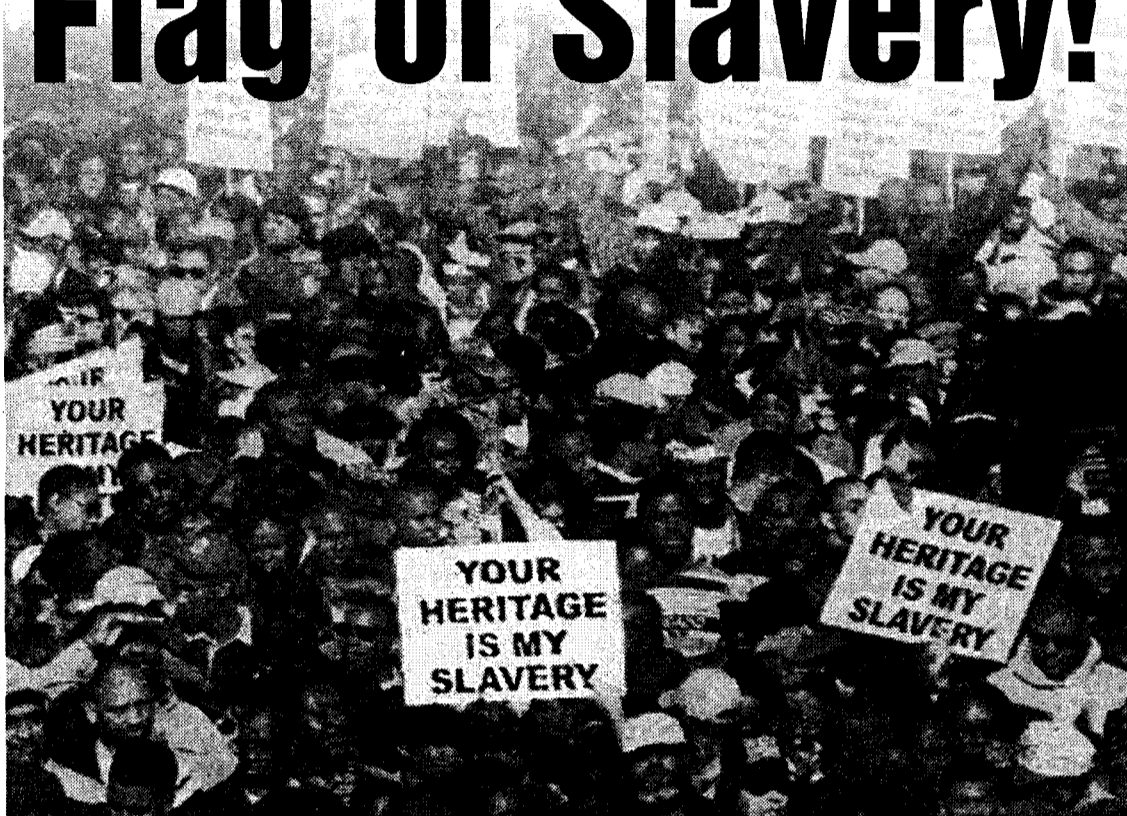


Racist Democratic Party Hustles Black Vote

Down With the Confederate Flag of Slavery!

In the largest protest against racism in the South since the civil rights movement, up to 50,000 people marched in Columbia, South Carolina on January 17 to demand the removal of the Confederate flag from above the statehouse. From throughout the state and throughout the South, protesters turned out on Martin Luther King Day in numbers far exceeding organizers' predictions. They came because they know what the Confederate flag stands for: black enslavement and racist murder, KKK cross-burnings and church bombings, the lynching of any who would fight for the rights of blacks and labor. Everywhere it flies, from Southern state capitols to KKK and Nazi skinhead rallies, it is an incitement to racist terror.

