their state. ■

Frazier...

(continued from page 12)

pointed a gun at them when they shot him. The gun that was "found" in Frazier's car doesn't have his fingerprints, and police radio tapes show no record to back the cops' claim that they radioed for backup to help with an "armed subject." The cops said they shot Frazier from the right side of the car—but the entry wound was in his left temple! These were just a few of the holes in the prosecution's case. Nonetheless, James Frazier was convicted of third-degree weapons possession, a felony which carries a possible prison sentence of up to seven years.

What happened to James Frazier is a travesty of justice. But it was business as usual for the NYPD. On February 22,

the day before the jury's verdict was handed down, a "Public Information Meeting" on police brutality was held at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx. An angry gathering of 400 mostly Hispanic residents packed the auditorium. Henry Baez, whose brother Anthony was choked to death in December, told a WV reporter that he and his family came because they wanted "to see if the cops were above the law." Numerous relatives of victims of police abuse spoke out about beatings, torture and execution-style killings of their brothers and fathers.

From the parade of Democratic Party politicians at the meeting they got hot air: self-congratulatory speeches about the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB), set up under the Dinkins administration. Liberals and reformists pushed for the CCRB in New York, but like similar boards in other large American cities, it is impotent to stop the pervasive cop terror against minorities. A mere 145 of the nearly 5,000 complaints processed in 1994 were "substantiated" by the review board. Of these, only a handful resulted in "disciplinary actions" against police officers, which never amounted to more than losing a few days of paid vacation. Under Giuliani's police commissioner William Bratton, guilty verdicts in police department trials dropped from 63 percent to 9 percent! Meanwhile, the NYPD's own statistics show that the number of civilians who "died while in police custody" soared over 50 percent in 1994 from 15 the year before to 23, of which 16 were black, Hispanic or Asian.

One cop bragged to the *New York Post* (11 January) that if "Bratton wants us to break heads, we'll break heads." Last summer there was another chilling reminder of the rampant racist cop terror. Desmond Robinson, a black tran-

sit police officer working undercover, was shot repeatedly by white off-duty cop Peter Del-Debbio. Robinson was lying face-down on a crowded subway platform as Del-Debbio pumped bullets into him. After five months, a grand jury finally indicted Del-Debbio, not for attempted murder or manslaughter, but for... "reckless shooting." Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau openly sided with the racist cop, calling him "a sympathetic figure."

In the face of this *systematic* police terror against minorities, many people came out to keep James Frazier from becoming another faceless victim. Transit workers, other unionists, students and opponents of racist cop terror including the Partisan Defense Committee, the Labor/Black League for Social Defense, the Spartacist League and other socialist groups have mobilized for over a year in his defense. Time after time, Frazier's supporters demonstrated out-

side the courthouse and filled the courtroom.

This show of support for James Frazier was noted even by the judge, who stated that Frazier "is very fortunate to have so many people who so strongly defend him." Members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, including some union officials and the Committee for a Fighting TWU, rallied fellow transit workers to come out for their union brother. The Car Maintenance, United Motormen and Track divisions of the TWU passed motions backing Frazier. On the day of the defense and prosecution summations, 40 supporters, including a contingent of black and white transit workers, came out.

Sentencing is scheduled for April 6 in Brooklyn Criminal Court. Once again, Frazier's supporters must fill the courtroom. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to come out and show their solidarity. ■

HATE RADIO, PART II - SEE PAGE 9

THE CITY SUN

MARCH 1 - MARCH 7, 1995 SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER VOL. 11, NO. 6 75¢

'FROM TRAGEDY TO TRAVESTY'

THE CONVICTION OF JAMES FRAZIER

SEE PAGE 4

New York black weekly protests racist persecution of James Frazier.

10 MARCH 1995

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers, Students, Minorities:

Rip Up Giuliani's Budget of Doom!

On March 1, tens of thousands of unionized hospital workers took to the streets of New York City in outrage over the billions in budget cuts ordered by Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Two days earlier, 5,000 students rallied in Albany at the state capitol against education cutbacks. They were joined by marchers against the death penalty, which is being reinstated by the newly elected Republican governor and the Democratic-controlled state assembly. The Spartacus Youth Club carried a banner calling "For Open Admissions and Free Tuition—Students and Workers Unite/Strike Against Cutbacks and Layoffs."

Pushed to the wall by Pataki's and Giuliani's plans to gut health care, 30,000 militant hospital and social service workers massed in Midtown Manhattan March 1, marching from the Empire State Building to Bellevue Hospital. They came from Local 1199 (private hospitals, nursing homes and home care), AFSCME Locals 420 (city hospitals) and 371 (case workers), and SEIU home care workers. They were joined by stu-

dents from the city and state university system, where the proposal to raise fees by at least \$1,000 at CUNY and SUNY amounts to a massive racist purge of black and Hispanic students.

