

Asian Immigrants Attacked, Bensonhurst Lynchers On Trial

The New York Cauldron

MAY 14—For the last week this city has been poised on the edge, with an ear to the radio for news of the verdicts in the trial of the Bensonhurst racist mob that murdered black teenager Yusuf Hawkins last August 23. “There will be a riot if those boys get off. Definitely. Absolutely,” said one black woman, her sentiments echoed by two dozen black people interviewed by *Daily News* columnist Bob Herbert outside the courthouse in downtown Brooklyn. Across Prospect Park in Flatbush, black nationalist demagogue Sonny Carson has been whipping up his own brand of race-hatred, organizing a black boycott against a Korean green-

grocer. On Saturday night, this racist poison led to the predictable hideous result—a gang of black youth attacked the home of three Vietnamese immigrants, fracturing the skull of one with a hammer. Meanwhile, black liberal Democratic mayor David Dinkins tried to cool things out with appeals for “tolerance.”

Underlying the tension was the excruciating courtroom replay of the racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins. Day after day on Court Street, Stephen Murphy, the lawyer for lynch mob ringleader Keith Mondello, aggressively and sneeringly claims the murder “never had anything to do with race,” that

the white mob was just defending its “turf” against Gina Feliciano’s black “junkie friends.” In the midst of this, CCNY professor and racist ideologue Michael Levin declares that whites are justified in viewing blacks as criminals (see article page 4). When black protesters marched in Bensonhurst on Saturday, white residents screeched at them, their faces contorted with hatred, “Not Guilty! Not Guilty!” and “Do the white thing!” Yusuf’s father, Moses Stewart, remarked that to this day he had seen “no remorse,” not by the killers, not by Bensonhurst.

In the trial, the prosecution has practically guaranteed the killers will

get off light. Mondello and the triggerman Joey Fama may well not be convicted of premeditated murder, even though hours before Hawkins was shot to death Mondello boasted he would “blow the heads off the nigger bastards.” Star witness Gina Feliciano testified how Mondello said he had “five guns—three .38s and two .45s... and that he couldn’t wait until tonight.” The only witness the D.A. put on the stand who said he saw Fama shoot Yusuf Hawkins was a former mental patient, who also told his doctors he is controlled by helicopters. (He recanted his testimony on the last day, although

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As Soviet Jews Flee Pamyat Fascists...

Zionist Drive Toward “Greater Israel”

The bloody course of Zionist Israel appears heading toward a decisive turning point. The *intifada* (uprising) of the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied West Bank and Gaza for more than two years has defied Israel’s ability, despite mass terror from the army and settler fascist gangs, to control the territory it seized in the 1967 war. The economy is in shambles with 10 percent unemployment and 20 percent a year inflation. The “Grand Coalition” of Zionist parties collapsed six weeks ago and a new government has yet to be formed. Now the crisis-ridden and overextended Israeli state is experiencing a massive influx of Soviet Jews, driven out by rising anti-Semitism and fear of pogroms by Russian fascists, and encouraged by the Zionists. These Soviet Jewish immigrants are slated to be used as both a pretext and as shock troops in the Zionists’ “final solution” to the Palestinian question.

There are projections that this year alone as many as a quarter of a million Soviet Jews will arrive in Israel. In the first three months of 1990, 17,000 have already emigrated, more than the total number of Soviet Jews going to Israel between 1980 and 1988! And now they are expecting 20,000 a month in a mass exodus. Jewish immigrants leaving the



Arad/Woodfin Camp

USSR now are *not* committed Zionists and would prefer to go to the U.S. or another country in the West. But as a concession to Israel, Washington last fall sharply limited refugee status for Soviet Jews and then placed a 50,000 ceiling on



Robert/Syigma

Zionist rulers look to “war option” in drive to expel the Palestinians from the Occupied Territories. Israeli military terrorizes Arabs in West Bank (above).

total immigration from the USSR. As planeloads land in Tel Aviv, Palestinian representatives are desperately appealing to Gorbachev to curtail the outflow of Soviet Jews and to Bush to let them into the U.S.

“Big immigration requires Israel to be big as well,” pronounced Zionist terrorist and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir at the beginning of the year, adding: “we need the space to house the people”

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Defend the Palestinians! Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Reporter Uncovers U.S./Afghan Disinformation Nest

Last September it came out that CBS News had broadcast faked TV footage about Afghanistan (see "Dan Rather's Afghan Hoax," WV No. 487, 13 October 1989). Scenes of the supposed "largest sabotage operation of the war"—the blowing up of electric-power pylons—were staged by "freelance" photographer Mike Hoover. What Rather called the "biggest one-day defeat" for Soviet soldiers "since World War II" involved no Soviet soldiers at all. Shots purportedly showing a Soviet jet bombing an Afghan village turned out to be a Pakistani jet. And the shiny red "toy bomb" supposedly planted by the evil Soviets to lure Afghan children to their deaths was also reportedly the work of Hoover. Caught with their pants down, CBS promised to answer the charges "point by point," but they didn't, and the rest of the media quickly pulled a blanket of silence over the affair.

Just as Murdoch's *New York Post* was



Haakan Ludvigsson



Wide World

The dubious Kurt Lohbeck (left) was CBS's "eyes and ears on the Afghan conflict." Right: Dan Rather poses with Afghan mujahedin on 60 Minutes program pushing CIA disinformation in 1980.

unmasking the CBS fakery as part of its own vendetta against the liberal Rather, the *Wall Street Journal's* top executives were spiking an even more explosive exposé on the subject. Mary Williams

Walsh was the *Journal's* principal correspondent covering Afghanistan and Pakistan, often receiving high praise for her work. But when she submitted her article on the "corruption of CBS's Afghanistan coverage"—as she describes it in a document received by WV—she suddenly ran up against a stone wall. Some senior editors privately told her that "something fishy was going on"; the bottom line was they refused to publish her article while excluding her from the meetings where the decision was made.

Soon vicious, slanderous rumors suddenly began circulating to undermine her credibility, e.g., she was a "known troublemaker," jealous and jilted, and "sleeping with communist generals" in Afghanistan. In a rare show of journalistic integrity, Walsh resigned and is now Toronto bureau chief for the *Los Angeles Times*. She finally got her story printed in the *Columbia Journalism Review* (January/February), though it was almost killed there too, and the final version suffered some heavy cuts due to "some extraordinary last-minute institutional interference." The story was also covered by *Extra!* (published by Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) and in the May issue of the *Progressive*.

Walsh reveals that CBS's "eyes and ears on the Afghan conflict" was one Kurt Lohbeck, an ex-convict and son of a top PR man for the nativist American fascist Gerald L.K. Smith. Lohbeck had settled in Peshawar, Pakistan where his wife Anne Hurd was "field director" of something called the Mercy Fund, better known locally as the "Murky Fund." Walsh says Lohbeck acted as "some sort of gatekeeper" who decided which journalists got into Afghanistan to interview genuine guerrillas. He took care to build up one particular mujahedin leader, Abdul Haq, who is privately referred to by American diplomats as "Commander Hollywood." As Walsh relates in *CJR*:

"The U.S. government encouraged journalists to touch base with Lohbeck and Hurd, whose names were on a list of 'selected contacts for covering Afghan affairs' handed out to reporters who stopped by the United States Information Service office in Peshawar. The handout listed the Mercy Fund—the only 'hostel for journalists' listed; Lohbeck—the only network representative listed—appears under 'C' for CBS."

The Mercy Fund claims to raise money for medical MASH units in Afghanistan, but "its financial statements show that its biggest budget item isn't health care at all but a 'public information' project," Walsh notes in the *Progressive*. The "public information" is really just right-wing propaganda sheets. The Washington director of the Mercy Fund, one Tony Campaigne, reportedly has control of "hundreds of thousands of dollars in grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development." Needless to say, most of the regular media reporters who passed through Peshawar simply fed Lohbeck's prepackaged garbage into their

articles. No wonder that one "senior intelligence official" admitted to Walsh that "American reporters certainly had made his job easier" because they were so "docile."

Walsh presents the story as an issue of journalistic ethics, but what's really involved here are class interests. It's easy to recognize The Company's fingerprints on Lohbeck/Mercy Fund. CBS and Dan Rather were producing government-sponsored, imperialist war propaganda—disinformation—as was the rest of the U.S. mass media which snapped to attention for Washington's anti-Soviet jihad throughout the '80s. The flip side of this is journalistic coverup, as in the refusal to investigate the roles of Reagan and Bush in the Iran/Contra affair, where the media and the Democratic-controlled Congress acted in concert with the White House in protecting the interests of the ruling class. Ditto for the executives of the *Wall Street Journal* when they spiked Mary Williams Walsh's story.

And they do play dirty. Since they were backing some of the purest male chauvinist pigs on earth—the mujahedin, who literally buy and sell women—it's no wonder they used sexist innuendo to try to discredit a woman reporter. Walsh, who began her career with a Bagehot Fellowship to attend Columbia University's School of Journalism, seems to be one of those rare people who really believed the ethics of Journalism 101, in which journalists write "the truth" and "good" newspapers eagerly print it. She even managed to slip some truth about Afghanistan into the *Wall Street Journal*—in spite of her support of the U.S.-backed mujahedin—when she suggested that women's liberation was involved, as in a January 1989 piece which we quoted in WV (No. 471, 17 February 1989):

"In a backward country where the female peasantry still toils like medieval serfs, Kabuli women have managed to hold on to many 20th-century freedoms.... Instead of staying at home behind purdah walls, they emerge each day and work in offices, hospitals and schools."

From the beginning, the Afghan war pitted the forces of elementary social progress against medieval reactionaries, the landlords, mullahs and khans, armed to the teeth by the U.S. in order to kill Russian soldiers. That is why we took the side of the Kabul regime and frankly hailed Soviet intervention at a time when much of the left fell in behind Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Walsh found out that those who display too much integrity, honesty and backbone get thrown out of the "club" (there were reportedly drinks all around when the news of her departure from the *Journal* reached the American Club in Peshawar). We hope some brave souls continue to slip bits of the truth into the mass media. But if you want to get the full story, read *Workers Vanguard*, which tells the truth that the bourgeoisie wants to hide. ■

Workers Defense Against Anti-Semitic Terror



TROTSKY

In the absence of a genuinely communist party based on the working class, the disintegration of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe has unleashed the latent forces of reactionary nationalism and violent anti-Semitism. Soviet Jews now live in fear of pogroms by the Russian fascists of Pamyat. The revolutionary Marxist movement in the tsarist empire was built in part by uniting Russian, Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish



LENIN

and Transcaucasian workers against the Black Hundreds and other anti-Semitic pogromists. Hersh Mendel, a Polish Jew who joined the Bolshevik Party and later became a member of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, recalls such workers defense groups when he was a boy during the Revolution of 1905.

The situation grew even more ominous when we got wind of the fact that a wave of ghastly pogroms was sweeping Russia and all the towns and shtetls [villages] where the Jewish people lived. Nevertheless, it seemed as if freedom had won the day, for the workers kept coming to the hiring halls again and again without interference by the police. Economic strikes were conducted, party proclamations were freely distributed and party newspapers sold—and nobody stood in the way. I was too young to take it all in. The situation was peculiar: everybody was exuberant about the revolution but feared the morrow at the same time.... I thought that the pogromists would have to come from Russia, that when they had finished their work there, the tsar would send them to us in Poland. I had come to the conclusion that they would have to come from Russia, that they could not be indigenous Poles, because there were also Polish workers participating in the self-defense organizations. On Pawia Street there were more Polish workers organized for self-defense than Jewish workers. The Polish workers continually assured us that Poland was not Russia and that there would be no pogroms here.

Every courtyard had its committee; our courtyard was no exception. During the night the gate was locked. The self-defense groups stationed themselves at specific points while scouts took to the streets. I remember that from time to time, whenever the alarm sounded, the self-defense groups threw themselves into specially readied droshkies [carriages] at the snap of a finger and hurried off to meet the threat. Aside from the active self-defense groups, there were also auxiliary groups composed of all the occupants of the apartment house, especially the Jewish ones. They were armed with whatever was at hand: axes, hatchets, knives. Men from every calling came armed with the tools of their trade. My father too was in one of these auxiliary groups. After the gate to the courtyard was locked, they stood at the entrance and waited. Their assignment was to defend the gate in case of attack.

—Hersh Mendel, *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary*
(first published in Yiddish in 1959)

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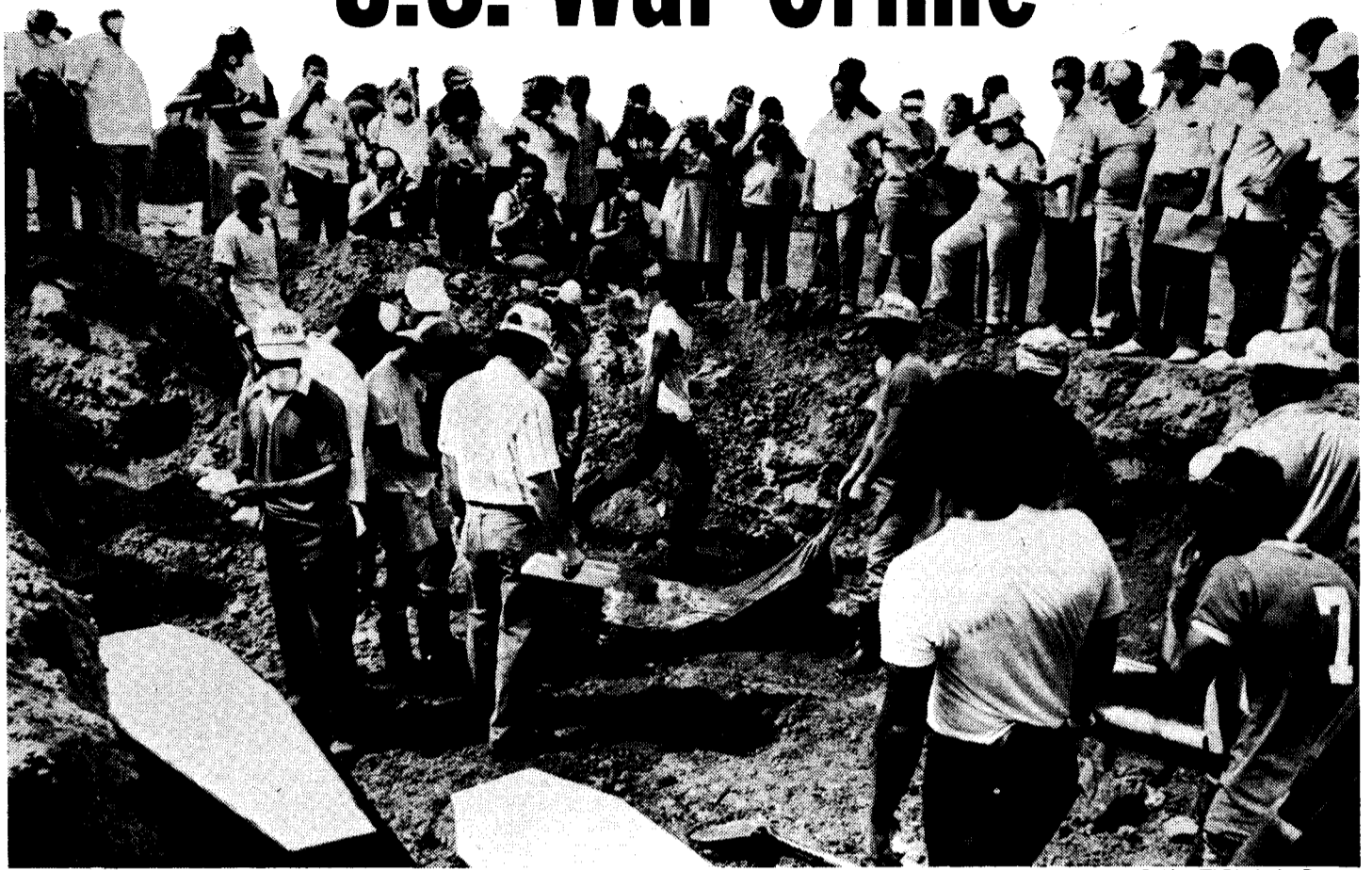
Mass Graves Found in Panama

U.S. War Crime

Just as Washington was trumpeting the victory of the "free world" with the opening of the Berlin Wall, the United States carried out a full-scale invasion of a country in its own "backyard" to "arrest" the head of state. It was the biggest show of U.S. military force since the Vietnam War. The country is Panama, the head of state General Manuel Antonio Noriega, a well paid, highly connected longtime CIA operative. And it was the Panamanian population which bore the brunt of the invasion. With all the high-tech weaponry, several thousand men (both military and civilian), women and children were killed in "surgical" bombing followed by cold-blooded slaughter that went by the name of a "mopping-up operation."