The Democratic Party, headed by the Southerners Gore and Clinton, has cynically seized on the widespread revulsion toward the Confederate flag to try to boost its prospects in the 2000 elections. The Democratic South Carolina state government hoisted the Confederate flag in 1962 as a symbol of racist defiance of the mass civil rights struggles for black equality and integration, in the same spirit as the forces of slavery who fired on the Union flag at Fort Sumter a century before. Nine days before the Columbia march, a rabble of some 6,000 racists had turned out to uphold this racist banner as a symbol of Southern "heritage." On January 17, marchers carried signs reading, "Your



Columbia, South Carolina, January 17: In largest protest in South since civil rights movement, up to 50,000 marched to demand removal of banner of slavery and Klan terror from statehouse.

Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Heritage Is My Slavery." It is the "heritage" of the slaveholders who lost the Civil War, of the Dixiecrat Democrats who presided over decades of Jim Crow segregation in the South through naked

dictatorship abetted by the terror of the KKK—a system to keep black people "in their place" and trade unions out.

The inseparable connection between the struggle for the rights of blacks and

labor in "open shop" South Carolina was brought home with a vengeance on January 20 in Charleston, as 600 state and local police viciously attacked a mass picket by the overwhelmingly black International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422 (see article below). Just three days before, Local 1422 had sent a busload of its members to the Columbia protest, which was endorsed by the president of the state AFL-CIO.

On the day of the march, Democratic presidential contenders Al Gore and Bill Bradley both called for the removal of the flag from the statehouse to score points against Republicans George W. Bush and John McCain, who openly sided with the racists in South Carolina. Bill Clinton chimed in to announce his opposition to the flying of the Confederate flag.

Aiding Clinton & Co. in this cynical hustle is the liberal NAACP, whose national president, Kweisi Mfume, is himself a former Democratic Congressman and head of the Congressional Black Caucus. The NAACP, one of the organizers of the January 17 protest, has initiated an economic boycott of South Carolina until it removes the racist flag from the statehouse. Likewise, Jesse Jackson's

Rainbow/PUSH Coalition has called for a boycott of Georgia, whose state flag incorporates the Confederate emblem, and is organizing a protest in front of the

continued on page 6

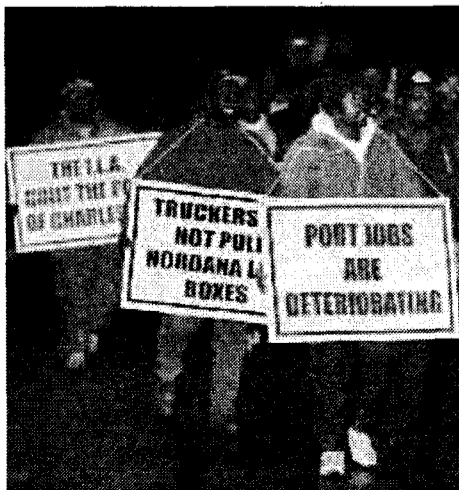
JANUARY 24—Early last Thursday morning, 600 cops clad in riot gear in Charleston, South Carolina brutally attacked members of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422 who were picketing scabs working the *Nordana Skodsborg*. Hours before the Danish container ship had even docked, municipal, county and state police forces, including prison guards, had massed on the waterfront. Brandishing plastic shields and long wooden clubs, the cops lined the road to the Columbus Street Terminal, where 19 employees of the non-union Winyah Stevedoring were working the ship.

Members of the overwhelmingly black ILA local poured out of the union hall and hundreds marched up to the police lines, chanting, "ILA! ILA! ILA!" With armored personnel carriers patrolling the area and a police helicopter buzzing overhead, the racist cops

continued on page 5

Charleston ILA Battles Racist Union-Busting Assault

600 Cops Attack Mass Longshore Picket



Mic Smith/Post and Courier photos

Battle on the waterfront: ILA Local 1422 picket against scab labor attacked by state and local cops.



04

Declaration of the International Communist League

Fourth Reich: Hands Off Leftist Demonstrators!

PDS Accepted State Ban Against 2-L's Demonstration

We reprint below a January 14 declaration of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) protesting the banning and vicious police assault by the Social Democratic (SPD) government of Germany on the annual "2-L's" demonstration in Berlin on January 9. This demonstration commemorating communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, murdered in January 1919, is traditionally Germany's largest leftist event. Thousands of copies of this statement were distributed by the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the ICL, at a second 2-L's demonstration held on January 15 and elsewhere.