The scope of these draconian cuts is unprecedented. It is calculated that an estimated 80,000 health care workers will be laid off. Rudy the Slasher is threatening to cut fully one-third of the city hospital budget, including selling off, "downsizing" and closing city hospitals, which he calls "an anachronism." The elimination of home care is a death sentence for the elderly patients, and wiping out these jobs would throw thousands of 1199 members onto welfare. Pataki's latest scheme is a 90-day limit on "home relief" benefits—retroactive to last June!—which will immediately throw 85,000 people off welfare and into the streets. Giuliani is slashing the city workforce, and hundreds of layoffs are coming in transit.

There are 450,000 health care and social service workers in New York City, heavily

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New York City, March 1—30,000 hospital workers fill the streets of Midtown Manhattan in protest against Giuliani/Pataki's killer budget cuts.

NYC Transit Worker James Frazier Convicted

A Racist Travesty of Justice

After 16 months of racist persecution, James Frazier was convicted in Brooklyn Criminal Court on February 23 on a frame-up charge of weapons possession. Frazier, a black transit worker, was ambushed by two New York City police officers who shot him in the head from behind on the night of 23 October 1993, blowing out his left eye. Frazier was framed because he committed the "crime" of surviving the cop assault.

Outside the courtroom, Frazier's mother, Ola Frazier, condemned the decision: "First the cops took his eye out, then they took away his job with the transit system, and now they want to take away his chance at life. There's no justice here!" Frazier's many supporters, including fellow track workers, who repeatedly came out to show their solidarity during the trial, were outraged at the verdict.

Gene Herson, a spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee, which has been active in mobilizing for Frazier's defense, denounced the verdict as "proof, if any is needed, that it is open season for the cops on young black males in racist America." This was part and parcel of a deadly escalation of cop terror against blacks and Hispanics in New York. The day before the verdict, the Civilian Complaint Review Board issued its biannual report, detailing the skyrocketing instances of cop shootings and prisoners killed in custody.

At the trial, the cops' story was full of holes. But, of course, the cops never thought they would be testifying in this case—they tried to make sure that

James Frazier never made it to a courtroom.

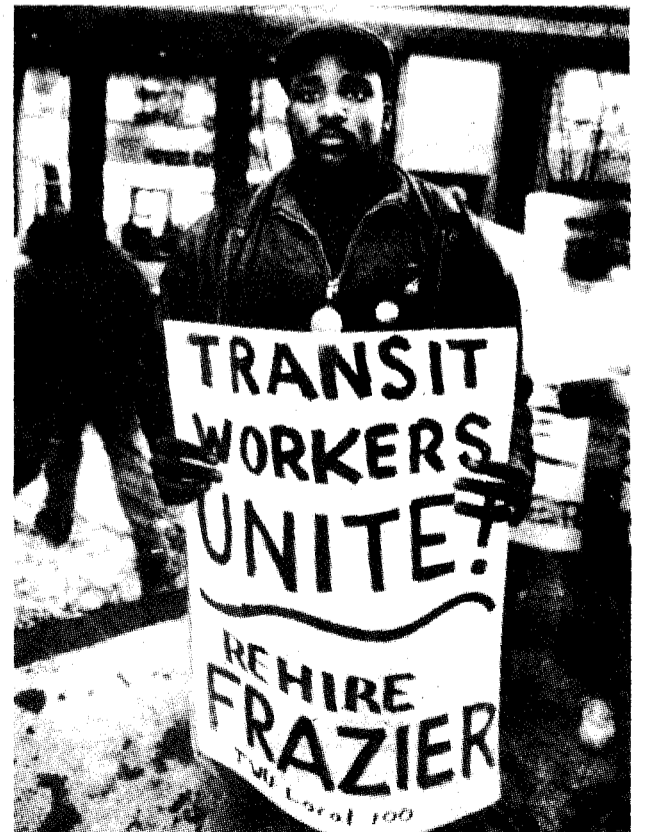
On the night Frazier was shot, he was driving to the hospital to see a seriously injured friend. In his haste, he took his second car, an Audi which had no plates. When he was stopped at a light in Brooklyn, a cop shot Frazier in the temple without warning. At the trial, an EMS ambulance technician testified that as they went to the hospital Frazier told him, "The police shot me and threw a gun in the car."

At the hospital, the cops told medical personnel that Frazier was dead. A couple of days later, as Frazier was recovering from surgery, his mother received a phone call from a Kings County Hospital worker asking a family member to hurry to the hospital because "the policeman who is guarding him up here is beating him up." Other patients in Frazier's room told her that the cops declared, "From now on your name will be Jimbo—we'll fix it so your family never sees you again." This attempted murder was stopped only by the intervention of the hospital staff, who sat by Frazier to prevent further assaults.

Having failed to kill James Frazier on the streets of Brooklyn, the cops and the courts continued to railroad him through their criminal system of injustice. The Transit Authority did its part by firing him before he was even operated on.

The jury acquitted Frazier on the more serious charge of possession "with intent to use," indicating they didn't buy the cops' story that he supposedly

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James Frazier at March 1994 rally in his defense called by Track Division of TWU Local 100 outside Transit Authority headquarters in Brooklyn.