

Florida: Military Occupation of St. Petersburg Ghetto

Racist Cop Terror U.S.A.



Baer/St. Petersburg Times

St. Petersburg police, backed up by National Guard, move in to suppress protests over racist killing by police, October 24.

Days before the presidential elections, two Southern towns were placed under states of emergency following angry protests against police killings of young black men. The killings fit a pattern of ever-increasing cop terror against the ghettos and barrios, part of the racist ruling-class war against the poor, working people and minorities. Indeed, the election campaign was marked by a competition between the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties over who would crack down harder on immigrants, who would be more ruthless in eliminating the remnants of welfare, who would be tougher in expanding the burgeoning prison population and increasing the rate of executions in the country's death chambers.

On October 24, the black ghetto of St. Petersburg, Florida erupted in outrage after the fatal police shooting of 18-year-old Tyron Lewis in a car theft incident. Witnesses recounted that the black youth was sitting inside the car *with his hands up*, after being stopped by two white cops, when one of the cops pumped five bullets through the windshield into Lewis. As word of the shooting spread, angry residents gathered, chanting, "Stop police brutality in the black community!" A police phalanx heaved tear gas canisters into the crowd, setting off a running battle.

Democratic governor Lawton Chiles sent the National Guard into the city in a move to seal off black areas. More than 600 police, sheriff's deputies and National Guard troops were placed on a state of alert as cops patrolled the streets in convoys and helicopters hovered overhead. Over 20 people were arrested. Seeking to blame the angry protests on "outside agitators," the mayor and police chief have targeted the black nationalist group Uhuru, which established a

bail fund for those arrested. *Hands off Uhuru! Drop all charges against the arrested protesters!*

One week later, the town of Leland, Mississippi was placed under a state of emergency. This followed a protest provoked when local police changed their account of the October 17 killing of 29-year-old Aaron White, a black television repairman. After reporting that a cop shot White in an exchange of gunfire, police officials then claimed that White shot himself. On October 30, 400 people in this small Mississippi Delta town marched on the local police station demanding to see the mayor and police chief. When they refused to speak to the protesters, the crowd erupted, pelting police cars with rocks.

From the Deep South to the ghettos and barrios throughout the country, there is a sharp rise in racist cop executions on the streets of capitalist America. Even according to FBI statistics, the number of people killed by cops climbed by close to 25 percent from 1989 to 1993. Behind this war of racist terror lies a bipartisan ruling-class consensus to cut off even the most minimal lifelines for the inner-city poor. As we noted in

"Lynch Law U.S.A." (WV No. 631, 20 October 1995):

"The capitalist rulers have decided to let the poor and the inner cities rot, slashing what pathetic remnants of social programs still exist, abandoning even the pretense of caring for broad sectors of the population. To carry this out, the ruling class requires a brutal army of repression. While legal lynching under the racist death penalty escalates...the cops are carrying out lynch law in the streets."

Capitalist Decay and Racist Repression

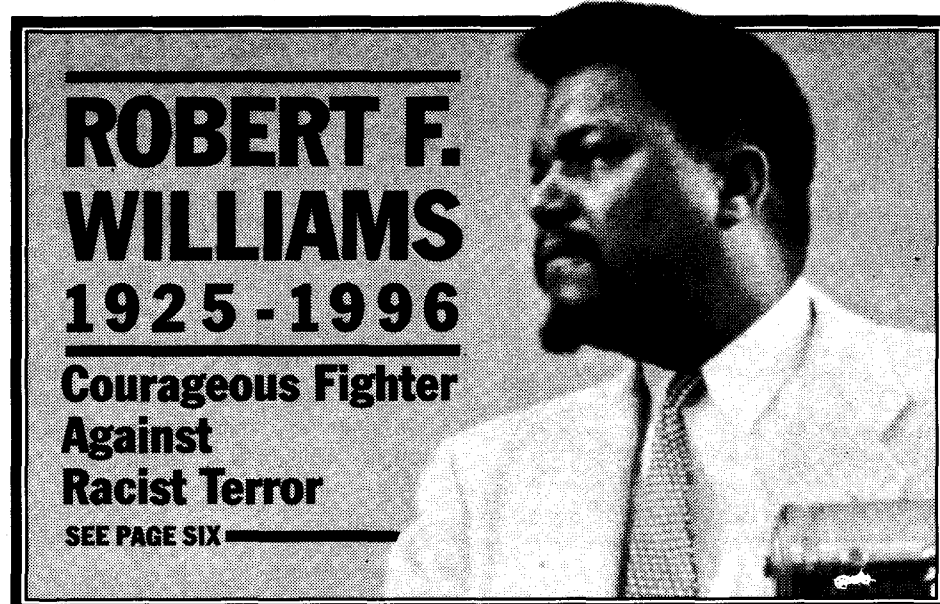
The unleashing of racist cop terror comes straight from the top of this country's capitalist ruling class. As a number of newspapers have pointed out, in the elections, Clinton has seized the issue of "crime" from the more overtly right-wing, racist Republicans. Clinton's long-time pledge to put an additional 100,000 cops on the streets by the year 2000, the continued acceleration in the use of the racist death penalty (reflected in a welter of new laws mandating executions), as well as Clinton's support for gun control won him the first-ever endorsement of a Democratic presidential nominee by the Fraternal Order of Police.

From the White House down to the local courthouse, the ruling class has given a green light to the cops to ride roughshod over minorities. Earlier in October, New York City was the scene of several days of protests following the acquittal of a Bronx cop for the chokehold death of 29-year-old Anthony Baez (see "Bronx Killer Cop Livoti Walks," WV No. 653, 11 October). Then in Pittsburgh on October 18, a mistrial was declared in the case of two white cops charged with "involuntary manslaughter" for the brutal beating death of Jonny Gammage a year earlier. Cops arrested Gammage when they saw him driving a Jaguar through a predominantly white area outside Pittsburgh. They threw him to the ground, tied his legs, handcuffed him and choked him to death.

The killing of Gammage, the cousin of a Pittsburgh Steelers defensive lineman, was met by integrated protests of hundreds of people. But when his killers went to trial, the racist "justice" system kicked in to try to ensure that, as usual, the cops would go free. The court ordered that a jury be selected from white suburbs outside Philadelphia—*over 240 miles away*—while the cops' lawyers summarily dismissed as potential jurors any trade unionists.

The massive reinforcement of the repressive apparatus of the state—centrally the cops and prisons—reflects the need of the U.S. ruling class to contain the explosive contradictions generated by the growing gap between the tiny handful of rich at the top and the mass of the populace. Among all industrial nations, the U.S. now has the most unequal distribution of wealth, with over 40 percent of income concentrated in the hands of 1 percent of the population. The U.S. also has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, with the majority of the prison population black, most of them victims of the racist "war on drugs." The biggest growth industry in the U.S.—at \$30 billion per year—is prisons; for every manufacturing job lost in the 1980s, there's a

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ROBERT F. WILLIAMS
1925 - 1996

**Courageous Fighter
Against
Racist Terror**

SEE PAGE SIX



Hands Off Cannabis Buyers Club!

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following letter of protest to California attorney general Dan Lungren after he ordered the arrest of Dennis Peron, co-founder of the San Francisco Cannabis Buyers Club (CBC) and an advocate of Proposition 215, an initiative in the November 5 ballot which would legalize medical use of marijuana. We favored a vote for Prop. 215 not only as

a minimal democratic reform but as a good way to register a protest against Lungren's outrageous attacks.

* * *

21 October 1996

Attorney General Dan Lungren
Sacramento, California

Dear Sir:

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns and protests the October 11 arrest on your orders of Dennis Peron. At your instigation, indictments on trumped-up charges were issued against Peron and five others associated with the San Francisco Cannabis Buyers Club, including two AIDS patients. Those arrested have done nothing wrong. On the contrary, your persecution of those who supply marijuana to the victims of horrible crippling and terminal diseases is truly obscene. We demand that all charges be dropped at once!

The Cannabis Buyers Club was founded by Peron in memory of a companion who died of AIDS, and serves more than 11,000 acutely ill people. Your charge that this organization is a front for drug dealing is a transparent and cynical pretext for using methods characteristic of a police state to silence a political opponent. Peron is a prominent supporter and initiator of Proposition 215, a measure that would legalize the possession and use of marijuana for medical purposes. You signed the ballot argument against this initiative and are crusading to defeat it by slandering and repressing its advocates.

On August 4, you sent more than 100 Bureau of Narcotics Enforcement agents with automatic weapons, body armor and

rubber gloves on a Gestapo-style early morning raid, breaking down the CBC doors in San Francisco, terrorizing the occupants, seizing medical records and shutting down the club. The same building is headquarters for Californians for Compassionate Use, the group which got Prop. 215 on the ballot. You had your agents and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Deputies raid the L.A. Cannabis Buyers Club on September 16 and arrest four people. You even tried to get cartoonist Garry Trudeau censored for criticizing your San Francisco raid in his strip "Doonesbury." Now, less than a month before the elections, you have had your police thugs throw Peron in jail.

Your drive to stop AIDS and cancer patients from using marijuana is of a piece with your attempts to shut down hypodermic needle exchange programs in San Francisco Bay Area cities. Were your efforts to succeed, you would condemn thousands to die from a horrible disease, while promoting the spread of this deadly epidemic.

The so-called "war on drugs," in which name you carry out these outrages, is in fact a campaign to repress, terrorize and intimidate blacks, Latinos, poor and working people in the face of vicious cutbacks by this country's racist capitalist rulers. Laws prohibiting drugs like marijuana are an intolerable interference by the state into the private affairs of citizens and should simply be abolished. Smoking marijuana, for any purpose, is no crime. Your persecution of Dennis Peron and the Cannabis Buyers Club is. We demand you cease at once.

Yours truly,
Barbara Franck for the
Partisan Defense Committee



TROTSKY

The Hungarian Workers Uprising, October 1956

Last month marked the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The bourgeois press seeks to portray the Hungarian uprising as a precursor to the capitalist counterrevolutions which destroyed the bureaucratically deformed degenerated workers states in East Europe and the former Soviet Union in 1989-91. In fact, in their mass the Hungarian workers sought to defend the socialized property



LENIN

forms instituted in the aftermath of the Red Army victory over Nazism and the fascist Horthy dictatorship in World War II, fighting to replace the Stalinist bureaucracy with the rule of democratic workers councils (soviets). As emphasized in a January 1957 statement by the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party, the Hungarian workers uprising—though crushed by the Soviet bureaucracy's military intervention—was a living vindication of the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution. What was lacking was a Trotskyist party capable of leading this incipient political revolution to victory and extending it throughout East Europe and the USSR, as part of a perspective of world socialist revolution.

Councils—organs of workers' power—appeared on a nation-wide scale in the factories, the army and neighborhood areas. Dual power thus arose on the foundations of socialized property. Although capitalist restorationist elements maneuvered for advantageous positions in government, they were an insignificant force in contrast to the working class and its allies. The workers proved that in a revolutionary showdown they could crush all attempts at capitalist restoration just as they could defeat the native Stalinist bureaucracy, steering the political revolution on its true course toward the establishment of workers democracy. It was to preserve bureaucratic rule that the Kremlin intervened in Hungary, using the presence of restorationist elements as a pretext for its brutal assault on the working class.

In the absence of a revolutionary socialist party, the Workers Councils lacked the clear leadership and the clear declaration of aims that would have made the uprising unequivocal from the beginning. Nonetheless, all the available evidence shows that the working class, which was the decisive power, was bent on defending the social conquests already achieved, such as the planned economy, that it would not tolerate any attempt to return to the horrors of the fascism it had experienced under Horthy and under the Nazis, that its movement was in the channels of political revolution; that is, the building of a workers state freed from the bureaucratic abominations of Stalinism....