The ban came only a couple of months after the German bourgeoisie's triumphal celebration of the tenth anniversary of the counterrevolutionary annexation of the former East German (DDR) deformed

workers state and only days before the imprisonment of Egon Krenz. Krenz was a former leader of the DDR and the Stalinist SED (Socialist Unity Party), of which Gregor Gysi's Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) is the social-democratic heir.

* * *

On January 9 in Berlin, the annual demonstration commemorating the heroic German communists Rosa Luxemburg (who was of Polish-Jewish origin) and Karl Liebknecht was banned this year for the first time since Hitler's Nazis held power. Despite the ban, accepted by the cringing PDS leaders, thousands of leftists turned out to protest. They were savagely beaten by the cops and hundreds were arrested. We say: Immediate release of all the imprisoned demonstrators! Drop all the charges! Down with



Lange/Neues Deutschland

January 9: Berlin cops attack protesters who defied ban against Luxemburg/Liebknecht commemoration, arresting over 200.

state terror against the left!

When the SPD delivered the German proletariat as cannon fodder for imperialist war in August 1914, Liebknecht rightly declared: "The main enemy is at home!" Opposing the Russian Revolution and any other workers revolution, the SPD sought for decades to overthrow Soviet power. In Germany this meant acting as counterrevolutionary bloodhounds for the bourgeoisie against proletarian revolution. Let's not forget that it was the forebears of the present SPD who had Luxemburg and Liebknecht murdered by the Freikorps during the Spartakist workers uprising in 1918-19. The current SPD-led capitalist government is enforcing austerity and anti-immigrant racism, while conducting imperialist war in the Balkans.

The PDS' capitulation strengthened the hand of the state to directly bloody the demonstrators. This has triggered protests in the ranks of the PDS and among leftist youth. While mildly rebuking Gysi for his support to the state ban, fake leftists like the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSB) preach that the PDS "still represents a socialist perspective" (*Avanti*, December 1999) as opposed to the SPD. This is a deception! The ex-Stalinist PDS led the capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR and are now simply the social democrats of the East, posing as defenders of those whose lives they helped destroy. The *Junge Welt* (10 January) quoted one Roland T. who hit the nail on the head: "If you want to be able to govern like the PDS, you obviously have to work with the cops." The PDS is complicit with the state ban against leftists, including its own members, because it aspires to administer the same capitalist state as parliamentary partners with the SPD.

We Trotskyists of the ICL uniquely opposed capitalist reunification. The East German deformed workers state issued out of the smashing of Hitler's Nazis

by the Soviet Army. We unconditionally defended the planned economy and working-class property forms that were the base of the former DDR, despite the Stalinist bureaucratic caste that illegitimately held political power. In 1989-90 the ICL fought for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist SED bureaucracy in the East. For its part, the SED/PDS—given the green light by Gorbachev—sold out the DDR, embracing the capitalist counterrevolution which has devastated the former DDR and also brought immiseration to the proletariat of the West. Following the counterrevolution, the German state launched a witch-hunt against former DDR officials. We say: Free Egon Krenz! The Stalinist misleaders surely have much to account for to the proletariat for their class betrayals, but they are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes.

Historically, every January the communist movement commemorated the *three L's*—Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. It is typical of chauvinist German social democrats that they shun Lenin, who along with Trotsky led the Bolshevik Party which broke the working masses of Russia from the Mensheviks—the Russian counterparts of the German Social Democracy—and led the proletariat to power in 1917. The Mensheviks clung to capitalism and explicitly defended the imperialist world war after February 1917. We seek to forge a revolutionary internationalist party like the Bolsheviks. Such a party, which will be built through political struggle against the reformists of the SPD and PDS and their fake-left apologists, will genuinely honor Luxemburg and Liebknecht's Spartacists by fighting to bring the proletariat to power in new October Revolutions. Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■



TROTSKY

Mobilize Labor to Fight KKK Terror!