The U.S. Southern Command (Southcom) declared that the total number of civilian dead was 202. When this was met with disbelief, the Pentagon began talking about "collateral damage" and the difficulties in distinguishing "bona fide civilians." A delegation from the National Lawyers Guild spoke with a volunteer worker at Santo Tomás hospital who reported that on Christmas Day (the fifth day of the invasion) she had copied a list of 345 dead, and saw another list of an additional 200 fatalities.

Later, Washington tried to reduce the number of civilian casualties. But on April 29, the Pentagon death tally was exposed as a blatant lie when a hydraulic scoop opened a 100-foot-long mass grave in the Jardín de Paz (Garden of Peace) cemetery in Panama City. The U.S. war crime was laid bare as, one after another, 123 bodies in green plastic body bags were lifted out. The victims were buried by GIs and hired help (who were paid \$20 a day). Vicky Peláez, a reporter for



Pentagon cover-up uncovered: Workers dig out bodies from mass grave in Panama City cemetery where 123 bodies were dumped in body bags by U.S. military. During December invasion press was prevented from photographing this.

Vicky Peláez/El Diario-La Prensa

one single shot fired into their heads, indicating executions. Others came in with bullet wounds but had been subsequently bayoneted to make sure they were dead. Numerous witnesses report US troops used flame throwers to burn piles of dead bodies.... Tanks flattened people's cars, homes and bodies in the streets. Whole shanties were blown apart by mortar fire with residents inside. Residents report soldiers collecting bodies in plastic bags and transporting them elsewhere."

Housing projects were subjected to hours of mortar fire, killing many residents, after only a two-minute warning! In the neighborhood of El Chorrillo, next to army headquarters in Panama City, tracer bullets ignited frail wooden structures while bombs blew up others with the residents still inside. U.S. troops encircled the city of Colón, largely populated by Caribbean blacks, barraging it with mortar fire, trapping the residents who were unable to escape to safety.

At the April 5-NYC Town Hall meeting, Olga Mejía of the Panamanian National Commission of Human Rights declared eloquently, "This invasion shall never be justified as a just cause." "The massacre of Chorrillo, of Colón, of San Miguelito and the other marginal communities was a crime against humanity," she went on. "That was our 'Merry Christmas.' Many people who left running were machine-gunned down in the streets by the American troops. Others were found dead in the walkways of the buildings, or found trapped among the ruins, or dismembered, rendered totally unrecognizable by the bombs or the flamethrowers. They were incinerated by the American troops and thrown in plastic bags. Many cadavers were thrown into the ocean. Thousands of body parts—arms and legs, parts of the head—were converted into waste matter."

The U.S. press corps covered up these dirty crimes of Bush's "splendid little war" in Panama. They dutifully printed handouts from the Pentagon and State Department. Stateside TV coverage featured "soft" images of U.S. soldiers patting youngsters, celebrating Christmas, recovering in the hospital and crowds cheering. But the thousands of injured and homeless, the widows, orphans and mourners were not interviewed by the Pentagon-organized "press pool" (cess-pool). The corpses were mute, the mangled bodies simply disappeared. They

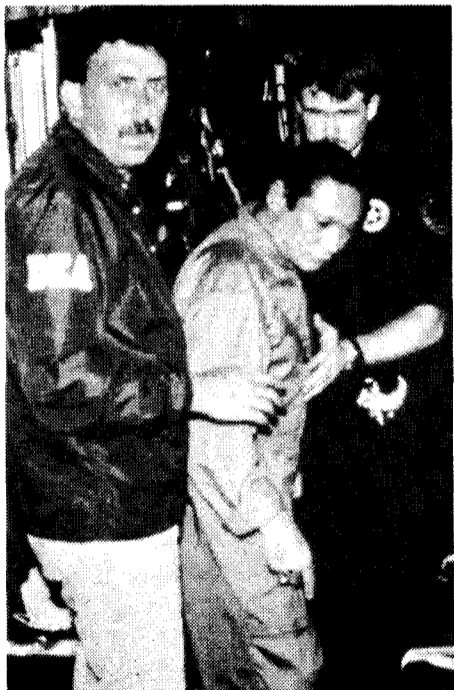
were just "collateral damage" as the U.S. tried out the Stealth fighter bomber (which missed its targets by hundreds of yards), laser targeting, infrared sights and a whole high-tech arsenal for night fighting and urban warfare.

On May Day, an estimated 10,000 workers marched in the streets of Panama City demanding U.S. troops get out of the country. The economy is in ruins, overall unemployment is at an all-time high of over 35 percent. The construction industry is almost completely stopped, 45,000 public sector workers have lost their jobs, and in the countryside landowners are demanding "their" lands back from peasants who received them in the limited land reform. Destruction is estimated at \$3 billion, but even the \$1 billion in promised U.S. aid hasn't arrived. While Bush's bloated puppet president Guillermo Endara declared a fast, thousands face starvation. This is Panama today, living under the "democracy" of U.S. military occupation, in the "peace" of the mass graves.

Meanwhile, Manuel Antonio Noriega languishes in a jail cell in Florida. Despite the talk of a "free trial," U.S. courts

have declared it immaterial whether "arrests" in foreign countries are legal. Noriega's lawyers resigned in protest over the government's freezing of his assets (a standard tactic under RICO "racketeering" statutes to prevent defendants from getting adequate legal counsel). Washington would like to put off a trial forever, to prevent Noriega from spilling the beans about the U.S. government's own involvement in drug trafficking (and his dealings with ex-CIA chief Bush).

Noriega was a guard dog for the Yankee imperialists who slipped his leash. By sacrificing several thousand lives, Bush has now installed an obedient government of "sober-minded politicians" whose aim is "safeguarding of U.S. strategic interests," to renegotiate the 1977 Carter-Torrijos treaties and secure "the U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal area till well after the year 2000" (from a 26 March 1987 State Department letter to Senator Jesse Helms). We say: U.S. get the hell out of Panama! And we vow that the American workers revolution will avenge the victims of this imperialist mass murder made in U.S.A. ■



U.S. Department of Defense

"Drug war" vigilantes: U.S. agents kidnap Panamanian general Manuel Antonio Noriega, after invading country on pretext of arresting him.

the NYC *El Diario/La Prensa*, was present at the exhumation along with many mourning relatives. Human rights activists told her of an additional 14 mass graves, at Amador, Ancón, Corozal, Balboa, Codense, Colón, Chepo, Chilibrí, Franfil, Pacora, Pedro Nuevo, San Miguelito, and the military bases at Marina de Colón and Río Hato. This does not include casualties from fighting in Chiriquí province and other distant parts of the interior of Panama.

At a meeting on April 5 at Town Hall in New York City, an Independent Commission of Inquiry on the U.S. Invasion of Panama circulated a document reporting that Panamanian bishops Ariz and Emiliani estimate 3,000 dead due to the invasion, the majority being civilians. The same document says:

"Many people were killed and injured from shrapnel and exploding bullets. Many of the dead were brought in with

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Young Spartacus

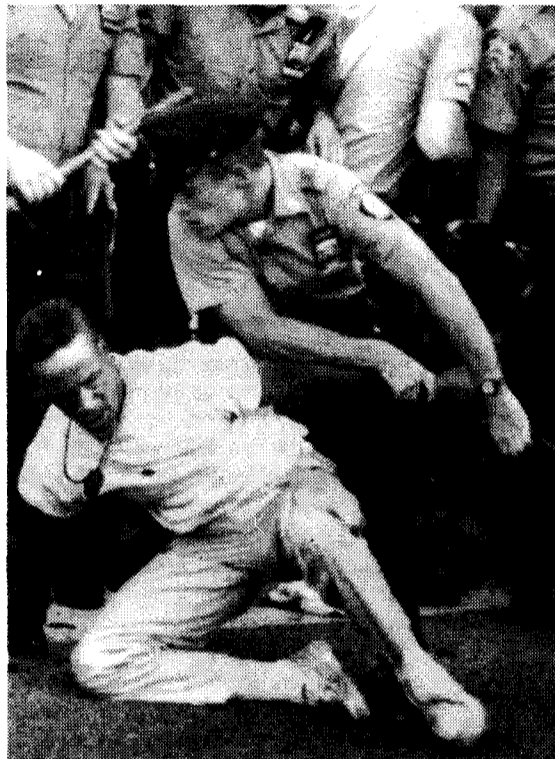
Working-Class, Minority Youth Under Attack

CCNY Professor Levin— Mouthpiece for Race-Hate

Racist violence is at an all-time high on American college campuses. Emboldened bigots have lashed out with impunity at blacks, gays, Jews and other minorities at schools across the country. The spate of threats and provocations, cross-burnings and violent lynch mob attacks are not just so many "isolated" incidents; nationwide there is a race-hate movement to drive blacks out. And it is having an effect. While the so-called integrated schools get whiter year by year, many black students are choosing black colleges partly out of fear. Now at New York City's predominantly black and Hispanic CCNY campus, a white philosophy professor, Michael Levin, has emerged as a chief ideologue and apologist for white-supremacy and racism.

Levin has been polluting the air at CCNY for a long time. His repugnant statements about black people have made him a subject of controversy and protest off and on since he first came to CCNY in 1969. But today he's center ring in the media circus, making public appearances and grabbing headlines to blare his bigotry, precisely because today the streets and campuses teem with thugs who are already putting his views into action. Levin incites them and he alibis them. What makes this man so dangerous is that he is not the oddball lunatic fringe but the academic spokesman for a reactionary climate where racial slurs have become socially acceptable and physical violence commonplace.

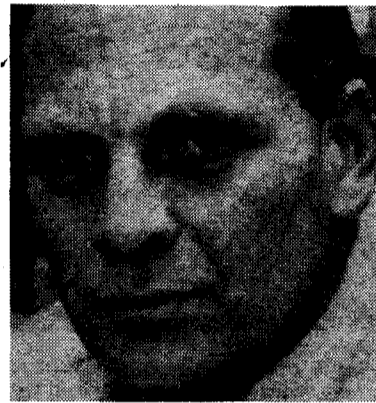
From his tenured academic enclave in the middle of black Harlem Levin preaches that the decline of American education is due to racial integration, deploring "the staggering energy expended to bring American Negroes into the educational mainstream" while "the average black is significantly less intelligent than the average white" (*New York Observer*, 7 May). Levin is for apartheid-style state repression of the black population (a draft speech called for herding blacks into segregated police-patrolled



Mahmood Nadia/Impact Visuals

subway cars) and for the police to stop all blacks who drive fancy cars ("blacks are so largely involved in crime"). He defends shopowners who bar blacks from their stores (a "discriminatory inconvenience for innocent blacks" is not "too high a price for reducing the risk of murder for white store owners").

The man is a walking incitement to riot—and that's exactly what happened on May 2 when cops rioted against students who protested an appearance by Levin at Long Island University's Brooklyn campus. In the shadow of the Brooklyn courthouse where a white lynch mob is on trial for last summer's murder of Yusuf Hawkins, Michael Levin delivered a speech titled "White Fear of Crime Is Morally and Epistemologically Justified." Claiming "whites are morally justified in viewing all blacks as criminals" and "blackness alone is a sign of danger," Levin gave the argument for the white



NY Daily News

Michael Levin, ideologue for white supremacy, apartheid-style repression. Left: NYC cops club black protesters trying to cross Brooklyn Bridge into Manhattan, August 1989.

gang in Bensonhurst that pulled the trigger. As one woman in the audience challenged Levin, "Are you telling me that those people were justified in killing Yusuf Hawkins because he was coming to their neighborhood to mug them?"

About 50 students gathered outside Levin's speech. As they began chanting "Levin must go!" 100 cops moved in, spraying mace and swinging billy clubs, pushing and beating students to the ground. Levin fled the stage and scurried out a back exit with police escorts. (What a performance from a man who fancies men to be naturally ordained "hunters," "stronger and more daring" than women, whom he deems intellectual weaklings.) In the melee outside, nine students were arrested and one was taken to a nearby hospital to be treated for head injuries. The editor of the school newspaper, arrested while trying to photograph the cop rampage, said: "I liken Levin coming

here to a KKK member burning a flag in your backyard." We say: *Down with racist ideologue Levin! Drop all charges against the LIU protesters!*

What's needed is a movement with the social power to sweep the lynchers off the streets. The Spartacus Youth Club has been in the forefront of the fight to ally students with labor to stop racist attacks—arguing for strike action and integrated defense guards, not bullshit "sensitivity training" for racist punks. In November 1988 we brought busloads of students from campuses along the eastern seaboard and as far west as Madison, Wisconsin to join forces with big battalions from the union movement in a massive demonstration that stopped the KKK and skinhead fascists from carrying out a white-supremacist provocation in the streets of Philadelphia. It's actions like this, that mobilize the strategic power of the working class on behalf of all the oppressed, that will change the social climate through decisive victories over the race-haters.

Levin's "Theories"— A Racist Lie

Levin tries to cloak his program for brutal racist repression in the "objectivity" of science but his "theories" are nothing more than the recycled trash of Nazi eugenicists like the infamous Dr. Mengele. The Nazis' "theories" of genetic racial inferiority also did not occur in a vacuum but were the ideological cover for *extermination* of six million Jews and millions more "non-Aryans." Today, in a period of escalating cop terror in the ghetto streets, desperate unemployment for black youth, and rising infant mortality, Professor Levin is the willing ideologue for a "natural" racist order that is aiming at *state-sponsored genocide* of the black population.

Like William Shockley (who was linked to the fascist J.B. Stoner) and Arthur Jensen, Michael Levin cites the scores on standardized IQ tests for his fraudulent claims of white superiority. But there is no such thing as a "race gene," and these IQ tests reflect and have historically been used to bolster the inequalities of the racist status quo. The first IQ test administered in this country, the Army Mental Tests of World War I, were used as an argument for the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 to bar non-European and southern European immigrants—who were also often radical labor agitators—from entering this country. These tests do *not* measure intelligence, which in any case cannot be quantified in a single form, but are at best a measure of *education*. And it's no secret that blacks get less and worse education due to the inherent racism of class inequality in this society where "good schools" are in wealthy white suburbs while inner-city schools

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Young Spartacus

Columbia University, 1987—Mass demonstration against racist attacks on campus. Spartacist signs call for labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror.

Chicago Cops Beat Up Grade Schoolers

CHICAGO—On April 10 a squad of city cops went berserk outside Morrill Elementary School, clubbing, punching and kicking a group of mostly Hispanic and black students as they scrambled for cover. More than a dozen children, none older than 14, were sent to area hospitals for treatment of their injuries.

One eleven-year-old black youth spoke from a wheelchair in St. Anthony Hospital: "I was trying to get into the building but then the police hit me with a stick" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 11 April). Morrill is located in the Marquette Park neigh-

borhood, a longtime bastion of all-white segregation. The apartheid-style assault on children began after some 150 students, many accompanied by parents, walked out of the school to protest the firing of the principal, Eduardo Cada-vid, by the newly elected local school council.

A similar cop riot against black students took place March 1 at Morgan Park High, one of Chicago's few integrated high schools. After the school council fired the white principal, someone pulled a fire alarm in protest. As black and

white students gathered outside the school, an argument ensued and the cops charged, swinging clubs and steel flashlights at the black teenagers. Several students sustained severe injuries. Ten youths—all but one of them black—were arrested and charged with "mob" action. Later that week an integrated crowd of 150 people, mostly students, marched to the Morgan Park district police station in protest.