Socialist solidarity with the heroic Hungarian rebels has nothing in common with the hypocritical tears shed in the capitalist press by the imperialists and their agents. Socialist support of the Hungarian revolution rests on furtherance of the class struggle at home. A militant worker in an American plant who wants to help the Hungarian fighters stands at opposite poles from the Big Business publication that seeks to convert Cardinal Mindszenty into a new Horthy....

The Hungarian revolution has revealed with crystal clarity the source of danger to the progressive social structure of the Soviet Union and the East European countries. The danger comes from world capitalism on the one hand, and from the bureaucratic caste on the other. The evidence is now conclusive that the revolution of the Hungarian workers is a continuation of the Russian revolution of October 1917. In their aspirations, their conscious program and their organized action, the Hungarian workers are deepening and extending the social conquests of the Russian Revolution and are striking powerful blows at the bureaucratic obstacle to its extension.

The Hungarian revolution is thus a living proof of the Trotskyist thesis that the best defense of the Soviet Union is the extension of the workers revolution.

— Socialist Workers Party pamphlet,
Revolution in Hungary and the Crisis of Stalinism (1957)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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8 November 1996

Woman Faces Seven Years in Prison for Helping Teen Get Abortion

Defend Rosa Hartford!

Rosa Marie Hartford, a mother of six from Shunk, a small town in Pennsylvania, faces up to seven years in prison for helping her son's girlfriend get an abortion. In August 1995, Hartford accompanied the 13-year-old to a clinic in Binghamton, New York, a state where parental consent is not required for minors seeking abortions as it is in Pennsylvania. Helping a minor get an abortion out of state is not illegal in Pennsylvania. So to punish Rosa Hartford for an act of elementary kindness for a desperate young woman in need, the local district attorney dragged out a little-used law against "interfering with the custody of a minor." Hartford was convicted on October 29 and is to be sentenced this month.

This vindictive decision is particularly dangerous because it is the first time since abortion was legalized that an adult has been prosecuted for helping a minor get an abortion, according to Hartford's lawyer at the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy in New York City. Like thousands of other teenagers who "get in trouble," the one in this case was afraid to tell her mother. If Hartford's conviction stands, it means that any friends

and other adults can now face prison for helping out a young girl in what should be a purely personal, medical decision that is nobody else's business.

Meanwhile, Rosa Hartford's 19-year-old son was arrested for "statutory rape," even though he and his girlfriend had consensual sex. He is now in prison, facing at least 12 months and as long as 30 months in jail. In this brutal, cruel and viciously anti-youth capitalist society, safe, simple medical procedures like abortion and pleasurable activities like sex are targeted as "crimes" by a hysterical government.

As "right to life" bigots besiege abortion clinics and carry out murderous attacks on doctors and staff, state governments have passed a sheaf of draconian laws cutting back ever more sharply on the right to abortion. These attacks have a particularly heavy impact on young, minority and working women. As part of our fight for a socialist future, we are for free abortion on demand, for anyone, without any restrictions, and for drastically lowering the legal age of adulthood. Hands off Rosa Marie Hartford!

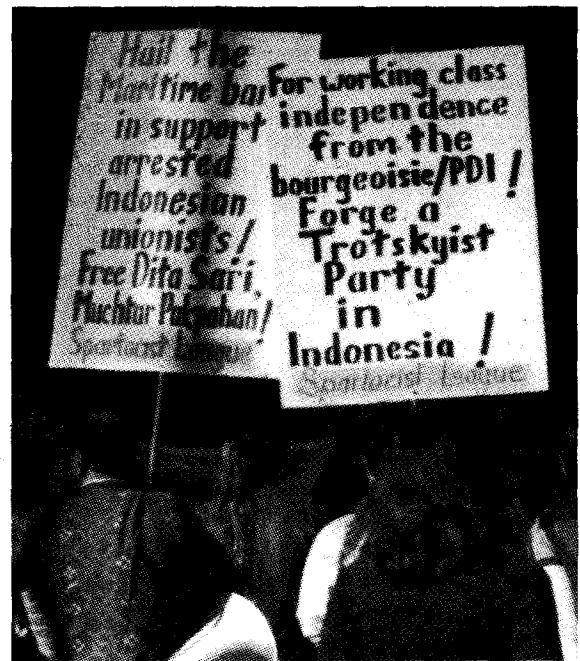
Protests Against Repression in Indonesia

Protest actions against a brutal wave of repression being carried out by the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia were held on October 28 in cities around the world, from San Francisco to Pretoria, South Africa and Sydney, Australia. As we reported last issue in "Indonesia Powder Keg" (WV No. 654, 25 October), the Jakarta regime arrested dozens of militants in the wake of massive anti-government protests in July, while scores of protesters were either killed or "disappeared." Trade unionists and supporters of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD) have been particular targets: PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko faces execution by firing squad on charges of treason and at least 25 other PRD leaders are being held in isolation. Dita Sari, president of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian center for Labor Struggles (PPBI), has been imprisoned, as has Mochtar Pakpahan, chairman of the banned Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI).

The International Communist League participated in the protests in various cities, with signs demanding "Free All Victims of Right-Wing Terror in Indonesia!" and calling for "Independence for East Timor!" which has been under the grip of genocidal repression since Indonesia's takeover in 1975. Everywhere, our comrades emphasized that "the main enemy is at home." Spartacist supporters at the New York City protest demanded, "U.S. Imperialism Hands Off South Asia!" Supporters of the Spartacist League/Australia (SL/A) at a protest in Melbourne called for "Independence for East Timor! For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! Down With Australian Imperialism!" The demonstrations in Australia came in the context of an exemplary



October 28: International Communist League contingents in protests in New York City (above) and Melbourne against military crackdown in Indonesia.



Australasian Spartacist

act of internationalist solidarity by the Maritime Union, which launched a labor boycott of Indonesian shipping in late September in protest against the repression.

Suharto's rule was born out of the massacre of more than one million Communist Party (PKI) supporters and other militants in 1965—a reign of terror in which U.S. imperialism and its Australian junior partners were up to their necks. This bloodbath was prepared by the PKI's policy of class-collaborationist subordination to the former bourgeois-nationalist regime of Sukarno. Today, despite the evident courage and dedication of its supporters, the PRD offers a similarly suicidal strategy, supporting the PDI, the tame bourgeois opposition-led

by Sukarno's daughter, Megawati.

Encouraging the PRD in this are the reformists of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), organizers of the Melbourne protest, who single-mindedly pushed the call "Democracy for Indonesia Now!" A Spartacist placard called "For Working-Class Independence from the Bourgeoisie/PDI! Forge a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!" and an SL/A speaker who raised the need for socialist revolution and opposition to class-collaborationist popular-frontism was applauded by protesters.

As an SL/A spokesman explained at an October 12 DSP public meeting in Melbourne:

"To direct the courageous upsurge of social struggle in Indonesia into the liber-

ation of the masses requires not only solidarity but a revolutionary perspective. That means an understanding of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which shows that in the colonial and semicolonial countries, all wings of the bourgeoisie are so tied to their imperialist masters and the landlords that they are hostile to the unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. For a workers and peasants government in Indonesia! As confirmed by the 1917 Russian Revolution, key to this perspective is the building of an authentic communist party that fights above all for the complete political independence of the working class from all parties of the bourgeoisie."

Free the victims of Jakarta's bloody repression! For workers revolution to sweep away the Suharto dictatorship! ■

Drop All Charges Against Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

We reprint below a November 4 call issued by the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three. The three still face charges stemming from their arrest at a June 29 PDC-initiated united-front demonstration in Chicago's Daley Plaza, to which over a hundred anti-racist militants came out, to protest a race-hate provocation by the Ku Klux Klan. Support for these courageous anti-Klan activists from the labor movement is crucial. Letters demanding the dropping of all charges have already been sent by officials of a wide range of unions, including Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308; Steelworkers District 7 of Gary, Indiana; Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the Bay Area and the Midwest Regional Joint Board of UNITE (needle trades).

Three anti-Klan protesters threatened with up to a year in jail will go on trial in Cook County Circuit Court on December 2. Gene Herson, the Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons, a supporter of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, face bogus charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a protest against a Ku Klux Klan race-hate provocation in Daley Plaza on June 29. The PDC calls on unions, black and Latino groups, leftists, students and all opponents of racist Klan terror to join in a united-front protest demonstration at the courthouse, 1340 South Michigan Avenue, at 8:30 a.m. on the morning of the trial. All out December 2!

The Daley administration knew at

least a week in advance that the racist vermin planned to rally on June 29 but imposed a news blackout to prevent the kind of massive mobilization of labor and minorities needed to stop the Klan and defend this union town. Even so, on less than one day's notice the PDC initiated a united-front protest against the KKK that drew over 100 outraged unionists, leftists and youth. The Klansmen were stopped as they marched provocatively—armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles wielded as clubs—toward the anti-fascist protesters. Finding themselves sprawled on the pavement, the KKK scum were taught a simple lesson: cross-burners and lynchers will not be tolerated in Chicago. This was a victory for all working people and minorities!

Daley's police intervened to protect the Klansmen, escorting them behind metal barricades where they continued to spew their genocidal filth. The cops launched a series of attacks against the anti-Klan protesters with pepper gas and clubs, beating several demonstrators and arresting nine. Among those arrested were unionists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program, as well as anarchists and supporters of the socialist Spartacist League, with which the PDC is affiliated. Cook County state's attorneys have dropped trumped-up charges against six of those arrested. But the continuing victimization of the Anti-Klan Three is the state's retaliation for the trouncing the Klan suffered on June 29.

This vendetta took a sinister turn September 21, just two days before a court hearing for the anti-Klan defendants. Twenty Klansmen, half of them wearing

the hoods and robes of nightriding terror, rallied in Daley Plaza protected by a massive police presence. Some 30 unmarked police cars filled with cops were hidden at a nearby construction site and kept ready to pounce, backed up by horse trailers and police wagons near the Plaza. This was a state-sponsored provocation against—and a trap intended for—anti-fascist fighters.

The Democrats' and Republicans' attacks on desperate immigrants, on welfare mothers, on poor and working people, feed Klan terror. The fascist nightriders must be stopped, and what's necessary to do it are mass mobilizations of all the Klan's intended victims: labor, minorities, immigrants, leftists, gays, Jews, Catholics. The PDC-initiated 500-strong labor/black mobilization against the KKK in Springfield, Illinois in January 1994, for which a hard core of Chicago labor turned out in a sub-zero blizzard, points the way toward mobilizing the decisive social power of the organized working class in the fight against Klan/Nazi terror.

Defense of the Anti-Klan Three is a vital necessity for the labor movement and all opponents of racist terror. The capitalist "justice" system is a system of racist and anti-working-class injustice. If the cops and courts get away with punishing anti-fascist fighters for making a stand against race-hate provocations in Chicago, a heavily labor, black and minority city, it will be a green light for the racist terrorists everywhere. It is urgent for all anti-racist fighters to come together in a united front, in which a broad range of organizations are free to raise their views in the framework of a common action, to defend the Anti-Klan

Three against victimization. Come to the courthouse each day of the trial to show your support. All out December 2! Drop all charges against the Anti-Klan Three!

* * *

Funds are urgently needed to cover the legal costs of this defense effort. Donations should be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters").