The Confederate flag of slavery is a symbol both of KKK lynch mob terror and of the anti-union "open shop" South. Shock troops of racist reaction against black people, the homegrown fascists of the KKK are held in reserve by the ruling class to be deployed against the working class when capitalist rule is threatened. Writing in response to an outbreak of lynchings in late 1933, during the Great Depression, American Trotskyist

leader James P. Cannon stressed the need for a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight against fascist terror on the road to uprooting the capitalist system that breeds it.

Mob murder in itself is no novelty in the United States. In the South, as everybody knows, it is an established institution for the repression of the Negroes, operating all the time as an extralegal supplement to the regular court procedure. In the North, also, lynching has been known before, but it is not "recognized" here as it is in the South and, except in isolated instances, has appeared only in connection with social disturbance.

The frenzied lynching bees of the recent days, however, had their scene in the northern part of the country, or on its border; white men as well as Negroes were victims; there was not one single lynching but three, and those in rapid succession....

The material out of which fascist gangs, anti-Semitism, religious frenzies, and moronic lynching mobs all may be set in motion is at hand in the social tension which produced three lynchings within a week. The material for the rapid development of a revolutionary labor movement is there also in the bitter discontent of the workers, but a leading force capable of organizing it is so far lacking....

The movement of fascism does not come into existence at the command of the capitalists. It arises out of the conditions created by capitalism at a certain stage of its disintegration as a social and economic system. Its troops, for the greater part, are the petty-bourgeois elements, ruined and driven to frenzy by the crisis. The movement is aimed, at its inception, against big capital as well as against the labor movement. The former take over the movement and hurl it against the workers if the latter do not show sufficient strength to crush the movement of fascism and gain the support of the petty-bourgeois masses for their revolutionary program.

—James P. Cannon, "The Lynching Wave and American Fascism" (*Militant*, 9 December 1933, reprinted in *The Communist League of America 1932-34* [1985])



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Anna Woodman

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mara Cadiz

EDITORIAL BOARD: Barry James (managing editor), Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Walter Jennings, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tlac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is January 25.

No. 728

28 January 2000



Spartakist banner at December 1989 Berlin protest during incipient political revolution in East Germany reads: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

Northern Ireland

Labour Government's "Peace" Is a Lie!

The following article is slightly adapted from Workers Hammer (No. 171, Winter 1999-2000), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Eighteen months after the signing of the Good Friday agreement, the Northern Ireland Executive convened in December amid much fanfare by the Westminster Labour government. Under a headline "Ulster Is a Battleground No Longer. It Is a Land of Hope and Progress," the British Labour government's Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Mandelson, writes that this is a "new era in politics in the British

WORKERS HAMMER

Isles" ([London] *Independent*, 17 December 1999). Meanwhile across Northern Ireland Loyalist "ethnic cleansing," driving Catholics from their homes, is rife. In the town of Larne alone there were 14 pipe and petrol bombings in the first eight months of 1999.

Labour is crowing about their "power-sharing" Northern Ireland Executive at Stormont, but it is far from certain that they will be able to hold it together long enough to entice the IRA (Irish Republican Army) to hand in their weapons. The IRA-allied Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness took up his post as Education Minister and was protested with eggs when he turned up at Protestant schools. To their evident dismay, Sinn Féin found a state-of-the-art electronic bug planted by British Intelligence in a car used by Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness in November. The British are keenly aware that the army failed to defeat the IRA militarily, thus they are willing to tolerate Sinn Féin in Stormont as a *quid pro quo* for the IRA handing in their weapons, which they have promised to do. Meanwhile David Trimble's Ulster Unionists threaten to boot Sinn Féin out of the Executive because "power-sharing" with them is splitting the Unionists' ranks.