This is how "school reform" is implemented in Segregation City, U.S.A. Chicago's "school reform," instituted last fall, created nearly 600 local school councils with the power to allocate funds, determine curriculums, and hire or fire principals. More than 17,000 candidates ran for positions on these councils, which are comprised mostly of parents and community representatives, with token teacher representation. With federal and state funding for education cut to ribbons over the past decade, the "reform" plan amounts to "community control" of rotting, overcrowded and segregated institutions of state-sponsored ignorance.

Separate-but-unequal education is more than ever the rule in Chicago, with 280 of the city's 594 schools virtually all-black, while 10 of the 27 suburban districts remain completely white. The high school dropout rate is a staggering 45 percent (more than 80 percent in some ghetto schools), and half of the schools rank in the bottom one percent nationwide in college entrance exam scores. The average high school graduate



Lenahan/Chicago Sun-Times

Victims of cop riot: Daniel De La Cruz and Albert Kaspar, both age 12; 11-year-old Eric Orr in wheelchair.



Alcock/Chicago Sun-Times

Students protest police attacks at Morgan Park High School, March 5.

reads at the eighth grade level.

In black and Hispanic neighborhoods the schools have become day-prisons, many of them outfitted with metal detector entrances. Student drug testing and dope-sniffing dogs are spreading like Exxon crude. Student protest is treated like a Joliet Prison riot. When one group of eighth-graders was toured through police headquarters in early February, they thought they were being treated to "something out of a fairy tale," as one of them put it. Another added: "When police stop people in my neighborhood, they call you 'n----r' or 'punk' and treat you mean. The people down here were all smiles to us. But when you're out there in the street...it's not like that" (*Chicago Defender*, 7 February).

continued on page 12

Abortion Rights Pioneer Censored at "Pro-Choice" Rally

Feminists Try to Ban Bill Baird in Boston

BOSTON—Twenty years to the day that Bill Baird was "banned in Boston" for pioneering the fight for women's abortion rights, he was again censored and threatened with arrest on Boston Common. But on May Day 1990 the outrage was committed by a bunch of junior bureaucrats in the "Massachusetts Student Walkout for Choice." Bill Baird has been fighting for abortion and contraceptive rights longer than his would-be student censors have been on the planet. But to keep things cool for capitalist politicians like Democratic gubernatorial candidate Frank Bel-lotti (who Baird successfully opposed in his landmark 1975 case which won wider access to abortion for minors in Massachusetts), the student bureaucrats tried to muzzle the impassioned Baird.

It didn't quite work out that way. Bill Baird turned up at the rally with a banner demanding free speech and free choice—and a tape recording of the organizers' threats to bring a restraining order against him! The Spartacist League issued and distributed a statement, addressed to Baird, protesting the exclusion: "You should be a guest of honor at any women's rights gathering!... We in the Spartacist League

honor your brave 30-year struggle for women's fundamental right to abortion and birth control, and particularly your work for these rights for working-class and poor women." Rally organizers literally tried to snatch the SL statement out of people's hands and ran wildly from tree to tree with reels of "POLICE LINE—DO NOT CROSS" tape and circulated the lie that Baird intended to "storm" the stage! Many protesters were shocked and disgusted to learn of the exclusion scandal and personally went up to Baird to voice their support and admiration for him.

Not so the fake-left. The Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Action and other outfits refused to say one word in defense of Bill Baird, even when we explicitly challenged them to do so. While "Right to Life" creeps were free to roam through the crowd with their signs, the rally organizers marshaled a phalanx of cops and Guardian Angel vigilantes to harass Bill Baird and the Spartacist League. But our determined opposition and public exposure of their shameful exclusion attempt proved stronger than their dictatorial antics. "Pro-choice" activists who deliberately play into the hands of the reactionary right-to-lifers and police certainly can't



Young Spartacus

Bill Baird (center) protests his exclusion at Boston Common rally, May 1. Spartacist signs salute Baird's lifelong fight for women's rights.

lead the fight for abortion rights in this society.

As a socialist organization we fight for free abortion on demand and for

mass mobilizations of women, minorities and centrally the power of labor to defend the clinics. Women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Striking New York City Unionists Rally

Six hundred trade unionists, many of them on strike, rallied on May 3 outside the Port Authority's 42nd Street bus terminal chanting "scabs must go!" Greyhound drivers and mechanics have been out for two months, immigrant Haitian and Dominican garment workers are striking for union recognition at Domsey Trading, and Eastern workers remain on strike after 14 months, having outlasted Lorenzo. At the *Daily News*, ten unions have been put on hold by the bureaucrats, marking time as the paper prepares to run scabs. New York City workers could sure use some labor solidarity—beginning with massive support for the organizing drive by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), which brought out a sizable and spirited contingent on May 3. What they got instead was hot air.

Demonstrators heard speeches from ATU Local 1202 (Greyhound) president Harold Mendlowitz, an ILGWU organizer and a whole gaggle of Central Labor Council big shots like TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall. All of these pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats abuse the words "unity" and "solidarity" as a cover for their legalistic, gutless maneuvers relying on "friend of labor" capitalist politicians and courts. The ATU bureaucrats' no-fight ideas consist of appeals for consumers to boycott Greyhound while Mendlowitz makes pleas to the scab-herding cops to enforce an obscure city ordinance against recruitment of scabs in NYC proper.

The scab buses continue to roll uncontested out of the Port Authority, while outside on the street the bureaucrats blow hot air. Although Greyhound lost \$56 million last quarter, the bus company has arrogantly and falsely claimed that the strike is over. A union spokesman responded "that's like Napoleon declaring victory at Waterloo." But it will become a Waterloo for the ATU if the scab buses aren't stopped now. Real labor unity and solidarity means building mass picket lines to stop the scab buses and keep the strikebreakers out of Domsey.

Behind a big ATU Local 1202 banner, union contingents from the city transit workers union to the Teamsters marched from the Port Authority to Rockefeller Center, shouting "No justice, no peace!" and "What do we want? Contract!" Domsey strikers marched and sang in the ILGWU contingent with signs proclaiming they

"strongly support Eastern Airline and Greyhound Line strikers." A group of mine workers up from the coal fields also marched. One miner, not taken in by the glowing rhetoric from the fake-left about the Pittston contract, told *WV* that it was a sellout and most Pittston miners only grudgingly voted it up.

The lessons of the union bureaucracy's sabotage of labor's recent battles from Pittston to Eastern (where a court-appointed trustee carries on Lorenzo's union-busting) must be drawn. Take the Domsey strike: real trade-union solidarity could quickly win that strike against a racist cockroach capitalist outfit. Mass pickets to stop the scabs, Teamsters refusing to handle "hot cargo," and one visit from an ILA delegation explaining to the sweatshop bosses that dock workers won't load Domsey rags unless the company rehires the strikers and recognizes the garment workers union with a decent contract—that would do the job! And a victory here would go a long way to stiffening the backs of labor facing assaults by union-busting bosses, from Greyhound to the *Daily News*. For victory to NYC labor—Stop the scabs now!

Defend Fired Haitian Workers!

LONG ISLAND, NY—Haitian workers at the Filtron Co. are fighting a mass firing of 26 workers. The sackings are an act of racist retribution against these immigrant workers who took off work April 20 to join with tens of thousands of other Haitian workers in lower Manhattan denouncing the Food and Drug Administration's attempt to ban all Haitians from donating blood as possible "AIDS carriers." A rally at the Bethpage defense contractor's electronics plant on May 4 brought out almost a hundred supporters of the fired workers who braved the rain to demand their jobs back. After giving management a month's notice of their plans to attend the April 20 demo, the sacked workers got telegrams the day after the rally informing them that they were fired.

On the Monday following the April 20 protest, the fired workers were barred at the factory entrance by six cop cars. The workers then learned that Filtron bosses had replaced them with white employees earning \$4 to \$5 more per hour! At the May 4 rally, Filtron workers carried signs reading "Filtron Shame on You...What a



May 4—Rally at Filtron Co. in Bethpage, New York against firing of Haitian workers.

Racist Company" while chanting "Hey, hey, Filtron, stop supporting FDA" and "Management must go!" These militant Haitian workers are also fighting against a company union, the National Organization of Industrial Trade Unions, which has colluded with management in the firings. We demand their immediate reinstatement—No victimizations!

Various lawsuits have been filed against Filtron by Haitian community groups and lawyers, including with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. But the way to win back the jobs of these workers and a real union at Filtron has already been demonstrated—workers action to stop production. The April 20 rally against the FDA blood ban was a de facto general strike by New York Haitians, and they won. NYC labor should give full backing to these courageous workers by manning picket lines to shut down the racist Filtron exploiters.

Over a quarter million Haitians reside in New York City alone. The Spartacist League appeals to these and other class-conscious workers to join us in building a multiracial vanguard party to lead the international struggle against racist, capitalist exploitation through socialist revolution. ■

TWU Bureaucrats Join in Blaming Victims NYC Transit Workers Killed by TA Policy

On May 8, signal maintainer Robert Nicholson and his helper Daniel Walsh were sent out to make an emergency signal repair south of the Kings Highway station in Gravesend, Brooklyn. Between them they had 36 years of service as NYC transit workers and outstanding safety records. It was rush hour. They evaded a northbound train but were crushed to death minutes later by a southbound F train.

The motorman had 22 years experience on the job but was never informed by the tower that men were working ahead on the track and there was no flagman to stop oncoming trains. The Transit Authority sends signal maintainers out without flagmen: workers' lives are cheaper than adequate manning scales. So two more workers are dead because of the TA's callous disregard for workers' lives.

In an incredible obscenity, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Sonny Hall has now *joined the TA in blaming Nicholson and Walsh* for "bad safety habits" and waiving "the safety rules" (*Chief-Leader*, 18 May)!

In a little over a year, five transit workers have been killed and many more badly injured on the job: James Byrne crushed to death on the J line less than six months ago on a section of incorrect-



Gravesend, Brooklyn—Track where two transit workers were crushed by train.

ly marked track; 12 track workers engulfed in a fireball and three with critical burns over large sections of their faces and bodies when they were sent to work near the 600 volt third rail with the power on; telephone maintainers Stewart Melsinker and David Davis killed on the curved tracks at Astor Place last March—train operators were never told they were ahead on the track.

Hundreds of transit workers have attended the wakes for Nicholson and Walsh, paying their last respects to their

union brothers who were killed by the TA's callous disregard for workers' lives. At the recent Workers Memorial Day ceremony in New York, James Byrne's brother demanded that the "mass murderers at the Transit Authority" be held accountable.

The TA spends millions on drug testing and spies ("beakies") but won't spend the money for the necessary safety measures or adequate manpower to save workers' lives. In the latest tragedy, the shocked motorman was immediately

given drug and urine tests. Did the D.A. also scrape the blood of the victims off the tracks for testing?

Blaming the victim is standard operating procedure in the TA—dead men can't talk. And the TWU bureaucracy is there to cover up the TA's crimes. Local 100 Safety Director George McDonald also attacked the dead men, telling *Workers Vanguard* they failed to "put out flags." And when they aren't blaming the victims, the union tops' policy is "Do it and grieve it later." In this decrepit and dangerous industry that policy means "die first, then grieve it."

The transit system will not be safe for workers or riders until workers control safety practices. Militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU are fighting for elected union safety committees with the power and authority to *shut down* all unsafe and dangerous work on the spot. As they wrote in a leaflet issued after the death of Melsinker and Davis last year:

"The only way workers have ever won anything, including safety in the workplace, is by wielding their power in defiance of the bosses laws.... We spend every day in the tunnels and barns and under the buses and cars and we know what works. Without us, the city doesn't move. You can bet if we ran transit, we'd make it run safe!" ■

For Workers Mobilization to Crush the Fascists!

Nazi Outrages in East Berlin

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 70 (8 May), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

In the aftermath of the March 18 Volkskammer [parliament] elections, which brought the parties of the Fourth Reich into the government, the fascists in the DDR [East Germany] have been going over to the offensive in an increasingly brutal and brazen fashion. On April 20, following a stomping march through Berlin, hundreds of brawling Nazis/skinheads rioted for hours in Alexanderplatz, in "celebration" of Hitler's birthday, raucously shouting racist slogans and wounding over 50 people. They smashed up the "Mocca Bar," known as a homosexual meeting place, and attacked the patrons with knives and stones. Previously they had attempted without success to attack first a Jewish cemetery and then a squatters' building known as an anti-fascist center.

But in contrast to policemen who wanted at long last to drive out the skinhead gangs, the Volkspolizei leadership on the spot in Alexanderplatz allowed them to shout fascist slogans such as "Splatter Turks and Reds" and "Heil Hitler" and to wreak violent havoc for



Skinhead punks give Nazi salute in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz, April 20, to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday.

nately terrorized people who stopped in the streets. When a supporter of the Spartakist Workers Party intervened to defend his wife he was wounded in the eye. In Cottbus and Sangerhausen skinhead gangs wrecked several restaurants

Ever since the collapse of the Berlin Wall, and of the Stalinist system along with it, the squads of Nazi thugs have been openly offering their services to capital, for example at Kohl's election rally in Dresden last December where



Spartakist

Spartakist Workers Party, marching on May Day from East to West Berlin, calls for workers united-front action to stop the fascists and for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families. Front banner reads: "Against Privatization—No to Capitalist Reunification!"

hours on end. It was only after some 400 anti-fascist Autonomen and youths showed up from Kreuzberg [in West Berlin] that the skinheads were driven out by the police. A Turkish anti-fascist from Kreuzberg described it: "It wasn't until we heard that the skins had attacked a gay hangout and beaten people up pretty badly that people decided to go over."

Since this horrendous Nazi provocation in the capital of the DDR, mob actions and terrorist attacks by fascist gangs have escalated throughout the country. Over 500 armed "neo"-Nazis and Nazi skinheads, who in large part came from West Germany, gathered the next weekend for an "All-Germany Meeting" in Nordhausen, stormed a restaurant, attacked the patrons and then barricaded themselves in. Only after a pitched battle with the police were they driven out.

In Dresden over 500 skinheads rampaged through subway stations after a soccer game. In another case they directed their deadly terror against a Vietnamese man traveling by train to Berlin, chasing him the whole length of the train. In Halle, scattered skinhead groups and fascists in bomber jackets indiscrimi-

and injured patrons and staff. And on May Day, the international day of the working class, the [fascist] "Central Germany National Democrats" were able to openly assemble in the Leipzig marketplace while police held back hundreds of counterdemonstrators.

In West Germany and West Berlin fascist skinhead terror—especially against immigrant workers and other minorities—is part of the daily scene. Eight hundred Nazis gathered in Munich on April 23 to "celebrate" Hitler's beer-hall putsch. Three days later, 1,200 police protected a Republikaner meeting in Wuppertal. West German Nazi "führers" are now focusing their activities (and their money) on the DDR.

We have warned from the beginning that a capitalist Anschluss (annexation) of the DDR will not take place peacefully. The fascists are merely the spearhead of the terror that a Fourth Reich would bring to minorities and the working class. The workers must organize now to defend their organizations and in defense of their foreign coworkers, homosexuals, Jews, all the intended victims of fascist terror.

they cleared the streets of counterdemonstrators for him. And the anti-Communist witchhunt staged by the imperialists and their Social Democratic lackeys against PDSers and ex-members of the SED [the former ruling Stalinist

party] and left-wing activists gives a green light for fascist attacks on the workers movement.

The first victims of the capitalist Anschluss of the DDR are working people from abroad. In the past few weeks alone, plant directors have laid off thousands of mainly Vietnamese workers, following the racist logic "before a German goes, a Vietnamese goes." In Dresden last week a general "freeze on the admission of foreigners" was decreed under the pretext of the housing shortage. At the same time, the government's commissioner for foreigners, Almuth Berger, called for the enactment of quotas for foreigners.

Today German imperialism hides its Drang nach Osten [drive to the East] behind "peace-loving" phrases, but it is the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz that is at work setting up its Fourth Reich. In the Volkskammer elections of March 18 only the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany ran on a program of unconditional opposition to capitalist reunification. The PDS [the renamed SED], seeking to define itself as an opposition party within a capitalist Germany, thereby feeds illusions in a "new democracy."