Send protest statements demanding that the charges be dropped to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail donations and copies of protest statements to the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

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UAW Tops Cave In for Clinton

NOVEMBER 3—The United Auto Workers (UAW) announced a three-year contract with General Motors yesterday, even as two key GM plants remained on strike over local issues. UAW tops hailed the deal as a supposed blow against “outsourcing,” the subcontracting of parts and sub-assembly work to low-wage, mainly non-union suppliers. But under the new contract, modeled on pacts already signed with Ford and Chrysler, workers in any new parts plant taken over or built by the Big Three will be permanently paid far less than other auto workers. This two-tier wage system is a recipe for the eventual disintegration of the UAW, as younger and older workers are pitted against each other.

The latest round of UAW contracts makes it crystal clear that *the union bureaucracy subordinates the interests of its members to its ties with the capitalist Democratic Party.* From the very beginning of the negotiations, the Big Three knew they had no reason to fear a national auto strike in this election year. The AFL-CIO has poured some \$35 million into television ads for the Democrats, while contributing almost \$27 million directly to Democratic candidates. Citing “labor experts,” the *New York Times* (23 August) reported that the UAW tops were “reluctant to imperil” Democrat Bill Clinton’s re-election “by staging a strike this autumn that might make the President look powerless.” UAW head Stephen Yokich went so far as to openly denounce last month’s walkout against GM in *Canada*, declaring that he was “disappointed” by the strike, which he hoped “our brothers and sisters in Canada could settle.”

The union bureaucracy justifies its craven subordination to the Democrats as a means to elect so-called “friends of labor.” But just like its Republican partner party, the Democratic Party represents the interests of America’s corporate rulers and is therefore racist and anti-working-class, and support to it means knifing workers’ struggles. Four years ago, the UAW tops called off a strike at Caterpillar one day after Clinton won the Democratic nomination. On top of this came last December’s historic defeat at CAT, as Yokich liquidated a bitter 18-month strike. The bureaucrats have called off every strike provoked by job-slashing at GM, including a 17-day walkout at Dayton in March which had the company on the ropes. Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO tops have maintained a stony silence over Clinton’s brutal attacks on blacks, immigrants and unemployed and desperate poor people. These are fundamentally assaults on the working class, yet the union chiefs tell their members to “vote Democrat” in both presidential and Congressional races.

The union officialdom supports the Democratic Party because its pro-capitalist outlook embraces the economic and political interests of U.S. capitalism. Far from acting as representatives of the workers’ interests, the AFL-CIO leadership is a bureaucratic layer which is sep-

arated from its working-class base and views the world through the same eyes as the capitalist exploiters. The distance between the union bureaucrat and the assembly line worker daily facing the lash of speedup and layoffs can be measured in AFL-CIO head John Sweeney’s statement that “It is time for business

way in further weakening the union. Many workers in non-unionized auto parts plants today earn *less than half* the wage of their counterparts in the Big Three. The institutionalization of the two-tier system, which already affects UAW members with less than three years’ seniority, means that such glaring inequal-

sions, Yokich denounced them for trying “to destroy this great union” (*Washington Post*, 3 April).

Nationalism and Protectionism: Poison to Workers’ Struggle

The need for coordinated strike action in the auto industry throughout North America was graphically underlined when the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) went on strike in the midst of contract negotiations between GM and the UAW. The three-week-long CAW walkout was punctuated by an occupation of the key Oshawa plant in Ontario, where 200 unionists stormed the plant, threw out the managers and welded the doors shut to prevent the removal of dies which GM sought to ship to the U.S. so that production could continue. Auto assembly operations from Quebec to Monterrey, Mexico are so highly integrated (accentuated by the “just-in-time” inventory system) that parts shortages stemming from the Canadian strike rapidly led to plant closures throughout North America. More than 23,000 auto workers in the U.S. and Mexico were laid off, including over 4,000 *maquiladora* (“free trade” zone) workers in the complex of auto parts plants in the sprawling industrial belt in northern Mexico. GM is the largest private employer in Mexico, which has some half million auto workers.

The union tops wrap themselves in the Stars and Stripes or the Maple Leaf flag, calling for jobs for “their” workers at the expense of working people abroad. Spewing the racist poison of protectionism, the Canadian and U.S. auto union tops attack workers in each others’ countries, and both join in blaming Mexican and Asian auto workers for the methodical destruction of union jobs by American and Canadian capitalists. The chauvinist AFL-CIO misleaders opposed NAFTA not as the “free trade” rape of Mexico it is but from the standpoint of defending “American interests.” But defense of “American interests”—i.e., corporate profits—means subordinating workers’ struggles to the interests of Wall Street. Sweeney makes this clear when he pleads for “new ways to help the American economy” and calls on corporations like GM to “take your profits and invest them in the American economy, American workers and American wages” (*Solidarity*, January-February 1996).

It is necessary to mobilize internationalist solidarity and joint struggle with workers abroad, from Japan and South Korea to the deeply exploited working class of Mexico and throughout Latin America. Such solidarity across national borders is counterposed to the social-chauvinism of the union tops and can only be realized by a revolutionary leadership which understands that the workers of all countries are bound together by common class interests against *all* the capitalist rulers.

At the same time, a massive unionization drive must be waged in *North America*, especially in the open-shop, low-wage U.S. South. The AFL-CIO’s refusal to organize auto and other industrial workers in the South permits U.S. corporations to increase their competitive edge by shifting operations from unionized factories in the North. A struggle to organize the millions of unorganized U.S. workers, in auto and beyond, cannot be carried out on the basis of “business unionism” and simple economic demands, and certainly not by the flag-waving bureaucrats atop the AFL-CIO. Such a unionization drive will mean a head-on confrontation with the capitalist class, and can only succeed if the labor movement brings its full power to bear in

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Above: UAW president Yokich fetes Hillary Clinton last spring. Union tops push chauvinist protectionism, suppress class struggle on behalf of imperialist rulers.



and labor to see each other as natural allies, not natural enemies” (*New York Times*, 27 October). No! The capitalists are not “allies” of workers but their enemies in the *class struggle*, and the interests of the two sides are irreconcilable.

Writing in 1940, just after the turbulent rise of the CIO industrial unions, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in an article titled “Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay”:

“Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class.”

The labor bureaucracy’s role as political police for the capitalist class is manifest in the unending string of defeats and the loss of millions of union jobs in recent decades. Since the early 1980s, UAW membership has plummeted nearly *by half*, from 1.5 million to 800,000 members. And the latest sellout goes a long

ities will become a permanent feature within the union itself, making a mockery of the elementary principle of equal pay for equal work.

UAW tops are selling the contract by touting the auto bosses’ empty “promise” to maintain the total number of jobs at 95 percent of present levels. This phony “guarantee” is a sham on the face of it. It not only accepts the sacrifice of 5 percent of all jobs; it specifically ceases to apply in the event of a recession. In reality, this wretched deal is part and parcel of the union tops’ complicity in the war of attrition on workers’ jobs that the auto giants have been waging for decades. Half as many workers, with an average age in the late 40s, are today producing more cars than 20 years ago. Moreover, as much as one-third of the workforce is expected to retire over the next five years—to be replaced by younger workers at a much lower pay scale. Meanwhile, when retirees at the UAW bargaining convention last spring demanded that the union fight for a cost-of-living increase for their pen-



Striking Canadian auto workers occupied GM plant in Oshawa, Ontario in October.

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland Now!

Bloody Terror Against Irish in Britain

We reprint below excerpts from a September 29 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/Britain (published in *Workers Hammer* No. 153, November-December 1996), denouncing the murder of Diarmuid O'Neill, a supporter of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), by cops in London on September 23. Barely two weeks after his murder, two huge IRA car

posed to the necessary task of mobilizing the proletariat to overthrow the imperialist oppressors, we defend the perpetrators of acts such as the Lisburn bombing—directed against the forces of British imperialism—against capitalist state retribution. We take a different attitude to IRA acts of indiscriminate terror, such as the bombings in London and Manchester earlier this year, which are criminal acts from the standpoint of the working class. And we call for defense of the Catholic communities against the armed terror of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the British Army and the Loyalist militias.

* * *

In the early morning of 23 September, heavily armed cops brutally murdered Diarmuid O'Neill at his home in Hammersmith, West London during a round-up of "IRA suspects." The bourgeois press went into a frenzy, gloating over the "foiling of the IRA," linking reports of a massive haul of IRA arms and explosives found in North London with the dawn raids, proclaiming that O'Neill was shot in a "gun battle." Within days it

those deemed to be "IRA suspects" in Northern Ireland; it was also the form of British "justice" meted out to three unarmed IRA supporters who were shot dead by the SAS [elite British Army commandos] in Gibraltar in 1988. Press reports at the time of a supposed "bomb" in their car were subsequently shown to be completely false. The British cops are also notorious for racist killings of blacks and Asians; since 1990 *eighteen* have been killed in police custody. The draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act is used to criminalise blacks, Asians and Irish people. The IRA bombing of British cities such as Manchester, which are criminal acts of indiscriminate terror, also fuel poisonous national hatred against the Irish, and serve to divide the working class. Trade unions must be mobilised to fight against anti-Irish chauvinism and racist attacks.

Imperialist-brokered "peace" deals are a feature of the "New World Order" proclaimed by the imperialists in the wake of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The much-vaunted Middle East "peace" process which established a supposed Palestinian autonomy was the model to which Sinn Féin looked when they decided to call a ceasefire and enter the "peace process." We Marxists have consistently warned against such illusions in imperialist "deals" which we noted would necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed. The bitter reality of this warning is now being borne out in the bloody killings of Palestinians by Zionist forces. We say: Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!

The current wave of Zionist terror against the Palestinians and the escalation of communalist divisions in Northern Ireland starkly reveal that the strategy of nationalism is a bankrupt one, whether it is pursued through "armed struggle" or "negotiation." The petty-bourgeois nationalist politics of groups such as Sinn Féin/IRA and the PLO inevitably seek a solution within the framework of capitalism. In both cases they have recently looked to U.S. imperialism to act on their behalf against British imperialism and Zionist Israel respectively. But there can be no progressive solution to the oppression of the Catholics in Northern Ireland, or of the Palestinians, short of workers revolution throughout the regions. Imperialist "solutions" in situations of interpenetrated peoples invariably include the prospect of intensified communalism, which means "ethnic cleansing," and fratricidal civil war.

The Socialist Labour Party [headed by miners union leader Arthur Scargill], which represents a break with Blair's New Labour, calls for the immediate



ITN
Diarmuid O'Neill, executed by British cops on September 23 for the "crime" of being Irish.

withdrawal of the British Army. But this is contradicted by their support to the imperialist "peace process," which is premised on the army remaining in Northern Ireland. This points to the British nationalist perspective underlying the SLP's "old" Labour programme.

We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have a long record of fighting for a proletarian, internationalist perspective. The Catholics in Northern Ireland are currently an oppressed minority; we oppose the forcible unification of Ireland which would reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestant community—a scenario which is today being used by Loyalist demagogues to fan the flames of communalism. We fight for a workers republic in Ireland, as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. This requires an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, also smashing the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the vicious clericalist state in the south. "Social imperialism" has been a hallmark of Labourism throughout this century. In sharp contrast we stand in the tradition of the Chartists, who did not bow their heads before the monarch and were not filled with awed respect for the capitalist class, its state and institutions. Instead Chartism was republican, internationalist and revolutionary-minded. We fight to build revolutionary vanguard parties which are internationally united and imbued with this tradition. ■

WORKERS HAMMER

Newspaper of the
Spartacist League/Britain

bombs went off inside the British Army headquarters in Lisburn, Northern Ireland, injuring 21 soldiers, one of whom subsequently died, and ten others.