The façade of "power-sharing" in Stormont is designed to give the appearance of "democracy" to the way Northern Ireland is governed. Labour also commissioned the Patten report on the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), which proposes to give them a makeover. The package is expected to lull the Catholics into believing the murdering RUC thugs and the state will become more "impartial," which ought to fool nobody. The Orange statelet is and has been a sectarian police state from its foundation. It has acquired powers of repression and coercion which were envied by rulers of apartheid South Africa. Its core is the heavily armed RUC, who since 1969 have been augmented by a massive British Army presence. In addition there are Loyalist paramilitary killers, "unofficially" backed by the armed forces. Together these "special bodies of armed men" are the backbone of the

British Troops Out Now!



Catholic residents of Portadown, Northern Ireland under siege by British forces called out on behalf of anti-Catholic Orange Order, July 1997.

Orange statelet and subjugation of the Catholic minority is inherent within it. Capitalist rule in Northern Ireland rests on setting Protestant against Catholic and maintaining a deep division in the working class.

We have consistently warned against illusions in this imperialist deal brokered by the governments in London, Dublin and Washington. Opposing the Good Friday agreement, a Spartacist League/Britain and Dublin Spartacist Group joint statement said:

"The 'historic' agreement signed in Belfast's Stormont Castle on 11 April cannot and will not bring peace to Northern Ireland. This reactionary *imperialist* deal will reinforce the subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority. It will be enforced by the 18,000-strong British Army and the viciously sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), who work hand in glove with the fascistic Loyalist death squads in the murder of Catholics."
—"Northern Ireland: Imperialist 'Peace' Fraud," *Workers Hammer* No. 162, May/June 1998 [See WV No. 689, 24 April 1999.]

Right from the start, the "deal" was premised on the British Army staying in place. Sinn Féin tries to deny this basic fact, to prettify the reality of the agreement they have signed. In December they stated: "As a prelude to its total withdrawal the British army should return to its barracks and end its patrolling on the streets and roads" (*Irish News*, 7 December 1999). The British government's rebuttal was sharp and swift: "Absolutely not," said Peter Mandelson, "There will be no major troop withdrawal or the like—it's been pure speculation" (*Irish Independent*, 7 December 1999). As the Executive was being convened, the army was in fact fortifying its positions in South Armagh. We fight for the *immediate unconditional withdrawal* of British troops from Northern Ireland. No good can come of the British military presence there. This demand does not automatically ensure any advance in a revolutionary direction, but it is a necessary starting point and must be linked to a revolutionary, proletarian perspective.

We uphold the programme of Karl Marx, who insisted that the struggle of the British workers against their "own" capitalist rulers can only go forward on the basis of firm opposition to imperialist oppression in Ireland. This requires intransigent opposition to Labour, the lieutenants of imperialism. We seek to break workers from all allegiance to Labour,

which has always loyally served racist, chauvinist British imperialism and the monarchy. Labour MPs (Members of Parliament) joined the Tories in cheering the execution of Irish socialist James Connolly for leading the heroic 1916 rising against British rule. Labour sent in the army in 1969 and British prime minister Tony Blair's New Labour today stands by the army's crimes. Last year Blair appointed Sir Michael Jackson as commander of NATO forces in Kosovo. Jackson was captain and adjutant to the parachute regiment which carried out the Bloody Sunday massacre of 14 Catholics in Derry in 1972.

While talking "peace" in Northern Ireland, Labour is increasing the repressive powers of the state. In Britain a new Terrorism Bill has been published under

[assault rifle] and "ballot box" are two sides of the same coin) is a dead end, which inevitably looks to capitalist powers, U.S. and British imperialism and the Irish state, to secure a better deal for Northern Catholics. Capitalist rulers are hardly in the business of aiding the oppressed and exploited. Since partition, Catholics in the North have constituted an oppressed minority, whereas in the South they are an overwhelming majority. We oppose all discrimination against the Catholic minority. We also recognise that the Protestants are a distinct community defined in opposition to the Irish Catholic nation. As Leninists we uphold the right of self-determination for all nations, which means the right to set up an independent state. But where peoples are geographically interpenetrated, under capitalism "self-determination" for one can only be achieved at the expense of the other, leading to intercommunal slaughter. We oppose any call for an "independent Ulster" which means supporting the Orange statelet. We also oppose the perspective of a capitalist "united Ireland" proffered by Sinn Féin nationalists, which means reversing the terms of oppression against Protestants. Nationalism is counterposed to the interests of the working class. The prospect of being forcibly incorporated into the Catholic state fuels legitimate fears among Protestants and serves to compact Protestant workers behind Loyalist bigots.