Thus, following the Nazi march in Alexanderplatz, the PDS called for a stronger, more effective police leadership. Its former youth organization asks hopefully, "Are the police, after months of doing nothing, beginning to get over their uncertainty?" (Junge Welt, 23 April). While many Volkspolizei members certainly want to defend the achievements of the DDR and hate the skinheads, the PDS-led popular front appeals to the police leadership under Interior Minister Dietzel, an arch-reactionary from the DSU [German Social Union, affiliated with the Bavaria-based Christian Social Union in West Germany], to lead the fight against the fascists!

It is less than half a year since 250,000 people turned out against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial in Treptow Park on January 3, a powerful united-front rally which took place as a result of the Spartakists' initiative. The DDR was built over the ruins of Hitler fascism through the victory of the Red Army. Today there live in the DDR tens of thousands of Vietnamese workers—whose heroic history of victorious struggle against U.S. imperialism should be a powerful inspiration for all working people—who want to fight against fascism. What we urgently need are mobilizations for concrete workers united-front actions against the Nazis, actions which must protect and include in their ranks the many foreign workers and minorities in the DDR. ■

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Black History and the Class Struggle

Karl Marx and the War Against Slavery



Under the leadership of Karl Marx, the International Workingmen's Association (First International) rallied the workers of Europe behind the North in the American Civil War against the slavocracy.

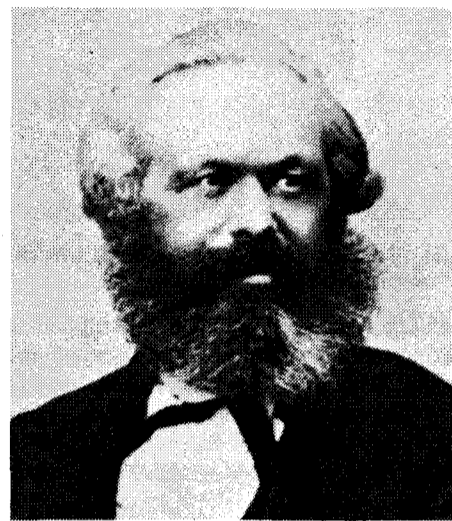
In February, during Black History Month, Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander gave two public talks on the West Coast which paid tribute to the revolutionary internationalists of Karl Marx's First International who mobilized the active solidarity of workers in Britain for the struggle against slavery in the United States during the American Civil War. These workers not only stood up against a barrage of pro-Confederate propaganda but also endured the misery and destitution inflicted on them by the British ruling class. For although they were thousands of miles away from the battlefields they understood that the war to smash black slavery in the American South was part of the fight for their own emancipation.

Today the capitalist rulers internationally are riding triumphant as they celebrate the "death of Communism." Yet one need look no further than the streets of the inner-city ghettos in this country for the

most bitter and brutal exposé of the cynical charade that "freedom and democracy" has conquered from Eastern Europe to Managua. Now the imperialists are salivating over the prospect of the unbridled exploitation and oppression of workers from East Berlin to Moscow, and if they succeed it will mean the increased immiseration of working people "at home," particularly blacks, whose lives the U.S. rulers already consider as an expendable surplus.

While British capitalists supplied guns and financed the Confederacy in exchange for cotton for their Lancashire mills, the role of the British workers who struck a crucial blow for black freedom during the Civil War stands as a living testimony to the power of proletarian internationalism in defeating the designs of the imperialist rulers.

We reprint below edited excerpts from comrade Alexander's forum given at the University of California Berkeley campus on March 3.



Progress Publishers



E. Schaumann

Karl Marx in 1867

posed the slavocracy even though it meant a temporary lowering of their standard of living. Of course, the murderous anti-black, anti-draft riots of mainly Irish working men was a big exception. These riots were opposed by native American and German workers. The Irish workers at that time were largely organized by the party of slavery, the Democratic Party. The riots were in part fed by a resentment over the fact that if you paid \$300 you could have a substitute fight for you in the Union Army, and also by the fact that they keenly feared the competition from freed blacks.

The Marxists and class-conscious workers of the First International had their sights set not only on the struggle against chattel slavery but also on creating more favorable conditions internationally for the overthrow of the last form of slavery, capitalist wage slavery. Shortly after the Civil War, a year later, the struggle for the eight-hour day broke out in the various cities in this country.

The First International and the Fight Against Chattel Slavery

The First International, or the International Workingmen's Association, was born in England. This is no accident. England was the cradle of industrial capitalism, the most economically advanced country in the 19th century. This is where modern class antagonisms first arose and where the basic forms of working-class struggle against the capitalist class manifested themselves. In the great Chartist movement of the 1840s one can clearly see the first political movement of the proletariat as a class fighting for its own interests. Mass nationwide trade unions and workers organizations were set up.

The First International existed from 1864 to what was effectively its end in 1872. In 1919, Lenin noted its historical significance, that it "laid the foundation of an international organization of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital." The First International was in the vanguard of the various internationalist anti-slavery fighters—from the German '48ers to the British workers who played very critical roles in the Northern victory over the slaveholders.

The Red '48ers had participated in the failed German bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848. Many of them came over to the U.S. as immigrants. They had already acquired an internationalist perspective and they became the backbone of the Union Army at a very critical moment, when that army was desperately short of experienced soldiers. One of the Union officers, Joseph Weydemeyer, was a close collaborator of Karl Marx. He was an organizer for the Communist League in Cologne, for which Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. Weydemeyer was instrumental in keeping the Confederacy from seizing the federal arsenal in St. Louis. Many other '48ers performed heroic feats in the course of the Civil War, including opening up the road for Sherman to take Atlanta and finish off the slaveholders.

It took a social revolution, blood and iron, to destroy chattel slavery. It's important to bear that in mind. Frederick Douglass, a radical abolitionist like John Brown and Harriet Tubman and others, raised the slogan "Death to Slavery," and he counterposed this to all of the futile appeals to the conscience of the bloody slaveholders. From the inception of the war against slavery he was for arming the slaves, enrolling them into the Union Army as soldiers in order to "fling wide open the iron gate of prejudice against black people."

There's a remarkable convergence of views between Douglass and Marx. Marx and Engels also understood that it would take revolutionary methods to destroy chattel slavery. Marx advocated recruiting blacks into the Union Army which he said would "have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves." Marx and Engels respectively referred to the Civil War as the greatest event of the age and the first grand war of contemporary history. The Civil War was the decisive turning point of the 19th century in the U.S. It was not an isolated national event. In Europe there were a series of national and civil wars spanning from the struggle for Polish independence to the struggle for Italian unification to the Paris Commune, the first example of the establishment of a workers government in history, in 1871.

In their Civil War writings one is struck by Marx and Engels' astonishing knowledge of American history. This should dispel the very ignorant prejudices

Spartacist Forum

I'd like to talk about three things tonight: Marx and Engels' views on the Civil War, the role of the First International in the struggle to overthrow black chattel slavery, and why the Marxist program of international working-class revolution is the key for black freedom and working-class emancipation.

The Civil War was the second American Revolution, the last of the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions. Despite the racism in the [Union] army and in society, 200,000 black troops along with white soldiers joined together to smash the hated slavocracy. The betrayal of the promise of black equality by the Northern bourgeoisie during the period of radical Reconstruction lies behind our call for finishing the Civil War, for an integrated struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution.

In Volume I of *Capital* Marx stated: "In the United States of America every independent movement of the workers is paralyzed so long as slavery disfigures a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." As communists, as revolutionary internationalists during



WV Photo

Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander

the Civil War, Marx and Engels viewed the struggle to abolish chattel slavery as an inseparable part of the fight for working-class emancipation.

Now one doesn't want to suggest that the struggle for a workers government was on the agenda in the United States in the '60s of the last century. The labor movement was still relatively weak. During the Civil War it generally op-

that these Europeans were unfamiliar with the peculiar conditions of the United States. They took head-on and refuted the arguments disseminated by the Southern sympathizers in England.

At the outset of the Civil War there were a lot of Confederate sympathizers in England and they spread the lie that the Southern Confederacy was fighting for self-determination. Marx pointed out that the South was not a country but a battle cry, and that the war of the Southern Confederacy was a war of conquest for the extension and perpetuation of slavery:

"The present struggle between the South and the North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, between the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other."

England was especially affected by the outbreak of the Civil War because the landed and the capitalist class relied very heavily upon Southern cotton. The textile industries needed Southern cotton and so they had an interest in breaking the Northern blockade on Southern ports. Moreover, the South had imported English goods without tariffs in contrast to the young manufacturing North which had tariffs. This is what made the English middle classes interested in an independent Southern Confederacy. The earlier abolitionist impulses of the English ruling class disappeared under the pressure of their class interests and they began to advocate intervention in favor of the South.

France was interested in events in the United States. Louis Napoleon had larger designs in mind. It wasn't simply the cotton famine which drove him to sympathize with the South but rather he had a lust for conquest, particularly he had designs on Mexico that could not be carried out if the United States remained intact. And that's why he sided with the South. He wanted to break the blockade but he needed England's cooperation.

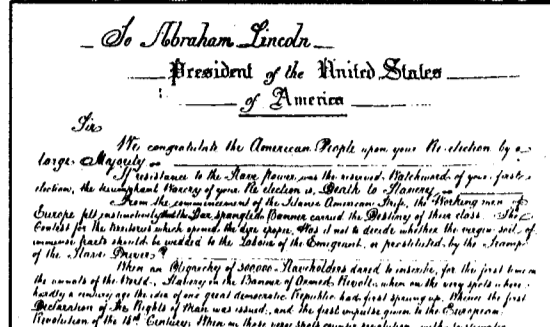
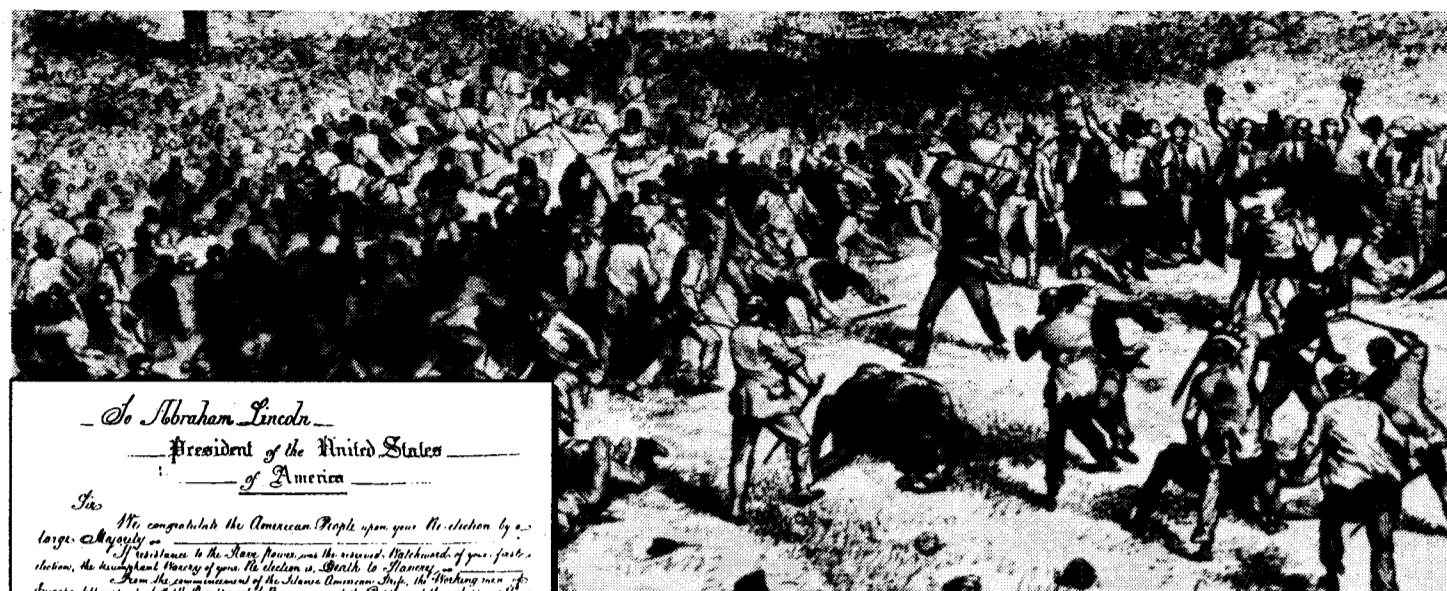
It's hard to overstate the extent to which the English ruling class went to line up the British workers to support the Confederacy. From the very beginning they held labor demonstrations to show that the majority of workers supported the South. But under the influence of many workers associated with and who belonged to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, the working class of England waged very determined and very bitter opposition to these pro-slavery policies.

The manufacturers resorted to every trick in the book to break their class will. Since there had been an overproduction in the cotton [textile] industry in England in 1860, the demand for labor had decreased. They used this as an opportunity to close factories which increased the prices of the accumulated commodi-

"The English working class has earned undying historical honor by defeating with enthusiastic mass meetings the repeated attempts of the ruling classes to intervene on behalf of the American

slaveholders, even though the continuation of the American Civil War burdened the English workers with the most terrible suffering and privation."

—Karl Marx, 1863



Dietz Verlag Berlin
Police attack workers' meeting in London's Hyde Park, 1862. Letter of International Workingmen's Association greets Abraham Lincoln's reelection in 1864 as signaling the "death of slavery."

ties that were stacking up. They tried very hard to stampede the workers into siding with the South, to starve them out in order to force them to adopt pro-interventionist views.

The textile factories in the North of England were shut down, more than half of the looms and spindles were idle. I'm talking about the period right at the beginning of the Civil War, the 1861-62 period. Savage wage cuts were imposed on those that still had jobs, which literally led to starvation. Women textile workers were particularly hard hit. Marx commented:

"No wonder that, in some parts of Lancashire a kind of famine fever broke out.... But the working-people had to suffer not only from the experiments of the manufacturers inside the mills, and of the municipalities outside; not only from reduced wages and absence of work, from want and from charity, and from the eulogistic speeches of Lords and Commons. Unfortunate females, who in consequence of the cotton famine, were at its commencement thrown out of employment, and had thereby become outcasts of society, and now, though trade has revived and work is plentiful, continue members of that unfortunate class, and are likely to continue so. There are also in the borough more youthful prostitutes than I have known for the last 25 years."

The English bourgeois press and their labor lackeys, they'd say to the British workers, "Are you on the side of Lincoln? He's not fighting against slavery. The Civil War is just a gigantic enterprise in shedding human blood. Why are you starving to death because of that dictator Lincoln?" They deluged them with propaganda about the South fighting for a noble cause, for independence. One of the most eloquent and very ac-

tive radical workers, Ernest Jones, a left-wing Chartist, scorned this argument in a speech to British workers:

"Independence! It was not for the Union, but for the lash; not for freedom, but for fetters. Independence! The right of rebellion in defiance of all law. Independence! Independence for every man to whip his slave! But in order to gull the English, and get their sympathies, Southern advocates said 'Oh! we are in favor of the emancipation of the negro as much as you, but the North are going the wrong way to accomplish it'.... We were told that the way to emancipate the slaves was to allow the South to secede. Then what was the war for? Why was the South making slavery the chief stone in their edifice, if the whole fabric is to be kicked down as soon as it is built?"

The [British] government at the time, under Gladstone, was particularly hypocritical and sought to disguise its secret desires for intervention. But there wasn't anything secret about the workers' responses to the various machinations of the ruling class. In hundreds of public meetings all over the country, in all industrial sections and large cities, they opposed the government. They hailed Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation though they bore the brunt of the starvation and the misery.

I'm not suggesting that at the very beginning the English workers understood that the question was siding with the North. It took time. At first the old-line labor leaders prevailed and their policies had to be challenged. But once it was clear that the issue was slavery, they understood that chained black labor in the South meant that they would be kept down in England and that a blow against slavery was for their liberation also.