The bombing, the first carried out by the IRA in Northern Ireland in two years, provoked a furor among the British bourgeoisie and its lackeys in Dublin. Conservative prime minister John Major ranted



Independent
While imperialists push phony "peace" negotiations, British troops occupy Catholic ghettos in Northern Ireland.

that the IRA had "murdered in cold blood in the United Kingdom." But when O'Neill was gunned down in cold blood, Major had declared himself "absolutely delighted" with the cop operation. Echoing Major, the Irish government in Dublin went so far as to compare the IRA to "Nazis and fascists."

While Marxists oppose the strategy of individual terrorism, which is counter-

emerged that there was no gun battle, the murdered man did not even have a weapon, he was riddled with bullets after CS gas was fired into his room. His parents bitterly commented: "Our eldest son, Diarmuid, was never arrested; he can never be tried, nor can he be acquitted or convicted other than by the press who have not waited to have a full and proper picture before judging him. Instead, those who accused him took the law into their own hands and killed him."

The murder of Diarmuid O'Neill is only the latest in a series of provocations against Sinn Féin and the IRA by the British government, conducted in the name of the imperialist "peace" fraud. This is linked to a campaign to target so-called "IRA sleepers," i.e., anybody with an Irish background. Tony Blair's despicable Labour Party backs the government's policy to the hilt while systematically playing their own version of the "Orange card." While screaming about "IRA terrorism," they back the brutality of the armed fist of the capitalist state—the cops and the British Army—while making overtures to representatives of the Loyalist militias. We say: British troops out of Northern Ireland now! We fight for workers revolution, on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

"Shoot to kill" has long been the de facto policy of British imperialism for



Workers Hammer
Spartacist League/Britain calls for immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of struggle for proletarian revolution.

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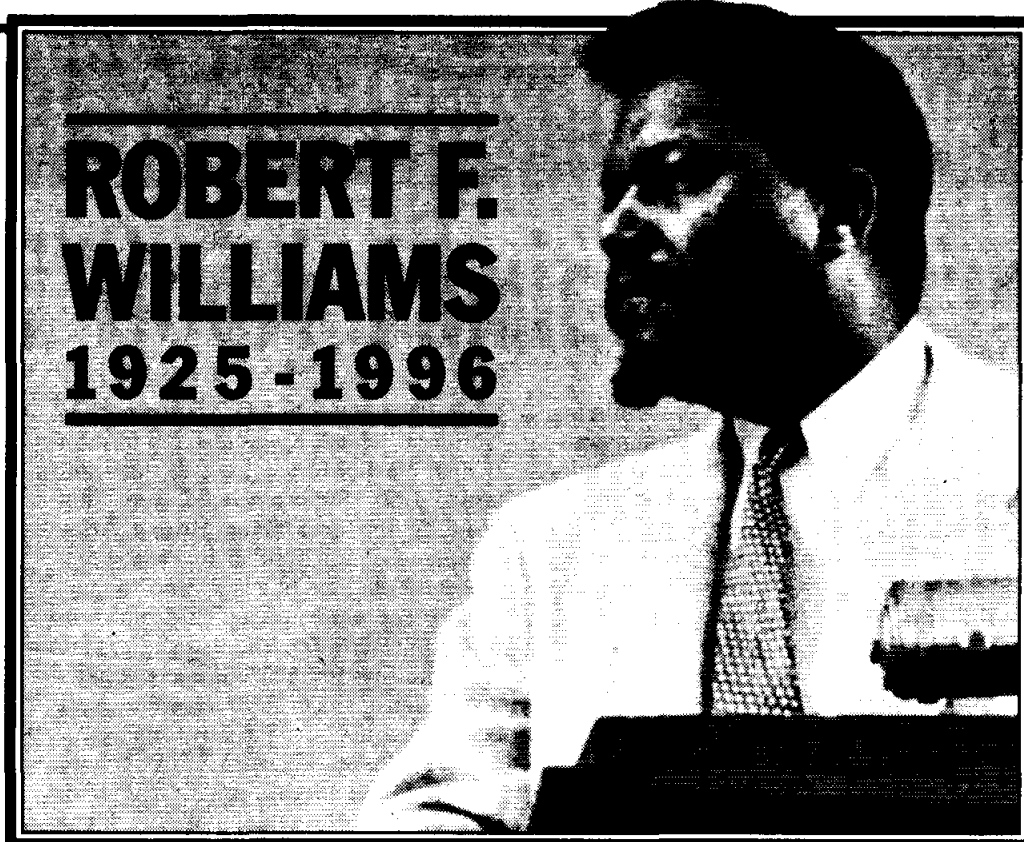
Robert F. Williams died last month in Grand Rapids, Michigan at the age of 71. Today, his name is little known among black people as a whole or among young activists fighting racial oppression. Yet at a critical moment in modern American history, in the early to mid-1960s, Robert Williams, like Malcolm X, personified black militancy. By deed and by word, Williams, the author of *Negroes with Guns*, did much to break a generation of young civil rights activists from their liberal illusions in American "democracy" at home and U.S. imperialism abroad. And in doing so, he became a target for repression by the capitalist state.

Robert Franklin Williams was born in 1925, the son of a boilermaker, in Monroe, North Carolina. During World War II, still a teenager, he was drawn along with millions of other Southern blacks into booming war industries in the North where the acute labor shortage opened up jobs that had previously been closed to them. Williams was later drafted into the army, but the war ended before he was shipped overseas. Nonetheless, his brief experience in the armed forces awakened him to the yawning gulf between the democratic pretensions of the American government and the reality of the pervasive racism in the U.S.

Wanting an education, Williams used his benefits under the G.I. Bill to attend a number of Southern colleges, which were, of course, segregated at that time. When the benefits ran out, he had to quit college and look for work. He found it difficult to make a decent living in a country where black men were proverbially "the last hired and the first fired." When the Korean War broke out in the early 1950s, Williams decided to enlist in the Marines, not out of patriotism but because the armed forces offered him better economic opportunities than he had in civilian life. However, his outspoken opposition to racism in the Marine Corps antagonized his white officers and after a year he was given a "dishonorable discharge." This bitter experience impelled Williams into political struggle, which would dominate the rest of his life.

In 1955 in his hometown of Monroe, Williams joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The local chapter was a tiny organization made up mostly of black middle-class professionals, "teachers and preachers." They elected Williams president, mainly so that they themselves would not be in the main line of fire of white racist retaliation. However, the boilermaker's son and ex-Marine refused to play by the accepted rules for Southern black community leaders. In his own words:

"One day I walked into a Negro poolroom in our town, interrupted a game by put-



Militant

Courageous Fighter Against Racist Terror

ting NAACP literature on the table and made a pitch. I recruited half of those present. This got our chapter off to a new start. We began a recruiting drive among laborers, farmers, domestic workers, the unemployed and any and all Negro people in the area. We ended up with a chapter that was unique in the whole NAACP because of working class composition and a leadership that was not middle class."

— *Negroes with Guns* (1962)

This in itself marked quite a radical difference from the traditional political organization of a black Southern community. Even more radical changes were soon to follow.

Organizing Black Self-Defense

Williams joined the NAACP at a time when mass black protest was erupting throughout the South against legalized segregation, the so-called Jim Crow system. A main target for desegregation in Monroe was the town's only public swimming pool, which only whites could use. Black children had to swim in local creeks, where some drowned. The prospect of an integrated swimming pool touched the very core of racist pathology in the South—"race-mixing," particularly the fear that white women might become sexually attracted to black males. Klansmen from the surrounding area descended

on Monroe to protect the racial "purity" of the swimming pool. Motorcades of Klansmen, firing out of their car windows, sped through black neighborhoods.

Williams and his supporters responded in a way hitherto unheard of for a Southern black organization. They organized a defense guard, many of whose members were veterans of the armed forces. These were people, as Williams put it, "who didn't scare easy." The first encounter, in 1957, between the guard and the Klan is described by Robert Carl Cohen in his biography of Williams, *Black Crusader* (1972):

"The Klansmen had driven into the Black areas to terrorize them, but when they suddenly found themselves surrounded by armed Blacks they started smashing into each other's cars in a rush to get away. Instead of acting like 'n[-----]s,' hiding in their houses with the shutters closed and the lights out, the Blacks were roaming the streets with guns, shooting out the tires of the KKK cars, shattering their windshields with buckshot, and beating up those racists who tried to escape on foot.

"While there were no reports of anyone being killed or badly wounded, the Klan suffered a severe defeat."

Williams' efforts in organizing armed self-defense against racist terror blazed a trail for others active in the struggle for black rights in the South. One example was the formation of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which originated in Louisiana in 1964 as an armed defense guard for civil rights workers.

Those too young to have lived through the civil rights movement can scarcely appreciate the dramatic impact of what Williams and his supporters were doing in Monroe. All of the major black organizations, those sections of the Democratic and Republican parties which gave lip-service to black equality, the mass media—all were preaching incessantly that "nonviolent resistance" was the only acceptable way for blacks to oppose racist oppression, police brutality and Klan terror. Martin Luther King Jr. was already being elevated to the status of sainthood among blacks and white liberals. Thus it took not only physical courage but also great moral courage for Robert Williams to openly organize black self-defense in defiance of King, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins and the other "official" leaders of the civil rights movement.

In late 1958, Williams played a central role, along with radical black attor-

ney Conrad Lynn, in defending David Simpson and Hanover Thompson, two young black children charged with rape for being kissed by a white girl in the infamous North Carolina "Kissing Case." This, too, offended the "moderate" NAACP national leadership, which initially refused to come to the defense of the children because it was deemed a "sex case"!

The effectiveness of Williams' actions in Monroe between 1957 and 1961 was a powerful answer to the argument by liberals and reformists that for blacks to resort to armed self-defense could only be suicidal adventurism. The Spartacist League originated in that period as the Revolutionary Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party, in opposition to the SWP's centrist departure from Trotskyism, marked by its adulation of the Stalinist Castro regime in Cuba and its capitulation to black nationalism. The RT fought for the SWP to intervene in the civil rights struggle with a Marxist program, raising a series of demands which would challenge the bourgeois order, including: "For *organized* self-defense movements in southern cities—for the tactics of Robert F. Williams" ("The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership" [August 1963], reprinted in "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism," *Marxist Bulletin No. 5* [Revised]).

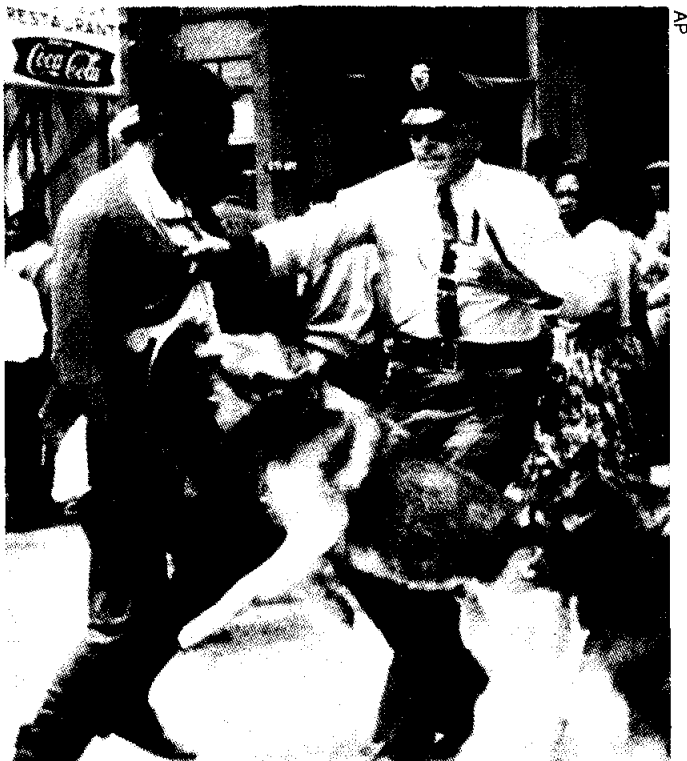
Williams faced not only open and declared enemies in the KKK but also insidious enemies on his "own" side, those whom Malcolm X called "the white man's puppet Negro 'leaders'." National and state officials of the NAACP attacked Williams for supposedly provoking racist violence and for running a "personal dictatorship" in Monroe. To this he replied: "The bourgeois elements who have complained about me aren't offering constructive, alternative ways to end segregation. Their sole purpose is to weaken our resolve in order to placate their racist employers." At one point the national leadership of the NAACP suspended him from the organization for "advocating violence." Yet the effect of these political attacks on a man who had stood up to Klan violence was to enhance Williams' authority among blacks who were beginning to revolt against King's "turn the other cheek" pacifism and Wilkins' groveling before the white racist ruling class.