We fight for an Irish workers republic, part of a voluntary socialist federation of the British Isles. Our purpose is to forge revolutionary internationalist parties, sections of the International Communist League, in Britain and Ireland. As we said:

"The key to breaking the bloody cycle of imperialist repression and communalist terror is to unite the proletariat—Protestant and Catholic; English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish—across national and religious lines in common struggle against the capitalist class enemy. That requires intransigent proletarian opposition not only to blood-soaked British imperialism and Orange supremacy, to



British imperialism's Royal Irish Regiment poses with Loyalist banner reading "Drumcree, Here We Stand," referring to site of siege of Catholics by Orange reactionaries.

which the right to a jury trial may be denied for "terrorist" offences and this category is being broadened to include "domestic terrorists" as well as "inciting terrorism abroad from within the UK" (*Financial Times*, 3 December 1999). This targets immigrants and minorities and is designed to criminalise political opponents of the racist capitalist state.

Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class!

There can be no just solution to the communal conflict in Northern Ireland short of proletarian rule in all of Ireland and in Britain. The Sinn Féin/IRA nationalist strategy (of which the "armalite"

anti-Catholic terror and discrimination, but also to Green nationalism and the clericalist state in the South."

—*Workers Hammer* No. 162, May/June 1998

A look at the town of Portadown provides ample testimony that Labour's talk of "peace" in Northern Ireland is a cynical hoax. Portadown is the flashpoint for Loyalist violence every year when the Orange Order clamour for the "right" to march down the Catholic Garvaghy Road. It was here that in April 1997 a young Catholic, Robert Hamill, was kicked to death by a Loyalist mob while the RUC looked on. In July of that year,

continued on page 9



Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain

£3/1 year

International rate: £7 (\$10)—Airmail Europe outside Britain and Ireland: £4

Order from/make checks payable to: Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041 London NW5 3EU, England

Young Spartacus

Hundreds Rout Fascist Hale at Northwestern!

(continued from page 12)

the capitalist bosses, whose exploitation and plunder breed fascist scum like Matthew Hale.

Capitalism Breeds Klan/Nazi Scum Fascist Matthew Hale Sent Packing at Northwestern University

Two hundred demonstrators drove Nazi Matthew Hale, leader of the fascist "World Church of the Creator," off Northwestern University on January 21. Hale wanted to celebrate the murder of Ricky Byrdson, a black man and former NU basketball coach. Hale came to Northwestern to recruit more racist killers like Benjamin Smith, a follower of Hale's fascist outfit, whose killing spree last summer took the life of Byrdson and a young South Korean student named Won Joon Yoon. Nine others were wounded including several orthodox Jews.

Armed with metal poles Hale and his two-bit teenage stormtroopers went straight for black protesters who had mobilized together with the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club in calling to stop these fascist murderers. The fascists were disarmed and their führer, Hale, was acquainted with the pavement. The cops then moved in and arrested three of the anti-Nazi protesters, including a black Chicago transit worker. While under the protection of a phalanx of riot-equipped cops, Hale, his lip split and swollen, was surrounded by outraged protesters, pelted with snow balls and forced to beat a hasty retreat under police protection.

It is an object lesson in the role played by the police in capitalist society that they protected the fascists and arrested anti-fascist militants who were defending themselves and the demonstration against violent assault. The SL/SYC demands: Drop all the charges against the anti-fascist protesters!