Especially during the winter of 1862-63, these meetings broke out all over the place. At first it started in the North in Manchester. The workers in London came to the fore at a very critical moment. The government, then under Palmerston, was about to declare war against the Union. The Scottish workers also rose to the occasion. They beat back the pro-Confederate labor misleaders in their midst, which was not an easy task.

This is one of the most glorious and inspiring pages in the history of the working class. The English workers suffered and starved and died for the cause of black freedom in America. They transcended their immediate economic interests because they understood the need for internationalist solidarity, and thanks to them the North didn't have to fight England and perhaps France at the same time.

To this very day the bourgeoisie and its apologists and ideologues hate what the English workers did. They're trying to rewrite history and say it was the upper classes in England that stopped the English government from siding with the South. That's crap. As Marx wrote, it was not the wisdom of the British ruling

class but the heroic resistance of the working class of England that "saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic."

Friedrich A. Sorge, the outstanding American Marxist of the post-Civil War era, wrote that it was the proletarians of Lancashire, the weavers and spinners of the cotton factories in England, who "raised their voices in favor of the North of the United States, in favor of abolish-



Progress Publishers
Ernest Jones, English radical workers leader, denounced ruling-class support for slaveowning South.

ing slavery.... Honor to the English workers for that!" Frederick Douglass paid tribute to the Chartists, to the British workers, for their magnificent internationalist solidarity. American labor papers also credited the British workers with having prevented the Palmerston government from intervening on behalf of the South.

For Proletarian Internationalism

Now, in a capitalist class society you don't learn very much about the true history of the working class and the oppressed. This is necessarily the case because the dominant ideas, as we Marxists say, are the ideas of the ruling class and the ruling class certainly doesn't tell you about their defeats. In this century, the greatest defeat for world imperialism and the greatest victory for the working class was the Bolshevik-led 1917 workers revolution in the Soviet Union, which is history's only successful workers revolution. Trotsky, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, following in the footsteps of the founders and teachers of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, worked to instill an internationalist perspective in the workers of the world.

Trotsky underscored this in his work *The Permanent Revolution*, which was

continued on page 14



Frederick Douglass House
Revolutionary abolitionist Frederick Douglass campaigned for blacks to join the Union Army.

MEN OF COLOR
To Arms! To Arms!
NOW OR NEVER
THREE YEARS' SERVICE!
FOR THE UNION
BATTLES OF LIBERTY AND THE UNION
FAIL NOW, & OUR RACE IS DOOMED
BY THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY
SILENCE THE TONGUE OF CALUMNY
VALOR AND HEROISM
THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY
PORT HUDSON AND MILLIKEN'S BEND,
ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES
OUR LAST OPPORTUNITY HAS COME
MEN OF COLOR BROTHERS AND FATHERS!
WE APPEAL TO YOU!
STRIKE NOW!



Gamma

Russian fascists of Pamyat (left) threaten anti-Semitic pogroms, spurring Jewish emigration. Planeloads of Soviet Jews arrive in Tel Aviv as Washington closes door on immigration from USSR.



Der Spiegel

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

(*New York Times*, 18 January). Hitler also claimed he needed more "living space" or "*Lebensraum*" for a "Greater Germany" as his armies conquered Europe and millions of Jews and other peoples were killed in concentration camps. The Zionists have already fought five major wars as well as countless minor battles to conquer *Lebensraum* for a "Greater Israel."

The hyper-militarized Israeli economy, massively subsidized by U.S. imperialism and American and West European Jewry, cannot in its present contours absorb hundreds of thousands of new immigrants from the Soviet Union. Moreover, many of these are highly specialized intellectuals (scientists, technicians, doctors). There is practically no available housing in Tel Aviv, Haifa and other Israeli cities. So there is talk of temporarily having the new immigrants live in tent camps. However, those who agree to settle in the West Bank will get fat subsidies, cheap housing and free land. In March, Israeli authorities imposed military censorship on reports concerning the status of Soviet immigrants, especially the government's efforts to settle them in the West Bank.

At the beginning of the *intifada*, the liberal Zionist Yehoshafat Harkabi, a former head of Israeli military intelligence, pointed worriedly to the growing calls in Israel for annexing the West Bank and expelling the Palestinians: "Behind the preference for annexation is a preference for expulsion, and since the Arabs will be reluctant to leave, it will be necessary to use force against them and kill them" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 1988). The large-scale immigration of Soviet Jews—a by-product of the disintegration of the Stalinist bureaucracy—greatly accelerates the Zionists' drive toward the genocidal massacre of the Palestinian Arabs.

Near East Powder Keg

Nor is the saber rattling in the Near East restricted to Israel. After his bloody ten-year war with Iran, Iraq's Ba'athist despot Saddam Hussein is moving to take his place at the head of the "hardline" Arab states. Having built the largest and

most combat-ready army in the Near East, one million men, Hussein has threatened to destroy half of Israel with chemical weapons if Israel tries to repeat its 1981 bombing of Iraqi nuclear facilities. Iraq has demonstrated its ruthless willingness to use chemical weapons in the past, both against Iran and against its own Kurdish population. Thousands were murdered in a single attack on the Kurdish village of Halabja in 1988.

In response to blustering from Baghdad, Israel launched a special spy satellite Ofek-2. The liftoff had perhaps more military significance than the cargo because it showed Israel has the capacity to launch missiles capable of carrying a warhead 1,500 miles, well within range of Baghdad...or the Soviet Union. And Israel will not wait to be attacked. Re-

are harassed at school and on the streets in Moscow. Leaflets have appeared throughout Odessa, the Black Sea port with a large Jewish population, quoting *Mein Kampf* and calling for pogroms. Rumors of a pogrom on May 5 (the day of St. George, patron saint of medieval Russia) spread rapidly and were picked up by the international press. The pogrom did not occur but the rumor managed to generate widespread fear.

There is no question that Pamyat fascist demagoguery is dangerous because it is feeding off real hardships and fears generated by perestroika. Gorbachev's base is a privileged section of the intelligentsia, who would sell the land of the October Revolution for a VCR. His market reforms have brought the black market out in the open and encouraged it to

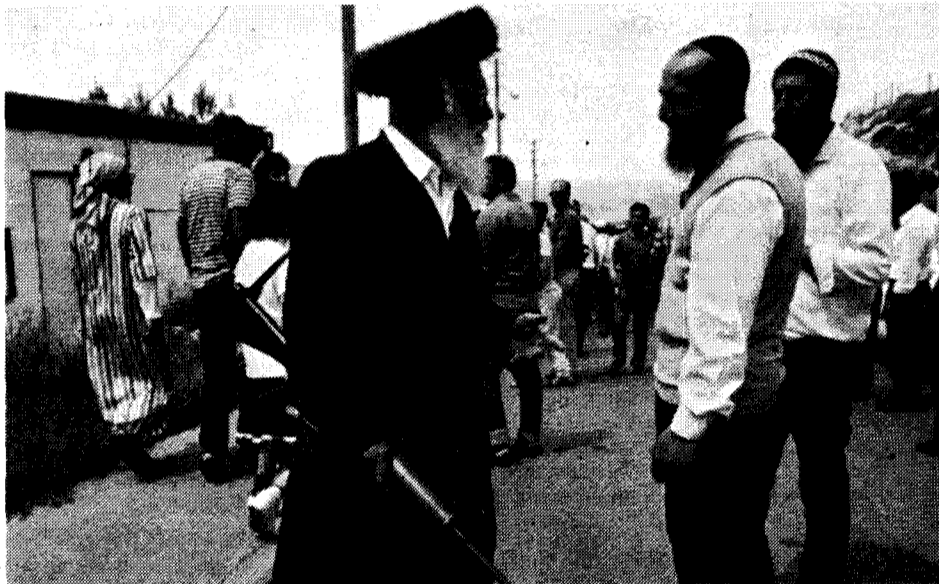
of the rise of a nationalistic bureaucracy, the USSR was the only state to save millions of Jews fleeing the Nazi Holocaust in World War II. Then the imperialist "democracies" slammed their doors to Jewish refugees from the Third Reich.

For decades the imperialists have tried to undermine the Soviet Union by bleeding it of its scientific and cultural elite, in which Jewish intellectuals play a prominent role. The imperialists were assisted by 65 years of Stalinist lies, corruption and terror which destroyed the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet intelligentsia. Even a Solzhenitsyn went into the Gulag as some kind of communist only to later become a raving tsarist reactionary. To put a stop to this drain of vital human resources requires ousting the nationalist bureaucracy and returning to the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky.

"Talks About Talks" and Plans for War

Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon showed the Zionist capacity for waging a murderous *Blitzkrieg*. But their ignominious retreat also showed their incapacity to sustain a prolonged war of occupation much less absorb new territory. With 3.7 million Jews in Israel—15,000 of whom left last year alone—to live in the U.S. and elsewhere—as against a rapidly growing Palestinian population of over 2.5 million in Israel and the Occupied Territories, not to speak of the 100 million Arabs in the rest of the region, its tiny economy and small population are insufficient to dominate the region. But now many Zionists think a few hundred thousand Soviet Jews will change this social reality overnight. Thus Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the Jewish Agency, bragged: "If we were a flickering island in a sea of hostile Arab states before, now we will be a different story. We will have people to settle the land" (*Boston Globe*, 10 January).

While the influx of Soviet Jews will embolden the Zionist expansionists and warmongers, the imperialist epoch has not been a promising one for late-coming would-be great powers. A Zionist Reich, even equipped with nuclear weapons, has



Tannenbaum/Sygma

Armed Israeli settlers in West Bank spearhead Zionist drive for "*Lebensraum*" through terrorizing and driving out Palestinians.

sponding to Hussein, Shamir warned: "Israel will know how to defend itself in the future and defeat the evil designs of its enemies." The courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu today languishes in a Shin Bet (Israeli secret police) prison for seeking to warn the world that for its next war Israel has prepared a huge arsenal of atom bombs. The threat today is not simply a localized conventional war but a nuclear conflagration which could quickly go global. We demand freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!

Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat

The destabilization of the Soviet Union produced by Gorbachev's perestroika pro-capitalist market reforms has sharpened nationalist strife throughout the multinational USSR. But the most dangerous manifestation is the resurgence of virulent anti-Semitic Great Russian nationalism, embodied by the sinister fascist Pamyat organization and a host of other reactionary outfits.

In January, Pamyat attacked the conference of the liberal writers grouping "April" in Moscow, screaming "Yids out!" and vowing: "Today we came with a megaphone; the next time it will be with machine guns." The membership requirement for joining Pamyat is supplying the home addresses of four Jewish families. Jewish high school students

legally flourish. They have generated a new class of money-grubbing entrepreneurs charging exorbitant prices while the masses face empty shelves in state stores. Feeding off the economic frustrations, racist demagogues echo the poisonous rantings of the tsar's pogromist Black Hundreds to "Beat the Yid."

And in March Gorbachev appointed a prominent Russian nationalist anti-Semite close to Pamyat to his 15-man presidential council, the writer Valentin Rasputin. In a recent interview (*New York Times Magazine*, 28 January), Rasputin said that the guilt of Jews is great, both "for the killing of God" and the "sin of having carried out the Revolution, and for the shape it took." Gorbachev's move underlines our warning that it is criminally stupid to call upon the Kremlin bureaucracy, which has tolerated and at some levels cultivated Pamyat, to suppress these nativist fascist scum. These new Black Hundreds constitute a sinister threat to Russian working people, non-Russian minorities, Jews and Communists. A powerful mobilization of the Soviet working class is needed to crush them now.

The Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky first gave Jews the opportunity to play a leading role in the political and cultural life of the country precisely because it was *internationalist*. Even under Stalin, who revived anti-Semitism as part



Rev. John McKnight

Free Mordechai Vanunu—courageous nuclear technician exposed Israel's huge arsenal of A-bombs.

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no other future except Armageddon. The U.S. underwrites this terribly overextended regional power with its advanced military industry to the tune of \$3 billion a year. In return Israel does some of Washington's dirty work like supplying nuclear arms technology to South Africa and training the death squads of Central America and the drug traffickers of South America. Yet Israel is not a puppet of U.S. imperialism but a very dependent ally. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations tried to create an anti-Soviet Near East "strategic consensus" between Israel and so-called Arab "moderates." But except for Israel's deal to return the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt for a peace treaty, nothing came of this, particularly after Israel's 1982 rape of Lebanon.

With Stalinism disintegrating in East Europe and Gorbachev caving in to Bonn's drive for a Fourth Reich, Israel's capacity for anti-Soviet troublemaking has become temporarily less interesting to the White House. As the *New York Times* (16 March) noted: "With everything that is happening in East Europe, Central America and the Soviet Union, most senior officials appear to have grown bored with the Middle East." The Bush administration sees Israel's isolation and especially its inability to suppress the *intifada* in the Occupied Territories as a source of instability in the Near East.

The Bush White House opened negotiations with the once-shunned Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It proposed negotiations over the future of the West Bank with a Palestinian delegation from which the PLO would not be completely excluded. All of these propositions are heresies to fanatics like Shamir and the sects even further to his right. The U.S. is supporting Soviet immigration to Israel, including with a \$400 million housing grant, but with the fig leaf that it not be used to settle Soviet Jews in the Occupied Territories. Then at a press conference in early March Bush stated: "We do not believe there should be new settlements in the West Bank or East Jerusalem."

That was the final straw for Shamir and his political cronies in Likud: they threw the "Labor" party, which supports the American peace proposals, out of the cabinet, thereby again bringing down the "Grand Coalition." This led to a political crisis which has focused attention on the sordid horse trading to form a new coalition. Small religious parties look to Rabbi Schneerson in Crown Heights, Brooklyn as a kingmaker. But meanwhile the Likud is now in sole control of the machinery of state, and after years of paralysis in the coalition with Labor they have now begun to act decisively. Plans are under way to found 14 new "settlements," where fanatical Zionist settlers act as military outposts, in the Occupied Territories. And the government secretly financed a move by a group of Zionist ultras who took over a building in the Christian quarter of Jerusalem. This set off a storm of protest throughout the Christian world, as well as from American Jews.

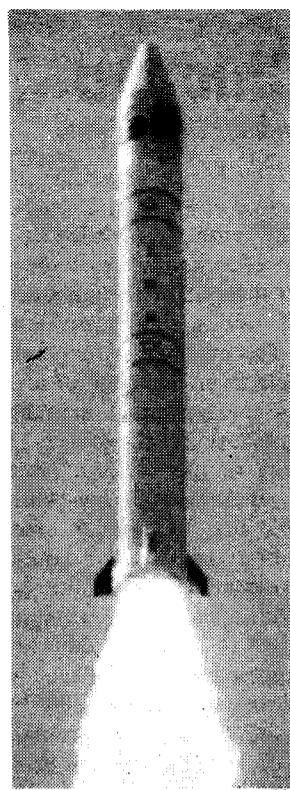
Then on May 4 an Israeli navy boat opened fire on the yacht of Jordan's King Hussein and chased him into Saudi waters. Hussein is a leading Arab "moderate" and one of Washington's main puppet rulers in the region. The American ruling class is getting fed up with the insane provocations of Shamir & Co. The Bush administration is proposing for the first time ever to cut U.S. aid to Israel, slated for \$3.7 billion this year.

The stage is being set for what the hardline Zionists see as the "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem": mass expulsions of Arabs from the West Bank (which Likud & Co. refer to as Judea and Samaria) in order to make Israel's control militarily secure and permanent. If Shamir succeeds in forming a coalition, Labor party leader Shimon Peres says the result would be "an extremist right-wing government the like of which Israel never had." Actually, the so-called "Labor" party is a thoroughly capitalist formation, which incorporates the Zionist-controlled trade unions. Although the Western press tries to give Labor a "dovish" image, it is the historic party of Zionist colonialism and expansionism.

It was the Labor government that waged four major wars which created Israel out of the destruction of Palestine, driving out hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs in 1948; which seized the Occupied Territories in 1967 and established the first Zionist settlements to force further population transfers. According to the *Jerusalem Post* International Edition (10 March), it was Labor prime minister Levi Eshkol who after the 1967 war issued "a call to the Jewish



Media Images
Israeli leaders Shimon Peres (left) and Yitzhak Shamir command nuclear arsenal and missiles (Ofek-2, right) capable of devastating Arab states...and hitting the Soviet Union.