Taking Refuge in Castro's Cuba

Since neither the KKK nightriders nor the "respectable" black leaders could stop Williams, this country's racist ruling class resorted to its ultimate weapon: the armed power of the state. In the summer of 1961, Monroe became a major focus of the Freedom Rides, a South-wide campaign to integrate restaurants and other public facilities. Thousands of Klansmen and other white-supremacists, many from out of state, converged on Monroe, savagely attacking the Freedom Riders and any local black people they got their hands on.

As the white racists were rioting in downtown Monroe, an elderly white couple happened to mistakenly drive into the black neighborhood. Their car was stopped by angry blacks who took them for Klan supporters. Williams intervened and escorted the couple into his house to protect them as angry blacks were defending themselves against whites who roared past with guns blazing. At this point, he got a phone call from the local chief of police, who threatened Williams that in 30 minutes he would be hanging in the courthouse square.

Fearing for his life, Williams and his family fled Monroe using back roads and made their way North. The FBI now got into the act, as Williams was charged with kidnapping the white couple whom



Police attack protesters in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963. Civil rights activists were regularly met with Klan and cop terror.

Spartacist League supported efforts by Robert F. Williams and others for armed self-defense against racist terror.



he had, in fact, rescued from a nasty situation. After living underground for several months, Williams and his family managed to get to Cuba. In the face of unremitting U.S. imperialist hostility in the aftermath of the 1959 overthrow of the corrupt Batista dictatorship by Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces, in 1960-61 the Castro regime expropriated the domestic and foreign capitalists. Williams had previously visited Castro's Cuba, where he was "made to feel that I was a member of the human race for the first time in my life."

Shortly after Williams and his family fled to Cuba, an independent left-wing publishing company, Marzani & Munsell, brought out *Negroes with Guns*, Williams' account of his experiences in Monroe and his general political views. From Cuba he continued to publish the *Crusader*, a newsletter he had begun in North Carolina. And through Castro's personal intervention, Williams was given a radio program, Radio Free Dixie, with which to broadcast his message of black liberation back into the United States.

Williams' activities in Havana were in their own way just as significant as his work in Monroe. The liberal idealistic youth—black and white—who rallied to the civil rights movement were still largely imbued with the anti-Communist attitudes of the Cold War/McCarthyite period of the 1950s. That a man of Williams' background and experience, who had never professed a belief in Communism, could find in Castro's Cuba not only a refuge from U.S. government persecution but also a platform to attack racist American society helped dispel such anti-Communist prejudices. American radicals who visited Cuba at this time could look forward to meeting and talking with Robert Williams, an interesting and rewarding experience.

In the mid-1960s, Castro's Cuba, following the lead of the Brezhnev regime in the USSR, its main protector, was pushing for better relations with Washington in the name of "détente." Williams' scathing attacks on liberal Democrats and mainstream black leaders like King thus became an embarrassment for the Cuban Stalinist regime. Cuban officials began to

obstruct his activities and demanded that they be allowed to censor his newsletter and radio program. Fed up with battling the Cuban bureaucracy, in 1966 Williams went to China where the Mao Zedong regime was still posturing as a militant opponent of American imperialism.

Although Williams was treated well in China, he keenly felt the distance from his homeland, then in the throes of mass black radicalization. In 1969, Williams decided to return to the United States despite the legal threat hanging over him. North Carolina authorities attempted to extradite him from Michigan, where he had settled, on the old kidnapping charges. This entailed a court battle lasting several years. Finally, the charges were dropped. In the course of defending him at the time, *Workers Vanguard* ran an interview with Williams, publicizing his activities in Monroe (see "Black Self-Defense and the Civil Rights Movement," *WV* No. 92, 16 January 1976).

At the time Williams fled to Cuba, he had been in the vanguard of black militancy. When he returned eight years later, his views had become far more widely accepted among black activists, finding their most significant organizational expression in the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Furthermore, by the late 1960s it was common for American radicals of the most diverse tendencies to claim the authority of "Marxism-Leninism" for whatever program they espoused.

Williams was a mature activist who was not concerned with political trendiness. Though he was always willing to work with communists, he described himself as a "revolutionary black nationalist" but not a Marxist. This ideological position limited Williams' influence among the most left-wing black militants in the early 1970s, but it was more seriously held than the Panthers' "Marxist-Leninist" posture. Under the guns of murderous FBI/cop repression, some Panther leaders, like Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, soon sold out to the white racist rulers while some, like Huey Newton, dropped out of politics. Others, like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia

continued on page 11

From Negroes With Guns

By Robert F. Williams

(Marzani & Munsell, 1962)

Why do I speak to you from exile?

Because a Negro community in the South took up guns in self-defense against racist violence—and used them. I am held responsible for this action, that for the first time in history American Negroes have armed themselves as a group, to defend their homes, their wives, their children, in a situation where law and order had broken down, where the authorities could not, or rather would not, enforce their duty to protect Americans from a lawless mob. I accept this responsibility and am proud of it. I have asserted the right of Negroes to meet the violence of the Ku Klux Klan by armed self-defense—and have acted on it. It has always been an accepted right of Americans, as the history of our Western states proves, that where the law is unable, or unwilling, to enforce order, the citizens can, and must, act in self-defense against lawless violence. I believe this right holds for black Americans as well as whites....

The majority of white people in the United States have literally no idea of the violence with which Negroes in the South are treated daily—nay, hourly. This violence is deliberate, conscious, condoned by the authorities. It has gone on for centuries and is going on today, every day, unceasing and unremitting. It is our way of life. Negro existence in the South has been one long travail, steeped in terror and blood—our blood. The incidents which took place in Monroe, which I witnessed and which I suffered, will give some idea of the conditions in the South, such conditions that can no longer be borne. That is why, one hundred years after the Civil War began, we Negroes in Monroe armed ourselves in self-defense and used our weapons. We showed that our policy worked. The lawful authorities of Monroe and North Carolina acted to enforce order *only after, and as a direct result of, our being armed*. Previously they had connived with the Ku Klux Klan in the racist violence against our people. Self-defense prevented bloodshed and forced the law to establish order. This is the meaning of Monroe and I believe it marks a historic change in the life of my people.

* * *

My home town is Monroe, North Carolina. It has a population of 11,000, about a third of which is Negro. It is a county seat (Union County) and is 14 miles from the South Carolina border. Its spirit is closer to that of South Carolina than to the liberal atmosphere of Chapel Hill which people tend to associate with North Carolina. There are no trade unions in our county and the south-

eastern regional headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan is in Monroe.

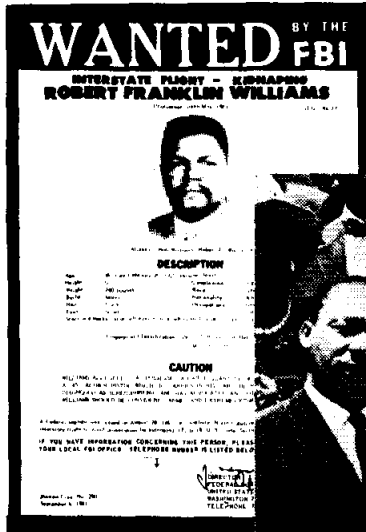
There was also, at the time of my return, a small and dwindling chapter of the NAACP. The Union County NAACP was a typical Southern branch—small, not very active, dominated by, and largely composed of, the upper crust of the black community—professionals, businessmen and white-collar workers.

Before the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, the NAACP was not a primary target of segregationists. In many places in the South, including Monroe, racists were not too concerned with the small local chapters. But the Supreme Court decision drastically altered this casual attitude. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils made it their business to locate any NAACP chapter in their vicinity, and to find out who its officers and members were. Threats of violence and economic sanctions were applied to make people withdraw their membership. Chapters, already small, dwindled rapidly....

Since the city officials wouldn't stop the Klan, we decided to stop the Klan ourselves. We started this action out of the need for defense, because law and order had completely vanished; because there was no such thing as a 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution in Monroe, N.C. The local officials refused to enforce law and order and when we turned to Federal and state officials to enforce law and order they either refused or ignored our appeals.

Luther Hodges, who is now Secretary of Commerce, was the Governor of North Carolina at that time. We first appealed to him. He took sides with the Klan; they had not broken any laws, they were not disorderly. Then we appealed to President Eisenhower but we never received a reply to our telegrams. There was no response at all from Washington.

So we started arming ourselves. I wrote to the National Rifle Association in Washington which encourages veterans to keep in shape to defend their native land, and asked for a charter, which we got. In a year we had sixty members. We had bought some guns too, in stores, and later a church in the North raised money and got us better rifles. The Klan discovered we were arming and guarding our community. In the summer of 1957 they made one big attempt to stop us. An armed motorcade attacked Dr. Perry's house, which is situated on the outskirts of the colored community. We shot it out with the Klan and repelled their attack and the Klan didn't have any more stomach for this type of fight. They stopped raiding our community.



"Moderate" civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. hobnobbed with Robert Kennedy and Democratic president Lyndon Johnson while Robert F. Williams was in exile in Cuba to escape FBI vendetta.



Armed black self-defense guards in Monroe, North Carolina beat back Klan attack in 1957.

Marzani & Munsell

Polish Spartacists Protest Racist Deportations

Anti-Immigrant Dragnets in Poland

The following is translated from a 30 September protest statement issued by our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski.

WARSAW—On September 18, the police surrounded and seized an abandoned factory building in Wola Przystopowa containing over 160 South Asian and African refugees, including several children, who were instantly arrested. Their "crime"? Entering the country "without papers." For an unknown period, they had been locked in an unused, unheated building without decent food or clean water. Many were reportedly awaiting transit to Germany. After the police raid, they were kept packed together and locked in the same rooms for several more days by the racist Polish cops for a so-called "identity check." They now await deportation in MSW (Internal Affairs Ministry) prison facilities. Soon after, police in Warsaw seized a private bus carrying 40 Pakistani refugees, who were at once handed over to the Polish Border Police for deportation. This was only the beginning. As the police expand their hunt for human prey, from three to four hundred people are now under arrest, many in miserable conditions. Meanwhile, the mouthpieces of the racist Polish bourgeoisie, like *Gazeta Wyborcza*, hiss against "floods of immigrants."

We Trotskyists of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) call on the workers and anti-racist youth of Poland: *Mobilize now to stop the deportations! Release the arrested immigrants now! Racist cops hands off! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

The newest wave of anti-immigrant terror by Polish cops and the Border Police is conducted on the orders of the bourgeois SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] popular-front government, which follows in the footsteps of reactionary Solidarność in fueling racism and anti-Semitism. In June, cops staged a Gestapo-style pogrom and deportation against 126 Roma [Gypsy] refugees in

Warsaw. In the first half of 1996, the Border Police alone had already arrested 5,000 people for crossing the border "illegally," while 1,500 more were seized by various police forces around the country. Meanwhile, the Helsinki Foundation, a bourgeois "human rights" organization, has just issued a whitewash report on the June anti-Roma police pogrom, thus giving the green light for another wave of deportations.