As the Chicago *Sun-Times* (22 January) headlined: "Blizzard of Protest Drives Hale from NU." This was a victory for labor, minorities and all opponents of racist terror. While others preached "tolerance" for the fascists and looked to the university administration to stop Hale from coming on campus, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club called for a mobilization to stop Hale and his junior band of Nazis. We said that those who looked to the administration, which has for decades harbored Nazi-apologist Arthur Butz, were slitting their own throats. Any administration "ban" would first be visited on campus leftists who already face a crackdown by the powers that be at Northwestern. We also warned that those treacherous fools who preached

"tolerance" were only working to politically disarm and demobilize any opposition to the fascists while giving Hale free rein. The NU administration went all-out to intimidate students, urging them to "stay away" from any protest against Hale. According to some students, the administration went so far to accommodate this Nazi that they made the blatantly Jim Crow "suggestion" that black students residing in an integrated dorm Hale planned to visit should use the "back door"!

The supposed campus radicals of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

While the SL/SYC gave an organized expression to the over 200 protesters who came out in opposition to the fascists and against the administration's diktats, the ISO was distributing a pathetic unsigned leaflet whining "What should we do if Matt Hale comes here AGAIN?" What about stopping him *now*? But that would have alienated the liberals, not to mention get them in trouble with the administration. So while anti-fascist protesters were busy confronting Hale's murderous vermin, ISO supporters covered behind liberal placards bleating, "No Hate Here."



Yevgeni Knaidel

**Soviet Union
smashed Nazi
Third Reich.
Victorious Red
Army raised red
flag over Berlin,
1945.**

obediently fell into line and worked for the administration campaigning for students to "boycott" protest against these fascist killers. An equally despicable role was played by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who sought to divert any protest into a liberal "rally against hate." But when their liberal allies of SDS rolled over for the administration and promoted the boycott line, so went the ISO.

That sentiment certainly isn't shared by ourselves or most other intended victims of fascist terror. We *hate* racist murder and lynch-mob terror and seek to mobilize the social power of the working class to stop the fascists in their tracks!

The ISO's hearts beat with the liberals because they aren't any kind of socialists at all. Rather their political posture is dictated by what is acceptable to the pow-

ers that be in a society based on capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which breeds and needs fascist terror. This was graphically demonstrated in the role that the ISO played in opposing the 8,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization whose views are in accordance with those of the Spartacist League—which drove the Ku Klux Klan off the streets of New York City on October 23 last year.

The Partisan Defense Committee's call "All Out to Stop the KKK!" brought to bear the social power of organized labor and welded it to the anger of the ghettos and barrios in a powerful mobilization of labor/black power. The ISO served as the running dogs for the Democratic Party establishment in New York—including and especially for Al Sharpton who filed a "friend of court" brief in defense of the Klan's "right" to rally for racist genocide—in trying to divert this anger into a "demonstration of tolerance" for the KKK. But they didn't succeed.

What was seen in New York City on October 23 was exactly what we said was needed to stop the fascists: the social power of the multiracial working class mobilized under revolutionary leadership and standing at the head of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, gays and all those the KKK has lined up in its sights. This mass outpouring of labor and the oppressed gave flesh and blood to the program that we communists fight for—that is to build the revolutionary workers party that is needed to get rid of this entire system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression that breeds killer scum like Matthew Hale. The SL/SYC is building that party—*join us!*

Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth Club

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

Orange County School District Bans Gay Group from High School

LOS ANGELES—When two students at El Modena High School in Orange County, California, formed the Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) as a forum for gay students to discuss the continuous harassment they face in their everyday lives, they were met by a ranting wave of bigotry, from the head of the reactionary Campaign for California Families in Sacramento to the Orange Unified School District (OUSD). On December 7, the OUSD—which includes a member who campaigned for his seat in 1993 by bragging about his arrest for blocking an abortion clinic entrance—voted unanimously to ban the group from the high school campus.

The two students, Anthony Colin and Heather Zetin, are challenging the decision in court and are backed by the majority of the school's students and many teachers, who are among the lowest paid in Southern California. The GSA, which has been holding its meetings across the street from the campus, has already attracted 15 members and over 50 students have signed petitions saying they want to join. We say students of whatever age, gay or straight, have every right to form cultural, social or political groups and express their

views openly, and that very much includes their views on sex.