IAI

Arab rights. Instead they propose giving Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories fake self-government, while Israel would retain existing settlements and would ring the territories with Israeli military posts.

The fanatic "Revisionists" who today dominate Likud, and groups even further to the right, split from "labor Zionism" in the 1930s. While Labor built the Hagana, which would become the Israeli army, the Revisionists built underground terrorist organizations like Menachem

means perpetual military mobilization and the ever-present prospect of war, including nuclear holocaust—a Sparta dominated by orthodox rabbis and sociopaths like Kahane and Sharon, hurtling down the road to Armageddon. Or they can turn against their own rulers who are leading them to destruction. In a framework of mutual cooperation rather than dead-end confrontation with the vastly larger surrounding Arab peoples of the region, the highly educated and overwhelmingly secular Hebrew-speaking people of Israel can be a valuable component in the socialist transformation of the Near East.

The Palestinians, for their part, flung into their own diaspora, include some of the most radicalized elements in the Arab East. In Israel they were the base of the Communist Party, and in the West Bank a modest labor movement has arisen that now embraces the deeply exploited Arab woman worker as well. In the oil fields of the Persian Gulf they constitute a substantial section of the proletariat and of the technical-managerial personnel. But neither the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO who have embraced the Bush/Baker "peace" plan, or the Islamic fundamentalists who want to turn the West Bank into a miniature Iran, provide a road to social emancipation for the Palestinian oppressed.

The Bush/Peres "peace plan," even if it could be implemented, offers Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories nothing more than a third-rate bantustan in which an Israeli military commander determines if the PLO flag can be flown. Arafat in turn calls for a second-rate one in which the PLO flag is assured. The only way out that ensures democratic rights for all the peoples of the Near East, including genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people, is social revolution against the "progressive" colonels and generals as well as the feudal sheiks and kings, in which a section of the Hebrew-speaking population, especially among the proletariat, are turned against their Zionist masters.

Probably only great historical events such as Israel's decisive defeat and humiliation in war or a severe economic crisis can now break a section of the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionism and lay the basis for a binational mass revolutionary party. But for that outcome to be possible a Trotskyist nucleus must be crystallized now in Israel from left-wing students and workers and above all from the oppressed Palestinian Arab population. It is already very late. A proletarian vanguard must be forged that can break the cycle of bloody wars of nationalist expansion and revenge of which Lebanon is a microcosm, exploiting the contradictions within the Zionist bunker to explode it from within, in order to lead the oppressed and exploited to a socialist federation of the Near East in which every nation can live in peace. ■

Iraq's despot Saddam Hussein threatened to retaliate with chemical weapons if Israel repeats 1981 bombing of Iraqi nuclear reactor.



people throughout the world...to settle the length and breadth of the newly liberated land." The terror in the West Bank and Gaza, the deportations, shootings and mass arrests, including of Palestinian women and children, has been run by Labor minister Yitzhak ("Iron Fist") Rabin, who called to crush the *intifada* with "force, might, beatings."

The Labor party's "peace program" is often described in the Western press as giving up "land for peace." In fact, Labor is nowhere near so "generous" as to give back the territories they seized 20 years ago, and they certainly don't recognize

Begin's Irgun and the even more fanatical Stern Gang to which Shamir belonged. After the 1948 War these gangsters were reintegrated into the Zionist establishment, and made responsible for building Israel's hated and feared secret police. A new book by Robert Friedman, *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane—From FBI Informant to Knesset Member*, reveals that the anti-Soviet terror campaign in the U.S. carried out by Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League was orchestrated by former Stern Gang members who went into the Mossad (Israeli CIA). This operation was headed by none other than Yitzhak Shamir.

The London *Independent* (26 February) reported that a coalition has formed between Kahane's fascistic Kach party and other "underground extremists" called the "Congress of the State of Judea" which "threatens organised, armed resistance to any negotiated deal with the Palestinians." Tiran Pollack, military leader of these thugs, stated that "if they let us manage the area we'd solve the *intifada*.... Maybe in five years' time, killing the Arabs will be the only solution. For the moment we can still force them to leave the country."

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

Kahane and Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Lebanon who holds himself ready as a strongman waiting in the wings, would carry out Nazi-like genocide in the Near East. For the population of Israel, this

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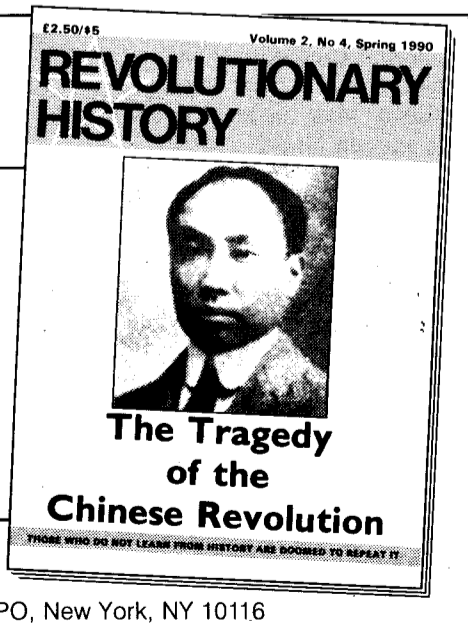
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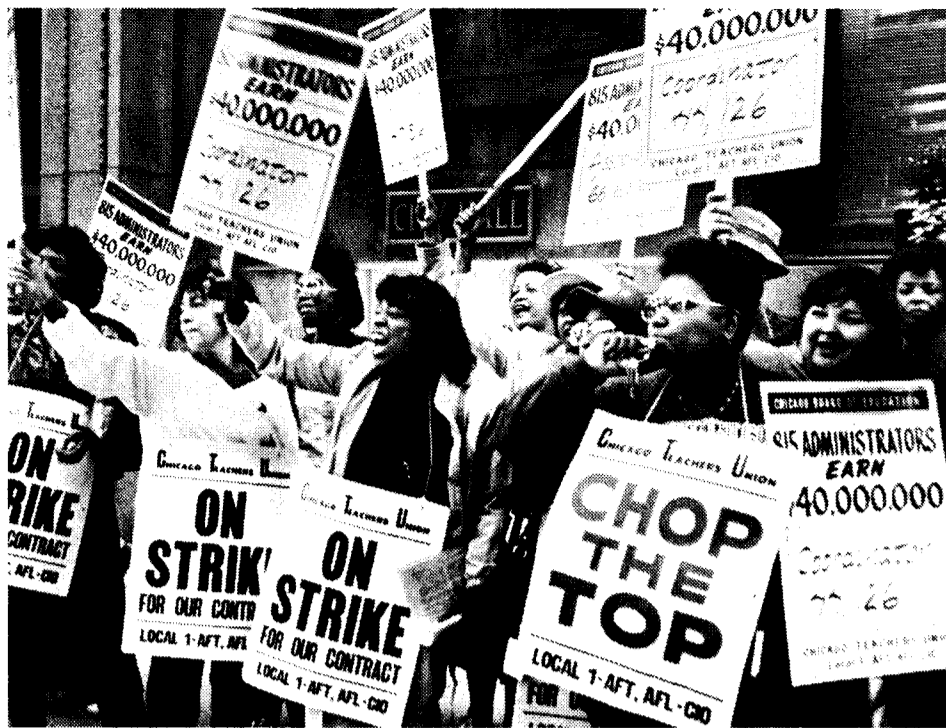
(continued from page 5)

The police exist for one purpose: to defend the racist, capitalist status quo. Now with Boss Daley Jr. in City Hall, the cops know they have a free hand to do this job with unrestrained brutality, terrorizing even grade schoolers.

Parents have to feel boundless resentment over this state of affairs, and their massive participation in the council elections last fall showed it. The whole purpose of the "reform" is to divert that anger away from those who are responsible: the Republican and Democratic politicians, and the capitalists they answer to. Thus, manipulated by business-funded "neighborhood organizations" like UNO (United Neighborhood Organization), many councils have been consumed in struggles to fire long-time principals on ethnic or racial grounds.

This ploy backfired at Burns Elementary, where a majority-Hispanic council fired principal Donald Kriz, who is white. The following Monday nearly the entire student body of this predominantly Hispanic school walked out in protest and outraged parents mobilized to demand the council's resignation.

The Chicago "school reform" plan was cooked up in 1987 by a confab of capitalists and Democratic politicians under the administration of Harold Washington, the city's first black mayor. It came in response to that year's 19-day teachers strike, which saw black and Hispanic community groups organizing anti-strike rallies, and pro-Washington activists like Operation PUSH counsel Lew Meyers



Chicago teachers strike against givebacks in 1987. Current "school reform" plan is designed to break power of Chicago Teachers Union.

suating the teachers union. Black alderman Dorothy Tillman blasted the strikers, calling for school decentralization as "a structure to weed out the bad teachers." "Tired of the annual school strikes, the demands for salary increases while school performance levels continue to decline, Tillman said there is a need for local control of area schools" (*Chicago Defender*, 21 September 1987).

The combative and majority black and Hispanic Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) is indeed a prime target of this so-called reform. The racist, union-busting *Chica-*

go Tribune also lashed out at the CTU during the last strike, the ninth in 18 years: "Decentralization, as it is now being discussed, has the magic appeal of destroying the clout of both the school board bureaucracy and the Chicago Teachers Union" (13 September 1987). That fall Reagan's miseducation secretary William Bennett came to town and labeled Chicago's public schools "the nation's worst." He returned the following spring to denounce the CTU for "standing in the hallways and blocking up the doors of reform." The *Tribune* (29

May 1988) added, "the schools cannot improve unless the people of Chicago stand fast against this union bludgeon."

Scapegoating the teachers union is the capitalist rulers' attempt to bust a combative and integrated working-class organization while deflecting anger over the "malign neglect" of the inner city. The Democratic Party factions vying for leverage in the local school councils accept a "community control" framework that reinforces Greater Chicago's strictly segregated and vastly unequal educational facilities. Thus the school councils could easily become tools for mobilizing masses of the oppressed against the unions, like during the 1968 New York teachers strike.

What's needed is a fight for quality, integrated education for all. This means a massive busing plan, extended to the far reaches of the suburbs. Quality education can only be won by a broad fight that takes on as well segregation and racism, unemployment, cop terror—the whole fabric of capitalist oppression. What's needed is leadership, a revolutionary workers party that strives to unite black, white and Hispanic workers at the head of all the oppressed in common struggle.

Students who want to fight the injustices of this decaying society must ally themselves with the working class, which has not only an interest in seeing the profit system go but also the social power to do the job. The Spartacus Youth Club is the revolutionary youth group of the Spartacist League and is allied with union militants fighting for such an anti-racist and anti-capitalist program. Join the SYC! ■

CCNY...

(continued from page 4)

are dilapidated holding pens.

The noted biologist Stephen Jay Gould exposed the direct correlation between the popularity of these pseudo-scientific theories of genetic inferiority with periods of political reaction:

"If current biological determinism in the study of human intelligence rests upon no new facts (actually, no facts at all), then why has it become so popular of late? The answer must be social and political. The 1960s were good years for liberalism; a fair amount of money was spent on poverty programs and relatively little happened. Enter new leaders and new priorities. Why didn't the earlier programs work? Two possibilities are open: (1) we didn't spend enough money, we didn't make sufficiently creative efforts, or (and this makes any established leader jittery) we cannot solve these problems without a fundamental social and economic transformation of society; or (2) the programs failed because their recipients are inherently what they are—blaming the victims. Now, which alternative will be chosen by men in power in an age of retrenchment?"

—"Racist Arguments and IQ," *Ever Since Darwin* (1977)

Now nobody even talks about throwing money at problems. Democrats try to outdo Republicans in screaming for repression—more cops in the ghetto for the hypocritical "war on drugs," building prisons and juicing up the electric chairs while closing schools and hospitals.

Protests Hit CUNY Campuses

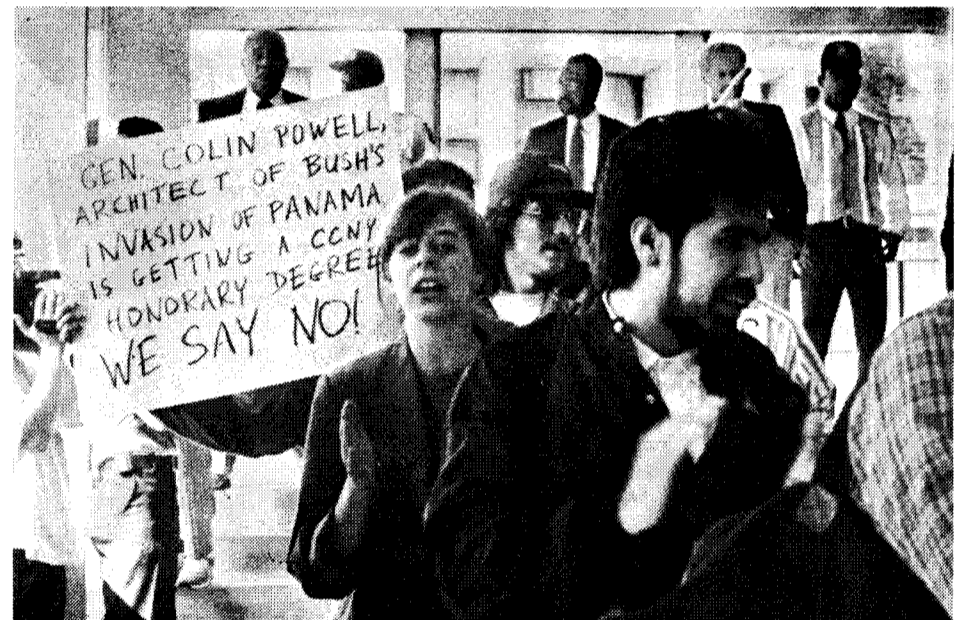
While Levin foams at the mouth over affirmative action, liberal Democratic governor Cuomo moves to cut services and raise tuition by \$200 per semester at CUNY campuses. This would slam shut the only door thousands of working-class youth think they have to a better life. In response, for the second year in a row CUNY students have taken over buildings and marched through the streets to protest the cutbacks and tuition hikes. Last year, massive, well organized and integrated struggles backed down the government. This year the NY state legislature is determined to balance their budget with blood from working-class kids. And the far smaller student protests

have toned down their demands, rejecting the call for open admissions as "utopian" and appealing to the very cops who arrive to arrest them to speak out against the cuts and to the school chancellor himself to call a "general strike"!

At the same time, students who know they've been sold down the river by the Democrats are looking for answers. The Spartacus Youth Club was invited to speak at a protest at Hunter College because organizers knew we were the only students with a program to link up with labor. Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) members have fought to broaden the protests from the single issue of budget cuts to also address the rampant racism on campuses. At CCNY, a Spartacist picket sign reading "Levin's Racist Ideology Breeds Fascist Terror" was taken by students occupying the administration building to prominently display from the window.

While students perceive that the administration is also disgruntled at the budget ax coming down on education, they fail to see that the administration is the arm of and answers to the state. Look who they've chosen to honor at this year's commencement at CCNY: General Colin Powell, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—the chief architect of the bloody U.S. rape of Panama. As one student's sign aptly stated: "Powell's Policy in Panama = Levin's Hope for Harlem!" The SYC has joined forces with other students in calling for protests against Powell at the CCNY commencement.

At City College, students have raised the demand that the administration fire Michael Levin. This is a misguided appeal to the wrong forces. The position of the administration is clear. CCNY president Harlston has set up a commission of inquiry to investigate both Dr. Levin and Dr. Jeffries, a black nationalist professor Levin accuses of racism. To equate Jeffries with Levin is poisonous "evenhandedness" and simply absurd. Jeffries is a cultural nationalist who describes white people as "ice people" and black people as "sun people" and believes the more melanin, the better the person. Nutty, but not the lightning rod for terror that Levin is in this racist society. And he does not call for police-



Students protest on May 8 against CCNY plans to honor Joint Chiefs of Staff head, war criminal General Powell.

state measures against white people.