As the SGP wrote at the time of the anti-Roma police pogrom, these deporta-

tions are "part of a plan which includes the opening of new 'deportation centers' financed through an agreement with the German Fourth Reich to keep 'undesirable immigration' out of Fortress Europe" ("Stop Racist Deportations of Gypsies!" WV No. 648, 5 July). Indeed, a new deportation camp—surrounded by double walls and barbed wire and paid for by the same racist bourgeoisie which carried out the barbaric extermination of millions of Jews, Roma and others at death camps like Auschwitz and Tre-

blinka—is now in full operation outside Warsaw. The SGP joined with our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany in protesting this filthy deal when it was first announced in the spring of 1993. The deal signed by the Solidarność government is now being zealously carried out by the Social Democrats (SdRP), both working on behalf of the new Polish capitalist ruling class.

It's no accident that the Polish rulers are escalating anti-immigrant terror just as the Kohl government in the Fourth

Reich has announced its own plans to deport 320,000 Bosnians who fled the nationalist bloodbath unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Yugoslavia.

Across Europe the bourgeois campaign against immigrants and refugees is designed to *divide and subdue the entire working class*, even as workers seek to fight back against the Bundesbank/Maastricht [European Union] program to wipe out any remnant of decent public health care, education and social services. The cops who are now grabbing Asian, African and Roma immigrants in the streets are preparing next to go after "illegal workers" from the countries of the former USSR. These same cops will be used tomorrow to break the heads of striking workers in the factories. The attack on immigrants is an attack on the whole workers movement.

In August, the brutal seizure and arrest of African immigrants who sought refuge in a Paris church provoked massive protests in which thousands-strong trade-union contingents joined immigrants and youth in trying to stop the deportations. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France agitated widely for strikes to "shut down the airports" to stop the deportations. Trade unionists at Air Afrique took up the cause of the refugees, issuing an order that none of that carrier's workers throughout Africa "should take part in the base task of helping these flights of shame." This gives a taste of the social power which can be brought to bear by the organized workers movement in countering the racist deportations and the entire capitalist anti-working-class onslaught unleashed in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

Polish workers should follow the example of the French unionists in mobilizing to defend our immigrant brothers and sisters. An injury to one is an injury to all! To do this, however, will mean a fight to oust the bureaucratic misleaders of the OPZZ trade-union federation, who

are politically tied to the same SdRP social democrats, who are the dominant component of the government which is carrying out the racist attacks!

For their part, rather than calling to mobilize workers against deportations, fake-left organizations like the Morenoite GIPR openly sneer at the defense of immigrants and minorities—including the struggle against anti-Semitism, anti-Roma racism and women's oppression—as "secondary" issues of no interest to "Polish workers." The Cliffites of "Solidarność Socjalistyczna"—while boasting of their participation in reactionary Solidarność political rallies alongside open anti-Semites and fascists, and their support for anti-Communist "human rights" campaigns against the remaining deformed workers states like China—have so far not lifted a finger to organize protests against pogroms by the racist capitalist state here at home. Likewise, NLR/Dalej [supporters of the Mandelbrot United Secretariat] provide a left cover for the SLD government while making no call for the defense of immigrants and refugees. Every one of these organizations supported counterrevolutionary, CIA-backed Solidarność during the 1980s, and hence have no perspective for fighting the influence of racist Polish nationalism, i.e. bourgeois ideology, in the workers movement today.

Desperately necessary is the fight for an international party of the working class, armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky and the best traditions of the Polish workers movement of Ludwik Warynski's Proletariat in the 1870s, the SDKPiL of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches and the early Polish Communist Party. Such a party will combat all forms of capitalist oppression including racism, anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry and anti-Semitism, on its way to sweeping the decaying system of capitalism and imperialism off the face of the earth! This is the type of party we of the SGP, as part of the Trotskyist International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), seek to build. Join us! ■



Der Spiegel

AP

Impoverished Gypsy refugees (left) and other immigrants subjected to racist deportations by Polish government of Aleksander Kwasniewski (above left), acting in league with German chancellor Kohl.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, November 16: *The Bolshevik Revolution*; November 23: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; MIT, 77 Massachusetts Ave., Building 3, Room 343
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next classes, November 20: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; December 4: *The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class*; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106, 5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m. Next class, November 20: *For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; UCLA, Boelter Hall, Room 5514
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Wednesdays, 1:30 p.m. Next class, November 13: *Marxist Economics*; Hunter College, 68th St. & Lexington Ave. (IRT No. 6 to 68th St.), Hunter West 506
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, November 16: *Marxism: A Guide to Action*; November 30: *Marxist Economics*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next classes, November 14: *The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; December 5: *The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class*; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room B116.
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ, CA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 19: *How the Working Class Took Power—The Bolshevik Revolution*. UCSC, Student Center, Third World Lounge
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 14: *South Africa: Fight Neo-Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturdays, 12 noon. Next classes, Nov. 16: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question*; Room 2146; November 23: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question*; Room 1102, University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Union
Information and readings: (202) 872-8240

WV E-Mail Address

You can now reach *Workers Vanguard* by e-mail.
Our address is:
vanguard@tiac.net

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

new place in jail. Within the prison hell-holes, barbaric measures are increasingly routine: the reintroduction of the chain gang, electric shock torture, stun guns, leg irons, isolation units, the shooting to death of inmates by prison guards.

The machinery of racist injustice has been extended to snare ever younger minority children in its clutches. One example is Travis Chaney, a 15-year-old California youth of black, Mexican and Native American descent. At the age of eleven, he was sentenced to "informal probation" and forced to wear an ankle transmitter for allegedly taking a neighbor's bike and playing hooky from school. For wearing the wrong color clothes in school, he was then sent to Juvenile Hall and later to a for-profit "boot camp" where he was beaten and abused by racist guards. Finally he was thrown into a California Youth Authority prison, while his family is being charged \$25.00 a month for his incarceration!

Meanwhile in Mississippi, 17-year-old Azi Kambule, a high-school sophomore, honor student and choir singer originally from the black South African township of Soweto, now faces the death penalty. Kambule awaits trial as a supposed accomplice in a murder that he says he had nothing to do with. The trial has been moved to a predominantly white county, and Kambule has been denied bail. As the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty noted in a statement on his case: "During this decade, only five nations in the world are known to have executed persons for crimes they committed when under 18-years-old. Those countries are Iran, Pakistan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia...and the United States."

The Capitalist State Cannot Be Reformed

Racist cop terror is not an aberration flowing from the particular policies of Democratic or Republican politicians, but rather an expression of the very purpose of the capitalist state—an apparatus of repression aimed at keeping down



Rosier/NY Times

Brooklyn sidewalk memorial for Aswan Watson, shot to death by NYPD last summer. Right: Grieving parents of Anthony Baez after Bronx judge set killer cop free.



Franco/NY Times

working people and minorities. Calls for federal "investigations," raised by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and NAACP in St. Petersburg and by opponents of police terror in the Bronx, promote dangerous illusions that the government can be pressured to act on behalf of the oppressed. Nor do "civilian review" boards serve to alleviate, even slightly, murderous police terror. At best, on the rare occasion when a cop is slapped on the wrist, such actions are aimed by the rulers at "cleaning up" the police force to make it more credible and more effective in carrying out its repressive role. Federal investigations and civilian review boards serve to *whitewash* the crimes of the cops and to keep a lid on protests.

There was a government which acted on behalf of the oppressed, the Bolshevik government issuing out of the 1917 Russian workers revolution. In the aftermath of World War II, the U.S. capitalist government did feel some pressure coming from the Soviet victory over Nazism and the resulting fear of spreading social revolution. This was an important factor in the granting of a number of democratic

reforms for the black masses—for example, the elimination of formal Jim Crow segregation in the South. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, however, both in the U.S. and West Europe, the bourgeoisies are redoubling their attacks on working people and the oppressed.

The recent outburst of protest from the Mississippi Delta to the Bronx show that there's no lack of anger among the oppressed against those who enforce the conditions of grinding poverty and oppression. Holding back militant struggle against these conditions are the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor misleaders and petty-bourgeois black spokesmen like Democrat Jesse Jackson and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. While the union bureaucracy's "answer" to the mammoth increase in police forces across the country is to "organize" these racist killers and union-busters into the unions, Jackson and Farrakhan are complicit in the build-up of cop repression through their support to the racist "war on drugs."

Farrakhan in particular bases himself on a growing layer of the black middle class which entertains illusions of having exclusive rights to exploit and repress the

ghetto masses. In preaching that blacks must "atone" for the conditions of brutal racism under which they try to live in this society, and in pushing the bankrupt pipe dream of "black capitalism," the Nation of Islam leader serves to uphold the miserable *status quo*.

Jackson has, as usual, been stumping for the racist Democrats in the elections. But among the ghetto masses, there is widespread disgruntlement at the "choice" between two evident evils, Dole and Clinton. What is needed, however, is a political alternative. To direct the anger building at the base of American society into struggle against those responsible for homelessness, poverty, unemployment—conditions caused by the capitalist system in decay—requires *revolutionary* leadership. This means forging a multiracial workers party armed with a strategy of mobilizing the power of the labor movement to advance the cause of all the oppressed. It is through socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous machinery of the capitalist state that the countless victims of racist cop terror will be avenged and a decent life made possible for the oppressed and exploited. ■

UAW Tops...

(continued from page 4)

defense of blacks, immigrants and other minorities against the deadly, all-sided attacks being carried out by the present Democratic Party administration.

By tying the workers to the profitability of "their" national capitalist class, the labor traitors not only work to ensure that the offensive against workers and the poor will go ahead unopposed, but prepare the ground for a third inter-imperialist world war. The betrayals of the UAW tops led directly to the mass unemployment and poverty in black Detroit, which was devastated by the wholesale destruction of union jobs beginning in the early 1980s. Today, the drive by the capitalist rulers of North America to decimate the unions, gut benefits and force down wages has intensified as a result of heightened inter-imperialist rivalries in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Despite the profound bureaucratic deformations introduced by Stalinism, which eventually destroyed the workers state, the Soviet Union still represented to the major capitalist powers the spectre of workers revolution, and they suppressed their own differences in a common effort to overturn the planned, collectivized economy which issued out of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

Break with the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

If the trade unions are to serve as organs of struggle to defend workers' interests, they must break the shackles which, through their treacherous leaders, bind them to the capitalist system. The

bourgeoisie's drive to cut labor costs through layoffs, wage-gouging and "outsourcing" production is intrinsic to capitalism, as the bosses seek to increase profits and gain an upper hand over domestic and foreign rivals. What is necessary is an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of class collaboration. The fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions is inextricably linked to the forging of a revolutionary workers party, armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks who led the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

The various reformist groupings which posture as an opposition to the AFL-CIO tops fundamentally share the same class-collaborationist program as the bureaucrats they seek to replace and so act merely as pressure groups on the existing labor traitors. A typical example within the UAW is New Directions, who tried to sound "militant" around the contract negotiations, calling for a cost-of-living adjustment for pensions, an end to two-tier wages and benefits and a stop to outsourcing UAW work. But New Directions supported Yokich in his bid for UAW president, and today these out-bureaucrats don't breathe a word about how to mobilize the strike action that would be necessary to win even a part of the demands they raise. This is because, at bottom, New Directions is an integral part of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that has consistently sacrificed workers' interests on the altar of class collaboration.