We do not appeal to the administration nor do we want to place more power in their hands to determine what is "acceptable" speech on campus. The administration and the board of trustees should be abolished! If CCNY students, faculty and workers ran the campus as a genuine place of learning, Michael Levin would be placed in a museum of antiquities next to another racist hoax like the skull of "Piltdown Man" or cruel relics like the slave auction block.

Free Speech and Red Herrings

The Reagan/Bush years have taken their toll in myriad ways—from the erosion of elementary democratic rights like abortion to the resegregation of education to vicious attacks on the unions. In response to the rise in verbal and physical assaults against minorities on campus, liberals have sought new restrictive "student speech codes." But attempts to suppress speech by decree are utopian at best and will more likely backfire against minorities and leftists. Such codes would be used to outlaw scientifically accurate descriptions of Levin as a "racist pig" or of Colin Powell as a "war criminal." As for punks

who hurl racist and sexist epithets, they may have to learn the hard way that such calls to violence will not be tolerated.

At bottom these codes are a reflection of the inability of their student supporters to understand the class basis for racist terror and other attacks against minorities. The very state that they would ask to protect them is the same state that protects and employs fascist groups like the KKK and Nazis who don't just talk, but lynch. Recalling recent young victims of cop terror, Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Leticia Candia spoke out at a May 5 rally at Hunter College:

"We need simply recall the names of Phillip Pannell and José Lebrón to see clearly what little value the state places on the lives of working-class and minority youth. Making education the privilege of the wealthy is yet another way of throwing us on the scrap heap.... To defeat the racist attacks at the hands of the police and the racist mobs, what is urgently needed is for students, minorities and all of the oppressed to mobilize behind the power of the integrated labor movement for a class-struggle fight, with our own party, against the whole system of capitalism which keeps blacks segregated at the bottom of the economy. To open the door for working-class and minority youth we must fight for open admissions and free tuition! Join us!" ■

New York...

(continued from page 1)

this was not being reported to the jury.) A police detective's testimony that Mondello admitted he saw Fama pull the trigger was deemed legally inadmissible against Fama as the two are co-defendants.

Prosecutors complained that dozens of Bensonhurst residents witnessed the killing but did not come forward. Still, the district attorney presented the weakest case imaginable in what is an open and shut case of racist mob murder. A *City Sun* (4 April) exposé into the workings of the Brooklyn D.A.'s office reports how black lawyer Bruce McIntyre was pulled off the case after he argued back in January that they needed to renew the investigation and find new witnesses. In the Howard Beach murder trial, the state managed to cool things by bringing in Charles Hynes as a special prosecutor, who at least got a conviction of some of the killers for manslaughter. Now Hynes is D.A., but the racist murders keep on coming, and now as the juries go into their second week of deliberations there is growing bitterness over the idea that Fama and Mondello may walk.

Outrage over the killing of Yusuf Hawkins last fall and distaste for loud-mouth racist mayor Koch for fanning the flames which brought New York to flash point played a major role in the election of Dinkins, who campaigned to "heal the wounds" of the fractured city. But although the liberal black mayor is



Ed Quinn

Lynch mob lawyer Stephen Murphy

about as personally decent a bourgeois politician as you're likely to get, his appeals for reconciliation will have zero effect on the deep roots of racist oppression in New York, U.S.A. The cops "celebrated" Dinkins' inaugural by blowing away eight people, mainly minority youth, in the month of January alone. Now, in response to this first crisis of his administration, Dinkins went on TV Friday saying the city was "aching, and we must heal the pain." The very next day came the attack on the Vietnamese, who were mistaken for Koreans.

While Dinkins was pleading with liberal rhetoric, the anger of the ghetto was being exploited and turned in the most despicable direction by white-baiting black nationalist hucksters. In a rally at the Slave Theater, prior to the march on Bensonhurst, the Sharpton gang went through their usual nasty stuff. Spewing anti-Semitic filth to applause from the crowd, lawyer C. Vernon Mason called the black mayor a "Judas," who's "got too many yarmulkes on his head." The provocateur and FBI fink Sharpton is demonstrably trying to whip up race war. As black radical Dhoruba Moore, one of the Panther 21 recently freed after 17 years in jail on a COINTELPRO frame-up, remarked: "If someone told me in 1969 that an informer with processed

Demonstrators outside Brooklyn courthouse demand guilty verdict for racist killers currently on trial.



Sotomayor/NY Times

hair could be considered a leader in the African-American community, I would have told them they were crazy. So when I stepped out and found things of that nature, I realized how desperate things have become in the black community."

Outside the Red Apple grocery in Flatbush, Sonny Carson has been whipping up anti-immigrant frenzy against "people who don't live in our community." He threatens, "In the future there'll be funerals not boycotts" (*New York Times*, 7 May). Whose funeral does he have in mind? Cao Anh Tuan, the 36-year-old Vietnamese worker who lies in Kings County Hospital with a fractured skull from the hammer attack on Saturday night? The boycott is supposedly based on an incident in January involving an exchange between a Haitian woman and the Korean storeowner. But Carson & Co. have been pushing this racist filth since 1986, when Carson led a mob through the streets of Brooklyn smashing up candy store windows, while Sharpton went after Arab storeowners in Harlem. In 1988, Carson pulled a boycott outside a Korean-owned market in Bed-Stuy, as Sharpton led crowds in Harlem against Korean candy stores.

According to Carson, the Korean-owned stores are "a conspiracy against the black community," and "it's racist that we don't own any businesses." Carson wants black shopowners to get a few of the crumbs from overcharged ghetto customers. He grotesquely echoes the same attitudes of Bensonhurst bigots—the whites kick the blacks, the blacks kick the Koreans, who as new immigrants are a vulnerable community. Following the Jewish merchants who were the ghetto slumlords, the liquor store and grocery store owners, Koreans have come to occupy a niche as small-time capitalists in the ghetto, scrambling to make a buck while the big profits are raked in by the Fortune 500 corporations. To the anti-Semitism which the black nationalist demagogues have been pushing since the mid-'60s, notably against the 1968 NYC teachers strike, they now add anti-Asian poison.

Adding his bit to this seething brew of race-hatred was tabloid columnist Jimmy Breslin, who went into a fit of racism and chauvinism, calling a Korean American woman colleague at *Newsday* a "yellow cur" and "slant eyed" together with a filthy anti-woman slur, after she protested a column he wrote complaining that his wife wouldn't take care of his laundry now that she is on the city council. Also repulsive was how the liberal media rushed to Breslin's defense, even after he compounded it by venting his spleen against Koreans on the Howard Stern talk show, the early morning showcase of raunchy racism.

Meanwhile, on May 10, a federal appeals court upheld a ban on begging in the subways. The judge ruled that begging amounts to "nothing less than assault," creating in passengers the "apprehension of imminent danger," although in two recent cases it was pan-handlers who were beaten up and killed

(and their assailants got off). In New York City today, it has been officially proclaimed that the poor do not have the "equal right" to sleep in the parks or beg on the subways. This unadorned class and race prejudice reflects the social climate of this city where the Reaganite rich and famous like Donald and Ivana Trump ostentatiously flaunt their lifestyles and divorces, and Wall Street "masters of the universe" (like the yuppie lead in Tom Wolfe's *Bonfire of the Vanities*, now being filmed in the South Bronx) roar around in their BMWs while the minority poor are condemned to stealing the hubcaps.

So Dinkins' "gorgeous mosaic" is being slashed by the jagged edge of race-hatred. What's particularly criminal about the situation is that, even as refracted through the bourgeois elections, there is a widespread desire for racial harmony. Reagan/Bush got less votes here than practically any other part of the country. It's the most ethnically mixed city in the U.S.—with the population a quarter black, a quarter Hispanic, a quarter Jewish, and the rest made up of a whole range of Asians, Caribbeans, white ethnic Catholics and others. Recent studies show more than 35 percent of the population doesn't speak English at home. But in the era of decaying capitalism, far from being a "melting pot" of racial and ethnic groups, it is a boiling cauldron of race-hatred.

It's rooted in the deepening crisis of American capitalism. Ex-mayor Koch's insane Zionist hectoring verbal assaults on poor blacks and Hispanics expressed his bank-dictated program to slash services to the ghettos and barrios. After the 1987 stock market crash, the city is sinking again into deficits and disorder. Dinkins has been brought in to oversee the cutbacks and retrenchment. There was talk of a revival of the old FDR coalition—but empty liberal rhetoric won't keep the lid on. In the absence of a perspective of social struggle for mutual benefit, the various "constitu-



Fine/Newsday

Nationalist demagogue Sonny Carson spews anti-Asian poison outside Korean-owned grocery in Flatbush.

encies" of the Democratic Party are increasingly at each other's throats.

A social force that has the strength and class interest to overcome internecine ethnic/racial hostility and "turf" wars is in fact present. Organized labor is the most integrated social institution in the city and the country, reflecting the role of the working class in capitalist production. And the recent period has seen some signs of life among New York City unions—from black and Hispanic workers at Greyhound and Caribbean immigrants in the Domsey garment workers strike to white craft unionists at the *Daily News* and doctors who recently won union recognition at Bronx Lebanon Hospital. But labor is saddled with a union leadership tied to the capitalist Democrats, and the most "progressive" support Dinkins even when he is about to shove layoffs down their throats.

The black nationalists look to the same capitalist forces. Carson, of course, rounded up votes for Dinkins for a price. Sharpton did the same earlier for racist Republican Senator D'Amato. Their protest marches in Bensonhurst militantly chant "No Justice, No Peace!" But this call is in fact an appeal to the state. Even tactically they rely on the state—the only thing that stood between the black marchers and the mobs of enraged whites in Bensonhurst was the blue line of the racist NYPD. But justice for blacks and all the oppressed can only be won by fighting against capitalism, not by following its cynical flunkies.

The ethnic and racial hatreds can be overcome. On Monday a black teacher brought his class to shop at the Korean grocery on Church Ave., declaring: "This is a city of immigrants. And in this community we can be together." The critical need is to put the power of labor in the forefront of a deep-going struggle against all forms of oppression. And this requires a class-struggle leadership that doesn't look to the Democrats as phony "friends of labor" but sees them as they are, the agents of capital. A revolutionary party must be forged which fights to make the working class the vanguard of all the oppressed in struggle against the capitalist system which is rotting socially and economically just as surely as the New York City bridges and subways are rotting away physically.

The working people of New York badly need some tangible victories, through integrated struggle based on the power of labor which can draw in black, Hispanic and Asian minorities as well as white working people. While the capitalist parties rely on their racist cops and courts, powerful working-class mobilizations can isolate and crush the lynchers while winning the black masses away from the nationalist apostles of despair. By relying on our own organization and strength we can enforce the right of everyone to walk anywhere in this city without fear, and build a movement of the exploited and oppressed that will avenge the deaths of Yusuf Hawkins, Michael Griffith and all the victims of racist terror. ■

The Price of Being Black in Racist America

Four years ago a black baby girl was born in New York City. Unlike the more than 40,000 black babies who die before their first birthday every year in this country, she lived. Unlike over half the black children in America who live in poverty, most in families headed by single black welfare mothers, she doesn't. Her mother is not bad off, middle-class and white. But the daughter is black, and although she has yet to reach her fourth birthday she is already the target of racist bigotry and discrimination. Now the girl's mother is seeking compensation in a lawsuit which is coming to be known as the "Sperm Case."

Julia Skolnick, a 33-year-old widow, is suing Idant Laboratories, a Manhattan sperm bank, and a doctor at Advanced Fertility Services for negligence, claiming that she was mistakenly inseminated with the sperm of a black man rather than that of her white husband. In 1985, Skolnick's husband, who was dying of cancer, deposited sperm at Idant Laboratories so that his wife could have his child. In 1986, Julia Skolnick was artificially inseminated and in December of that year she gave birth to a black baby girl. In her lawsuit Skolnick is demanding compensation for the alleged mix-up, citing in particular the racial harassment and ridicule her young daughter has been subjected to.

A column in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 March) titled "Measuring the Costs of Blackness in America" by Julianne Malveaux asks, "Can the courts measure the amount of earnings lost by African Americans because of their color?" The column points to statistics which show that one-third of black

Sperm Bank Suit

male college graduates and one-half of college-educated black women earn less than poverty-level wages (as compared to one-sixth and one-third respectively of white college grads).

Malveaux goes on to point to the reality that this little black girl faces—of being stereotyped in school and tracked "away from certain career paths," of finding herself being followed in New York's best stores "because her skin color makes her a shoplifting suspect," of missing her curfew "because taxis will speed away instead of stopping when she hails them." She asks: "If the New York widow is troubled about the taunting her daughter suffers at 3, how will she feel when her daughter is 13 or 23? How will she feel when her college-aged daughter tells her black women have been hung in effigy on campus?"

But Malveaux only measures the cost of being black in racist America for what W.E.B. Du Bois termed the "talented tenth" of the black population. The overwhelming majority of black kids in this society never finish high school much less see the inside of a college. The inner-city schools are nothing more than cop-patrolled holding pens where ignorance is reinforced by the disease, destitution, crime and wasted lives that surround them.

Even black high school graduates are less likely to get hired than a white high

school dropout—40 percent of black males in their 20s are unemployed. Their "career options" are to make a living on the mean streets of the ghettos. They wouldn't even be allowed into "New York's best stores." They are considered to be permanent outlaws in the inner cities where terror comes not in effigy but in cold blood—fired out of the guns of racist cops. There are no jobs for the millions of single black welfare mothers. Yet under the provisions of the "workfare" act the government is going to cut them—and their children—off all benefits for *not working!*

Malveaux notes: "When the courts attempt to measure the cost of blackness, they should consult recent health studies that show the difference between black and white life expectancy." Only 40 percent of black children have been immunized against polio, 30 percent of AIDS victims are black, 60 percent of those afflicted with tuberculosis—the disease of the 19th century workhouses—come from the black population. A recent study by two Harlem Hospital surgeons showed that the death rate for black men in Harlem over the age of 40 is higher than of the male population in Bangladesh!

What is the price for this toll of death? Malveaux writes that Skolnick's lawsuit may "finally establish the financial cost of blackness in America" and "indirectly raises the issue of reparations for African

Americans as compensation for slavery; for past discrimination, and for the toll of racism that persists unto this very day." But Julia Skolnick could win millions of dollars in her case and it wouldn't make a dime's worth of difference for the lives of the overwhelming bulk of the black population in this country.

The racist rulers of this country have already determined that the financial cost of maintaining blacks in the inner-city ghettos is an expendable overhead. It is no longer necessary for American capitalism to preserve the lives of poor blacks as a "reserve army of labor"; now they are considered to be a completely worthless, parasitical population. How can one expect "reparations" when the powers that be—Democrats and Republicans—are shelving welfare programs as money wasted? In the 1960s, the rulers paid to keep a lid on seething revolt in the ghettos with their "War on Poverty" programs which bought and paid for the black Democratic Party mayors who act as the overseers of the inner-city ghettos on behalf of their white capitalist masters. No price could possibly repay the death of eleven black people, including five children, who were murdered in Wilson Goode's terror bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985.

To do away with the "penalty" for being black in racist America the working people of this country—black and white—must rise up together to take back the fruits of their labor from the racist capitalist rulers and put all the wealth that the workers have produced in the service of building an egalitarian, socialist society. ■

Civil War...

(continued from page 9)

directed in large part against the utopian, self-serving Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." He noted that "Marxism takes its point of departure from the world economy, not as a sum of national parts but as a mighty and independent reality which has been created by the international division of labour and the world market, and which in our epoch imperiously dominates the national markets. The productive forces of capitalist society have long ago outgrown the national boundaries." This material/social foundation of the world economy constitutes the actual foundations of Marxist internationalism.

Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks taught us some fundamental truths about capitalist class society, about the hypocrisy and deception of the bourgeoisie. When they talk about "freedom," they have one thing in mind, the freedom to

Under Tory government of Lord Palmerston, Britain outfitted blockade-running ships for the South.