When not openly supporting the Democratic Party "lesser evil," New Directions boosts the "Labor Party" set up by Labor Party Advocates (LPA), a lash-up of bureaucrats from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and other unions as well as various fake-socialist outfits.

Their model is the right-wing social-democratic Canadian New Democratic Party, which when in government, as in Ontario recently, has legislated massive wage cuts and torn up the union contracts of hundreds of thousands of public-sector workers. However, Labor Party/LPA is not even serious about building a tame social-democratic alternative to the Democrats. Rather, it is simply a shill for channeling the support of workers fed up with Clinton back into the Democratic Party, explicitly opposing running independent labor candidates (see "Labor Party Advocates Don't," WV No. 648, 5 July).

As the example of New Directions makes clear, what is required is not to replace one clique of pro-capitalist

bureaucrats with another, more militant-talking variety. A new type of leadership is necessary, with a program which aims to do away with the capitalist property system. What is needed is a fight to build internationalist, revolutionary workers parties on both sides of the border, through sharp political struggle against the labor traitors. Taking up the cause of all workers, minorities and the poor, such a revolutionary party would lead a fight to overthrow the entire capitalist system of mass unemployment, misery, oppression and war through socialist revolution. To build such a workers party requires that the most determined and far-sighted working men and women step forward and join the struggle for a society ruled by the working class. ■

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Canadian "Socialist Action" Leader Caught Scabbing

TORONTO—Jack London once wrote that a scab was the lowest form of life, but there's one even lower: the scab who calls himself a "socialist." Such is Barry Weisleder, an Executive Board member of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). He is also leader of the Canadian Socialist Action group, which is allied with the U.S. organization of the same name and the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel. As *Walk/Talk* (6 September), the strike bulletin of the Ontario Public Service Staff Union (OPSSU), reported in an article titled, "He Talks Like a Socialist, But He Walks Kinda Funny": "Region 5 EBM Barry Weisleder showed up at the Ministry of Labour office at 400 University Avenue in Toronto for a day of scabbing."

Weisleder tried unsuccessfully to force his way through 20 strike pickets, members of the OPSSU, which represents 239 clerks, secretaries, negotiators and other workers for OPSEU. Weisleder later denounced these striking unionists for trying to "paralyze the normal work" of their employer, namely *himself!* The OPSSU members walked out after the "socialist" Weisleder and his fellow union bureaucrats tried to shove a clawback contract down their throats. The proposed contract would have laid off over 20 percent of the staff and called for millions in givebacks!

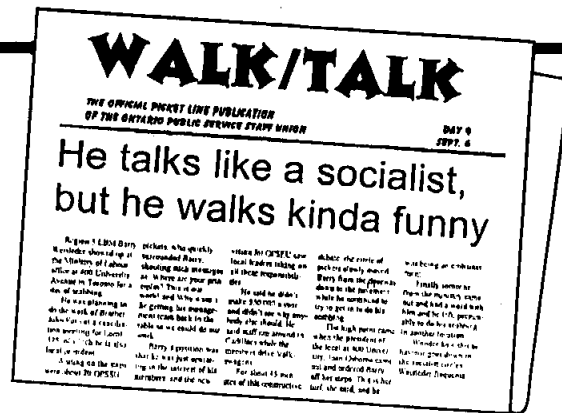
While trying to muscle through the picket line at the Ministry of Labour, Weisleder launched into a filthy anti-union tirade. *Walk/Talk* reported that Weisleder screamed that "he didn't make \$50,000 a year and didn't see why anybody else should!" Weisleder raved on in this "fiscally responsible" vein for 45



Maclean's

minutes. All the while, "the circle of pickets slowly moved Barry from the doorway down to the pavement, while he continued to try to get in to do his scabbing."

Strikebreakers cross picket lines, militant unionists—not to speak of socialists—defend them. Period. Speaking out of the other side of his mouth, Weisleder authored a piece in the U.S. *Socialist Action* (September 1996) calling to "Shut Down Toronto" during last month's "Day of Action." And during last winter's pivotal five-week OPSEU strike against the job-slashing Ontario Conservative government, Weisleder waxed on in the Can-



OPSSU strike bulletin exposes scabbing by Socialist Action leader Barry Weisleder.

adian *Socialist Action* (Spring-Summer 1996) about how "Tens of thousands of women and men, most first-time picketers, held the line through the bitterest winter weather in years." But when it comes to pickets by his "own" workers, this "socialist" bureaucrat sings a different tune, arrogantly defending his scabbing. Thumping the Steward's Handbook, he declared that the OPSSU picket line wasn't a picket line at all, just a "political demonstration" (*Union Report*, September 1996). Clearly worried that "his" members would honor the lines, this unprincipled wretch sobbed, "Thank goodness [the pickets] didn't precipitate

premature or unnecessary strikes at the work places concerned!"

Weisleder and his social-democratic friends at Socialist Action have always had a tough time telling who's on what side of the class line. For example, Weisleder supports the presence in OPSEU of prison guards, a key component of the armed fist of the capitalist state. Last spring, following the defeat of the OPSEU strike, Weisleder even claimed the racist, scabberding Toronto cops as union allies who were "friendly to OPSEU" and "in many instances acted as benign (!) mediators" (*Socialist Action*, Spring-Summer 1996). The capitalist state is the enemy of workers and the oppressed. We say: *Cops and jail guards out of the unions!*

Weisleder's gross anti-union acts were also noticed by his pale-pink cousins in the International Socialists (co-thinkers of the American International Socialist Organization). Their *Socialist Worker* (21 September) chided Weisleder for opposing the OPSSU strike. What they *don't* criticize him for is trying to cross a picket line, because they do it all the time. And *Socialist Worker* was even more profuse than Weisleder in praise of "militant" prison guards during the OPSEU strike.

The kind of class-struggle leadership needed by workers and the oppressed facing all-sided capitalist attacks won't come from scab "socialists" who chatter about "solidarity" and then act like the Junior Chamber of Commerce. We need a revolutionary workers party forged on the basis of an anti-capitalist program and genuine working-class principles—not least, the understanding that *picket lines mean don't cross!* ■

Canada...

(continued from page 12)

class, which could be unleashed to defeat the capitalist onslaught. Since taking office last year, Harris has slashed \$9 billion from government spending in a vicious war on the poor, cutting already meager welfare payments by 22 percent and instituting union-busting "workfare" schemes. The Conservative government has massively hiked postsecondary tuition fees and announced the closure of 15 hospitals in Toronto alone, along with the elimination of nearly a quarter of all nursing jobs. Meanwhile unemployment in Toronto among those under the age of 24 stands at nearly 30 percent.

But the labor bureaucrats aim only to blow off some steam while they rebuild support for the reformist New Democratic Party (NDP) in preparation for the 1999 elections. Thousands marching on contingents organized by the Steelworkers and other unions chanted, "NDP, NDP," while Ontario party leader Howard Hampton glad-handed his way through the crowd. One placard summed up the labor tops' bankrupt perspective: "The Last Day of Action = Election Day."

The OFL bureaucrats are hoping that workers and the poor will forget the attacks of the previous NDP provincial government of Bob Rae. It was Rae's NDP which began the assault that is now being intensified under Harris' Conservatives. In office from 1990-95, the NDP social democrats legislated pay cuts throughout the public sector, tore up the contracts of hundreds of thousands of provincial workers and jailed leaders of striking postal unionists. In an act of gratuitous racism, they even moved to eliminate medicare coverage for refugees and visa students. In British Columbia, where the New Democrats still form the provincial government, they plan the elimination of thousands of public-sector jobs, some 8 percent of the workforce.

A headline in the current issue of

Spartacist Canada (No. 110, Fall 1996) proclaimed, "Ontario Union Brass Peddle NDP Retreads." Supporters of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste (TL/LT), Canadian section of the International Communist League, marched on picket lines and intervened at rallies throughout the "Days of Action." The Spartacus Youth Club helped build the picket lines at the University of Toronto and put out a special leaflet titled "Students, Youth: Fight for a Socialist Future." More than 1,700 copies of *Spartacist Canada*, *Workers Vanguard* and other ICL publications were sold during the two days of protest in Toronto. The TL/LT raised the call "For a Revolutionary Workers Party!"

In contrast, fake-socialist groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and (less often) Labour Militant occasionally mutter vaguely about the need for a "socialist alternative" to the NDP while loudly screaming for more and bigger "action" from the labor tops. But as the Toronto transit shutdown and the Oshawa GM plant occupation show, the union misleaders are quite capable of organizing militant actions when they choose. The fundamental problem is political: the reformist labor tops, through the vehicle of the NDP, are tied to the racist rulers and their system of capitalist exploitation. And the fake socialists, in turn, hang onto the coattails of the pro-NDP bureaucrats. Having urged the re-election of the hated Rae government last year, the I.S. has already promised in advance to vote NDP again in 1999.

Leaders of the CAW try to posture as a militant alternative to the Steelworker and OFL tops, going so far as to "temporarily" withdraw their endorsement of the NDP in the last provincial elections. But they too call to rebuild the NDP, albeit with a more "left" face. They too push the racist poison of protectionism with their call to "save Canadian jobs." They direct their fire not against the capitalist rulers at home, but against workers on the other side of the U.S./Canada bor-

der and beyond—particularly in Japan and in Mexico, where the ravages of NAFTA mean grinding superexploitation for hundreds of thousands of workers in the factories and sweatshops of the *maquiladoras*.

Wedded to defense of their "own" nation-state, from which they plead only for a "fair share" of the profits, the labor bureaucrats of all stripes line up the workers behind the capitalists in a reactionary nationalist crusade. And the NDP in particular, waving the tattered flag of "Canadian unity," is a ferocious enemy of independence for the oppressed French-speaking nation of Quebec. As the SYC leaflet noted:

"The key block to class struggle in this country is the deep animosity created by the national oppression of Quebec and the frothing chauvinist tirades of the English Canadian ruling class. Marx insisted that a nation which oppresses another can never itself be free. As revolutionary internationalists, we say only independence for Quebec can lay a basis for directing social struggle against the capitalist rulers in both nations."

A popular chant at the Toronto demonstration was "Hey Mike, Hey Harris, We'll shut you down like Paris." But the powerful wave of public workers strikes in France last December was defused and sold out by the reformist misleaders. Capitulating to the French bourgeoisie's virulent campaign of racist terror, the trade-union bureaucracies refused to extend the strikes to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong, combative component of workers from North and sub-Saharan Africa. Instead, the bureaucrats cut short the strike movement and pushed through a "compromise." While the Chirac government was forced to temporarily retreat on some of its austerity measures, it simply waited out the strike wave, then reintroduced them a few months later.

Throughout the world, capitalist governments of every hue are taking the hammer to jobs, working conditions and vital social programs in the name of "global competition." This ruling-class offensive,

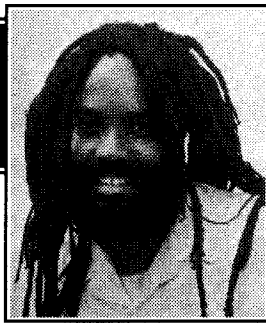
intensified by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, has provoked large-scale worker resistance from Italy to France, Germany and now Canada. The reformist labor misleaders seek to channel the anger into the straitjacket of bourgeois parliamentarism. Yet the supposedly "left" governments which they champion—like the NDP, or Italy's "Olive Tree" popular front centered on the Party of the Democratic Left—only implement their own vicious attacks on workers and the poor, following the austerity dictates of their capitalist masters.

In letting the working class get a sense of the power of labor's weapons, the pro-NDP bureaucrats are skating on thin ice, posing the question of why the proletariat's immense social power is not unleashed to do away with the chauvinism, racism, immiseration and unemployment which are endemic to capitalism. The answer lies in the need to build a new internationalist and revolutionary leadership to make the working class conscious of its historic task of sweeping away the *entire* capitalist profit system. Without this, even the most militant struggle cannot achieve lasting victory. As the SYC leaflet explained:

"With its numbers and organization, the working class can not only beat back these attacks, but can bring down the entire system of exploitation and oppression, replacing it with a just and egalitarian socialist society. But to wage revolutionary struggle against capitalism, the working class must be *conscious* of its power and its historic task. We need to build a revolutionary party, based on the program and perspective of Marxism, which can bring this consciousness to the working class. Only such a party, acting as what the Marxist leader V. I. Lenin called a 'tribune of the people,' can break down the endless attempts of the capitalists to 'divide and rule' by setting white worker against black and Asian, English Canadian against Québécois, men against women. In freeing itself, the working class will necessarily liberate all sections of society from the many forms of oppression which are rooted in class divisions." ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Fugitive from Injustice



On Tuesday, October 1, 1996, a woman named Veronica Jones walked into a courtroom and a few hours later walked into history. In a throaty, deep voice she announced to a packed courtroom that, "I lied" in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Jamal* in 1982, when she denied seeing two men jogging away from a Center City killing. Police detectives, she testified, visited her in jail (where she was being held on armed robbery charges) and told her not only to change her statement, but to finger this writer. She went 1/2-way.

"They told me I'd hafta do ten years away from my children if I said what I saw," she explained, weeping, "I couldn't leave my babies!"

"That's a part of my life I tried to erase," she said.

After her 1982 testimony, serious weapons charges (two loaded pistols were allegedly seized by police from her pants' waistband), robbery charges and related offenses resulted in—probation!

Moments after her recantation, prosecutors promptly produced two New Jersey cops who arrested the young woman on an outstanding bench warrant stemming from a 1994 bad check charge (for less than \$250) from New Jersey—and hustled the startled witness off of the stand and into a jail cell.

Imagine that—a woman leaves her home state, crosses the bridge to give sworn testimony in a court of "law," and gets busted there as a "fugitive of justice!" Is this proof that there ain't no justice in American courtrooms?

The courts are *their* courts—places where, as Judge Sabo so aptly put it, "Justice is just an emotional feeling." And because justice is foreign to U.S. courts a woman can be hauled off to jail for speaking a powerful truth, that detectives tried to intimidate her into lying on the stand!

For over 20 months Ms. Jones lived openly in New Jersey, and state officials let a warrant sit in a file gathering dust. Only when she appeared in court in the *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Jamal* case did detectives "find" her, in another state!

This poor, single mother, now on the brink of grandmotherhood, summoned up the courage to speak the truth, and the state attacked her savagely. As she was being led away, tears lining her dark face, stunned by the unprecedented premeditated prosecutorial ambush, she managed to say, "You think that's going to make me change my story? It's not!"

In teary-eyed defiance, she was marched off to jail to await a hearing in southern New Jersey.

Hours later, adding insult to injury, Philadelphia police announced it was arresting Ms. Jones *again*, this time on a bench warrant for a prostitution charge from 1982!

That's right—14 years ago!

New Jersey waits over 600 days and Philadelphia waits over 14 years to serve warrants and city prosecutors have the gall to say defense lawyers could've found her any time, when cops from two states couldn't find her to serve bench warrants?

Amazing.

In a blatant act of judicial vindictiveness and prosecutorial petulance, a witness is punished and humiliated for coming to court and speaking the truth.

In such a case, the law is nought but a tool of state repression, and the statute of limitations nothing but a forgotten memory.

Just like "justice."

4 October 1996

© 1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Sabo...

(continued from page 12)

As Jamal's attorneys pointed out in their "findings of fact" following the hearing:

"The prosecution's blatant effort to coerce Veronica Jones on the witness stand in 1996 spoke volumes about the prosecutorial misconduct which was used to intimidate her in 1982, and which has tainted every piece of evidence in this case since the inception. If the prosecution can resort to such open misconduct before the public, one can only imagine what the prosecution and police do to coax and coerce witnesses behind closed doors."

The state's effort to railroad Jamal to death row has consisted from the beginning of a clearly documented pattern of cover-ups, coercion of witnesses and fabrication of evidence. What happened to Veronica Jones in Sabo's courtroom last month is only the latest example of that.

William Singletary testified at Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing last year that he actually saw Faulkner's shooting and that police repeatedly tore up his initial statements recounting that someone other than Jamal shot Faulkner. Singletary was threatened by the cops until he signed a false statement which

denied seeing the shooting at all. He was then forced to flee the state after being subjected to constant police harassment. Another eyewitness, taxi driver Robert Chobert, changed his initial account—that the shooter ran away—after he was promised a deal by the District Attorney to reinstate his suspended driver's license. Cynthia White, the "star witness" against Jamal in 1982, was allowed to work the streets as a prostitute with police protection in exchange for repeatedly tailoring her story to favor the prosecution.

As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have said from the beginning of our ten-year involvement in the struggle to save Jamal from execution, Mumia was targeted for death by the capitalist frame-up system because of his political views, and especially because he is a black man who stood up to the racist oppressors. The cops and FBI have had Mumia in their cross hairs since he was a leading activist in the Philadelphia Black Panther Party at the age of 16. They continued their vendetta when Mumia became a popular radio journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his scathing exposures of cop terror and racist oppression. He was then singled out for sympathizing with the MOVE organization when it was subjected to a mur-

derous cop siege in 1978 (followed by the infamous 1985 bombing of the MOVE home).

Sabo conducted the October hearing only under orders from the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Sabo's decision will now be appealed before this court, as part of its consideration of Sabo's ruling last summer against Mumia's PCRA petition. It was clear from the outset that Sabo had no intention of parting from the 14-year-old script of browbeating defense witnesses and attorneys on the way to ruling, yet again, against Jamal.

Sabo dismisses Jones' testimony out of hand as "incredible and worthy of little or no belief." He then incredibly proclaims that "her claim that the men were actually running away from the scene is of no moment." To Sabo, any proof of Jamal's innocence is of "no moment," as he declares: "The evidence is material only if there is a reasonable probability that, had the evidence been disclosed to the defense, the result of the proceeding would have been different." In his own way, Sabo here reveals a fundamental truth, perverse as it is. For ever since this case began, the cops, prosecutors and courts have demonstrated that no matter how much evidence is offered exculpating Mumia, *there is no justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal in the capitalist courts.*

From the 1982 frame-up "trial" to the recent hearing, Sabo has made it abundantly clear why he is known as a "prosecutor in robes." Over the last couple of years, many involved in the struggle to free Mumia from his death row hell have had their eyes opened by the events in Sabo's courtroom to the racist reality of the American "justice" system. But as we noted last month, "The openly pro-prosecution Sabo simply exhibits in a blatant fashion the real workings of the frame-up system that is bourgeois 'justice'" ("Key Witness for Mumia Abu-Jamal Arrested on the Stand," *WV* No. 653, 11 October). The capitalist state—with its cops, courts, prosecutors and executioners—is an instrument for the repression of working people and minorities which cannot be reformed.

The wave of international protests for Mumia in the summer of 1995, which helped stay the executioner's hand at the time, gave a glimpse of the kind of militant struggle that must take place to free Mumia. Mobilizing the power of the integrated labor movement on behalf of the rights of blacks, immigrants, the poor—all the oppressed—against the common class enemy shows the road to sweeping away this entire racist capitalist system once and for all. ■

Robert F. Williams...

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Abu-Jamal, were framed up and thrown into prison. In the climate of growing racist reaction of the late 1970s-'80s, Williams remained a principled champion of black rights. He involved himself in a wide range of causes, and consistently supported united-front labor/black mobilizations which were initiated and organized by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee against the Klan, Nazis and other racist terrorists.

Like other black radicals of the 1960s, Williams' political consciousness was shaped by the deep and deepening racial divide in American society, which he regarded as unchangeable. While in Havana, he expressed the opinion to a senior Cuban official that as long as white workers "have jobs and can buy

automobiles and homes, they've no real reason to rise up against the capitalists. Only those, like us Blacks, who are the victims of severe economic discrimination and racism, have the motivation to

want to overthrow the system" (quoted in *Black Crusader*). The idea that in the course of class struggle white workers could overcome their racist prejudices and recognize their common interests

with blacks was alien to Williams' outlook. Yet within the limits of that outlook, Robert F. Williams was a heroic and honorable fighter against black oppression. ■

Robert F. Williams endorsed Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped KKK provocation in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.



WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Bureaucrats Push Support for Pro-Capitalist NDP

Canada: Mass Labor Protests Against Austerity

TORONTO—A quarter million protesters filled the streets on October 26 in a demonstration against vicious austerity cutbacks by the Ontario provincial government of Conservative premier Mike Harris. Trade unionists poured into Toronto for the protest from all over Ontario—auto workers from Oshawa and Windsor, steel workers from Hamilton, nickel miners from Sudbury, as well as tens of thousands of teachers, government and health care workers. They marched alongside immigrants and other minorities, anti-poverty activists and the unemployed, students and anti-racist youth, in the largest demonstration in Canadian history.

The previous day, a 24-hour protest strike shut down major industry, transport and most government offices, as unionists threw up nearly 700 picket lines at worksites around Toronto. Not a subway, bus or streetcar moved throughout the city, as the Toronto-area TTC transit system, which with two million riders a day is the second-largest in North America, was brought to a halt. Flying pickets organized by the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) defied a strikebreaking court injunction which city officials hoped would stop picketers from shutting the strategic TTC system.



Hundreds of thousands of workers, immigrants and anti-racist youth marched in Toronto "Day of Action," October 26. Spartacist Canada

But transit workers refused to cross the picket lines of 200 or more unionists chanting "Nobody in! Nobody out!" which went up outside key TTC yards and depots beginning in the early morning. This action came on the heels of

a dramatic occupation a week earlier of the General Motors fabrication plant in Oshawa, as part of a three-week CAW strike against the auto giant.

The Toronto protest was the fifth and largest in a series of anti-Tory "Days of

Action" called for various cities over the past year by the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) bureaucracy. The citywide general strikes have given a taste of the potential power of the organized working

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No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

"Hanging Judge" Sabo Dismisses New Evidence of Jamal's Innocence

NOVEMBER 2—Continuing the state's vendetta against black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, "hanging judge" Albert Sabo ruled yesterday against new evidence of Jamal's innocence and of the long, sordid record of police coercion of witnesses in the case. At issue is the powerful testimony provided by Veronica Jones at an evidentiary hearing held last month in Sabo's Philadelphia courtroom. Jones was an eyewitness in the December 1981 shooting death of police officer Daniel Faulkner, for which Jamal was falsely convicted.

Corroborating her initial account to the police and that of four other witnesses, Jones testified that she saw two men run from the scene of the shooting. Jamal, however, was sitting on the ground, bleeding severely from a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner. Jones, who was working as a prostitute in 1981, stated at the hearing that

days before Jamal's July 1982 trial, two Philly detectives visited her in jail and threatened her with a long prison sentence on gun possession charges if she did not change her original statement. So Jones was coerced into lying at the 1982 trial, over which Sabo also presided.

For courageously coming forward to tell the truth at last month's hearing, Jones was subjected to unrelenting harassment and intimidation by both Sabo and the prosecution. Finally, in the middle of the hearing, Jones was summarily *arrested on Sabo's witness stand and dragged off to jail*, on the basis of a bench warrant she didn't know about issued more than two years ago in New Jersey (see "Fugitive from Injustice," page 11). Faced with arrest, she steadfastly replied, "You think that's going to make me change my story? It's not!"

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Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, on death row for speaking out against racist oppression.



WV Photo