Granger Collection



Chicago Historical Society

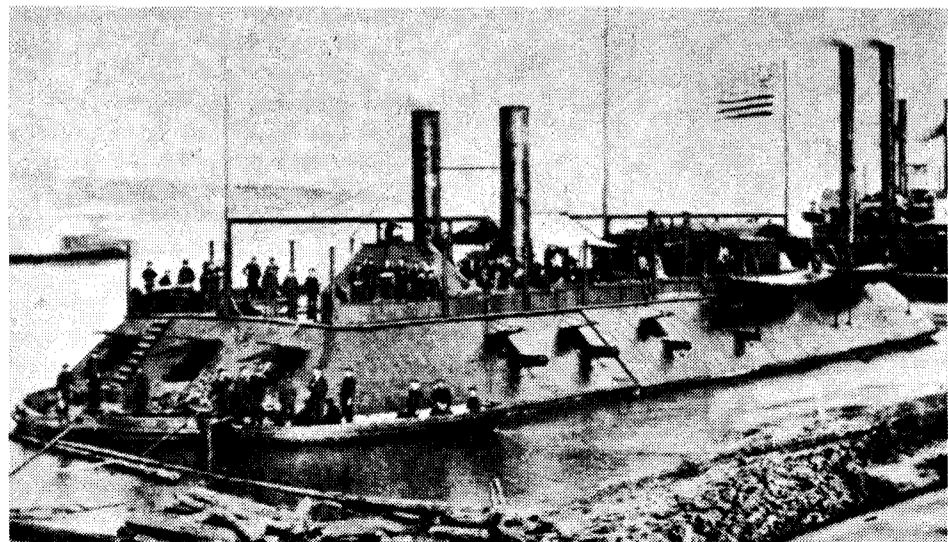
exploit. They talk about equality in a class-divided society. You cannot have equality between the oppressors and oppressed, the exploited and the exploiters, those who own the means of production and those who are propertyless

wage slaves. Any talk about freedom and equality that runs counter to the emancipation of workers and the oppressed from the yoke of capital is sheer deception.

This talk is not just about history for the sake of history. Over 50 years ago,

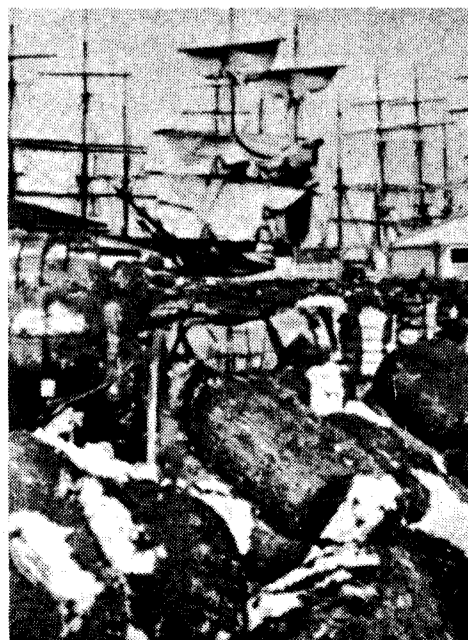
the Trotskyists, noting the tasks of finishing the Civil War, made a very key point: "The slaveholders had to be lifted to the heights before they were dashed to the ground and annihilated forever in the Civil War." This is a historic precedent that is good to keep in mind when the advancing world reaction seems to be carrying everything before it.

This is a critical moment in history in which American and world imperialism are going all out to carry out bloody capitalist counterrevolution. The Stalinist bureaucracies from East Germany to the Soviet Union are caving in to the unprecedented campaign of imperialist destabilization in East Germany, for a Fourth Reich which could set the stage for another imperialist war and the prospect of the annihilation of humanity. Only proletarian socialist revolution can provide peace and plenty and progress for the working people of the world. This urgently requires the forging of a multi-racial revolutionary working-class party that is capable of leading the working class to power, to the seizure of state power by destroying the last form of slavery—capitalist wage slavery. ■



Library of Congress

Ironclads, like the U.S.S. Cairo (above), strengthened naval blockade which strangled Southern slavocracy. Cotton for British mills lies rotting in Charleston, South Carolina harbor.



South Carolina Historical Society

S.F. Skinheads Routed...

(continued from page 16)

some 200 anti-fascists marched in the Haight-Ashbury district, in response to a rumor that skinheads planned to stage a "white workers day" provocation there. No organized skinhead presence materialized, but the anti-racists managed to send a couple of jeering skins packing. The bourgeois press screamed that the anti-fascists attacked innocent bystanders: the *Examiner* (2 May) ran the headline, "Skinheads don't show, so anti-skinheads beat up teens." On the night of May 5, a group of about 30 skinheads marched unannounced a couple of blocks up Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley shouting "white power," until surrounded by cop cars. Three were arrested for possession of weapons including a hatchet, a heavy chain and sawed-off pool cue—charges since dropped by the D.A. One of the skinheads arrested in Berkeley—19-year-old David Lindley—was cited by the *Examiner* as one of the supposedly innocent bystanding "teens" in the Haight on May Day.

The Spartacist League brought a militant contingent of about 40 for the May 5 Union Square demonstration with a banner reading, "Workers and Minorities: Sweep the Nazis/Skinheads/KKK Off the Streets!" The fascist action groups are organized to *kill*—blacks, Jews, socialists, trade unionists, Asians, Hispanics. Emboldened by the takeover of East Germany by the West German successor state to the Third Reich, as the imperialists trumpet their wished-for "death of Communism," skinhead violence is on the rise internationally. In East Germany immigrant workers are daily assaulted and harassed. Recently, skinheads were arrested in Texas for planning to pump cyanide gas into a synagogue.

Workers must crush these vermin in the egg. What was missing from the SF action on May 5 was the integrated

labor movement that could finish the well-deserved lesson those dozen fascist punks started to get. The massive social power of integrated class struggle can sweep the racist terrorists off the streets. It also stays the hand of the cops who tend to be fond of busting anti-fascist heads.

Just over ten years ago, on Hitler's birthday in 1980, the SL-initiated "April 19 Committee to Stop the Nazis" mobilized the integrated Bay Area labor movement, stopping the Nazis from their intended "celebration," saying, "San Francisco is a labor town, not a Nazi town!" In Washington, D.C. in 1982 and in Philadelphia in 1988, labor/black mobilizations initiated by the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee stopped the KKK/skinheads from carrying out racist provocations. These victories were won in the teeth of opposition from the bosses' parties, their government and their cops, including especially from black front men for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party.

San Francisco workers know and hate these skinhead scum. The absence of

organized labor from the May 5 protest is primarily the responsibility of a supine labor bureaucracy politically under the thumb of Democratic Party mayor Art Agnos. But the organizers of this protest—which included Anti-Racist Action, Direct Action Against Racism, Revolutionary Workers League and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAKC), made no attempt to mobilize mass labor/black power. At a planning meeting on May 2, "labor" was dismissed as a waste of time to pursue. While they may contain some young militants with the appetite to deal with the fascists with dispatch, the liberal politics of these groups place them in the tow of the Democrats.

The ex-New Leftists of the John Brown Committee should be remembered for their cringing appeal to the bourgeois state to "ban" the fascists in April 1989 when Duke's Populist Party was planning a public meeting in Hayward, California. At the planning meeting for the SF protest, the JBAKC, capitulating to the bourgeois media hysteria over May Day, wanted assurance that in Union Square, the hundreds of expected dem-

onstrators wouldn't gang up on a small group of fascists! As an expression of hostility to class struggle, the organizers' "open mike" at the rally concluding the May 5 demo was open to a so-called "anti-racist" skinhead to rave that he loved his country. But the microphone became almost inaudible when black Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander addressed the crowd.

It's a good thing when racist thugs get "educated" in an appropriate manner—but it's not enough. To rely for anti-fascist "victories" on the acquiescence of the cops is to indulge in fatal illusions in the armed fist of the capitalist state. More centrally, the fascist gangs thrive on the decay of capitalist society. For the threat of barbaric reaction to be decisively defeated, their capitalist masters must be overthrown, along with their rotten system of racist wage slavery. That requires the independent mobilization of the working class at the head of all the oppressed, under the leadership of an integrated revolutionary workers party. Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State! ■

Spartacist contingent at May 5 anti-skinhead action. The massive social power of the integrated labor movement must be mobilized to sweep the racist terrorists off the streets.



American Apartheid...

(continued from page 16)

clean up other people's trash. Four were taken to the police station where two were kept overnight on transparently fabricated charges.

This outrage occurred while Los Angeles was being rocked by three controversial cop murders. On January 11 the cops were called in a domestic dispute and fired 26 shots at April May Alvarado, one of which struck her in the forehead and killed her. On January 23, Oliver Beasley, a young Nation of Islam member, was shot in the head at pointblank range during a stop for a routine traffic violation. And two weeks later, on February 10, an unarmed, nearly blind man,

William Leonard of Lynwood, was struck and killed by more than a dozen bullets when he attempted to comply with conflicting orders from deputies about whether or not to put up his hands.

"Operation Hammer" Targets Black Youth

Systematic war is being waged on the city's population by the LAPD's "Operation Hammer," the "routine" weekend cop assaults which arbitrarily pick up thousands of black and Hispanic residents unlucky enough to be in the vicinity of a raid. Playing on anti-gang hysteria, the now-infamous police barricades imprison entire neighborhoods. The phony, hypocritical "war on drugs" is in reality a war on the black and Hispanic poor. As Tony Vasquez of the Santa Monica Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) put it, "When white

kids get together, they call it a sorority or fraternity. When it's black or Latino kids, they talk about gangs."

Norman Curry of the Santa Monica NAACP told WV that when his group protested the brutal treatment of the youths in the Pacific Palisades case, the police promised an internal investigation. But when the cops arrived at a community relations meeting, they treated the youths as criminals, including attempting to take photos of them. Such mug shots are used in making "profile cards" for youths picked up in police sweeps. These cards record gang affiliations, such as the false ones taken in forced confessions from the youths in Palisades Park. If they

are picked up again, a gang affiliation on a profile card sets them up to be arrested, beaten or blown away as "known criminal elements." The NAACP refused to go along with this continuing victimization.

Both the NAACP and MAPA are backing the Palisades Park civil suit. The NAACP still believes the killer cops can be reformed by having the worst offenders fired. But the cops, the instruments of repression of the bourgeois state, *exist* to protect and defend the racist capitalist state, not the population. It will take nothing short of a socialist revolution, led by an integrated working-class party, to sweep away for good the whole murderous apparatus of racist state terror. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD



San Francisco: Nazi skinheads, bloodied by rocks, bottles and sticks, were surrounded by anti-fascist militants in Union Square, May 5.

WV Photo

Greenhouse/Oakland Tribune

Fascist Skinheads Routed in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—An angry, integrated demonstration drove a clot of fascist skinheads out of Union Square on May 5. The Nazi skinhead American Front had announced plans to hold a "white workers parade" in the small park at the center of San Francisco's fashionable shopping and hotel district. When these race-terrorist scum tried to goose-step into the park with a large Confederate flag and wearing Nazi-type uniforms, hundreds of anti-fascists sent them running to take refuge behind a cordon of

cops. But not before the would-be stormtroopers were bloodied.

Cowering behind a thin police line, the frightened group of a dozen little Hitlerites were bombarded for some 15 minutes with cans, bottles, rocks, sticks and other objects—including a portable radio that hit one fascist in the head. Then the cops pulled a paddy wagon into the park and the racist creeps ran for shelter like scared rabbits—saved by the state which these genocidal nuts call the "ZOG" ("Zionist Occupation Government"). The

main part of the anti-fascist demonstration spilled into the street, where a Confederate flag was shredded and an attempt made to burn it. Then the 200-300 demonstrators marched several blocks to Powell and Market where a closing rally was held with an impromptu "open mike."

Without the organizing influence of a Tom Metzger or David Duke, the skinheads are lumpen criminal elements given to violent unpredictability, which even the racist cops have little use for.

In fact, when the Nazi skinheads entered the square to face the rage of black and white protesters, the cops basically turned their backs for a minute or so. But it was only the police who saved this bunch of fascists from a really bad beating. Six anti-fascist protesters were arrested, three on felony charges. Drop all charges against the anti-fascist protesters!

The May 5 rout was the second in a week for the SF skins. On May Day, *continued on page 15*

LAPD's American Apartheid

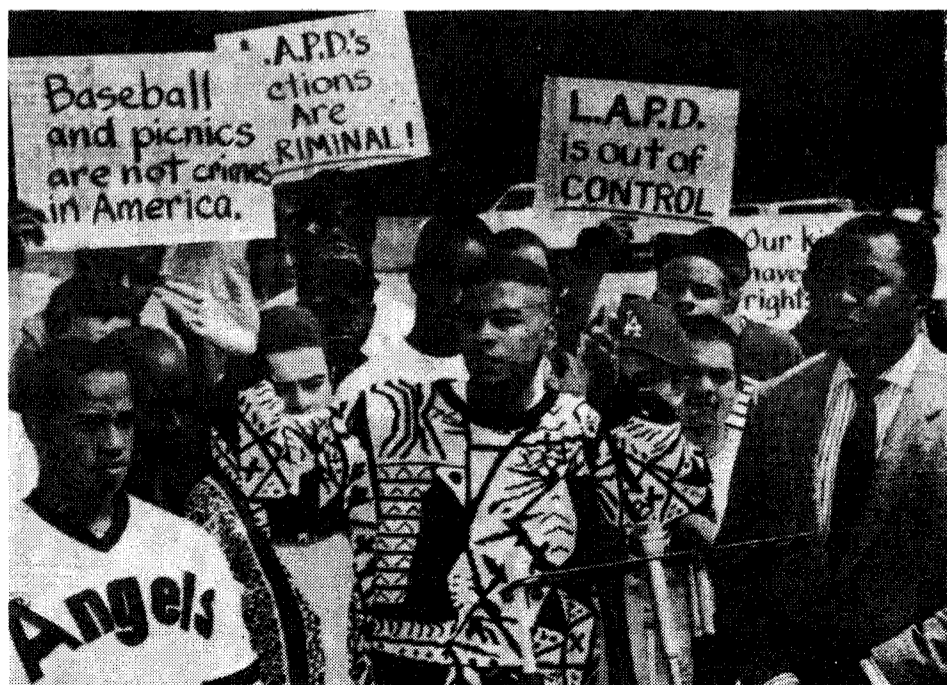
LOS ANGELES—An integrated group of black and Hispanic youths from the Santa Monica area thought they could enjoy a holiday at nearby Will Rogers State Park in exclusive Pacific Palisades on Lincoln's Birthday. Instead, the reality of racist America came crashing down on them. They were getting ready to leave the park after several hours of picnicking and ball playing last February 12. Not used to such a scene in this lily-white enclave, the park rangers called the LAPD, who arrived waving 12-gauge shotguns. They forced the 30 teenagers to lie face down in the dirt for two and a half hours of brutal, degrading interrogation. As Jermaine Hubbard put it, "We came to the park to celebrate Lincoln's birthday, and we still have to listen to racial remarks more than a hundred years after he freed the slaves."

At a press conference April 10, lawyers for the group announced they are filing a civil suit against the city for physical and mental damages. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (11 April), the

teenagers were told by the cops that the scenic park where movie stars come to play polo and where the Reagans lived prior to the 1980 presidential elections was "for rich white people" only. One cop underlined what was really going on by taunting, "Just because that n---r Mandela got out, that doesn't give you guys the right to go anywhere you want." The day before, South African black leader Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years in the jails of the white-supremacist apartheid regime. The LAPD wants to enforce apartheid here!

Hubbard described how the teenagers were "interrogated" as they lay in the dirt: "I was kicked in the side of the ribs and asked if I was from a gang. When I said, 'no,' I was handcuffed and hit numerous times." Others made up the name of a gang in a desperate attempt to stop being beaten. Toward the end of the ordeal, the cops made the youths crawl 30 yards on their hands and knees and oink like pigs. Then they were forced to

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Black and Hispanic youths protest the racist cop brutality they encountered when they tried to picnic in exclusive Pacific Palisades park.

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