The OUSD decision is no aberration, nor is it simply the product of a particularly homophobic school board. The racist U.S. ruling class offers black, minority and working-class youth a "future" of unemployment, prison and being cannon fodder for war. The bipartisan drive to bolster the "sanctity" of the family, the main source of oppression for women, youth and gays in capitalist society, fuels the vilification of homosexuals and leads to atrocities like the 1998 murders of Matthew Shepard and abortion provider Barnett Slepian.

The puritanical ideology of the American ruling class targets youth, who are often denied even an expression of their sexuality. "Statutory rape" laws are used to criminalize consensual sexual relations, especially targeting gay groups like the North American Man-Boy Love Association. Meanwhile, access to birth control and abortion is increasingly curtailed, especially for working-class and minority women. The extension of the state's tentacles into people's personal lives is a product of decaying American capitalism. With 40 percent of the country's income con-

centrated in the hands of 1 percent of the population, the bosses strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state to intimidate an increasingly discontented working class by going after every aspect of one's life.

Isolated, youth do not have the social power to defeat the predatory meddling of the capitalist state machine and its administrators and bureaucrats. That power lies with the proletariat. Students must ally themselves behind the social power of the working class. The struggle against the repression of homosexuals and the stifling of youth is intimately tied to the fight for workers revolution. The 23 October 1999 labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City—which the Spartacus Youth Clubs helped to build—showed powerfully the revolutionary potential of the multiracial working class fighting on behalf of all the oppressed. We are fighting to build the revolutionary workers party committed to the destruction of capitalism and the construction of a socialist egalitarian society. Hands off student organizations! Let the GSA meet at El Modena High School! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!

SYC Class Series

NEW YORK

Tuesday, February 1, 7 p.m.
Marxism: A Guide to Action
New York University,
Thompson Center, Basement
238 Thompson St. (near W. 3rd St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Tuesday, February 8, 7 p.m.
**Thousands Come Out to Stop the
Klan in New York City—Fascism:
What It Is and How to Fight It**
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Rm. 215
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Charleston...

(continued from page 1)

fired tear gas, shock grenades and sand-filled projectiles at the unionists. Clubs swinging, the cops then charged into the mass picket. Eight union members were arrested and face up to five years in prison on trumped-up felony "riot" charges. All of labor must defend Local 1422.

Only three days earlier, a Local 1422 contingent had joined in the huge protest against the Confederate flag in Columbia. In a protest letter immediately after the cop rampage (see this page), the Partisan Defense Committee stated: "The cops who were mobilized from across the state to enforce the Nordana shipping bosses' efforts to bust the ILA union brought home what this flag represents—the 'open shop' enforced through racist terror of the cops and their KKK auxiliaries." **Drop all charges against the ILA militants!**

This vicious attack is part of a determined bid by the capitalists to break the power of the Charleston ILA, a beachhead of organized labor in this "open shop" state where almost 96 percent of the workforce is non-union. The local press screamed about a "labor riot," union "violence" and "mob force." In reality, the capitalists, their cops and their propaganda mouthpieces were enraged that these longshoremen they view as slaves refused to stay "in their place."

The union-busting cop rampage was meant to deliver a message to all workers that the bosses will use brute force to enforce "right to work" laws aimed at keeping unions out. Lieutenant Governor Bob Peeler, a die-hard racist who wraps himself in the Confederate flag of slavery and Klan terror, declared: "These recent developments are yet another reason why we should move quickly to strengthen the state's right-to-work laws." State attorney general Charles Condon threatened a court injunction to prohibit pickets of more than four workers at the Columbus Street Terminal. Summarizing his "comprehensive plan for dealing with union dockworker violence," Condon ranted, "Jail, jail, and more jail."

The role of the police as the hired thugs of the employers could not be clearer than it was last week in Charleston. Some longshoremen have illusions in liberal black police chief Reuben Greenberg as compared to the state troopers who seemed to spearhead the cop assault. But it was Greenberg who organized the provocative cop mobilization. According to his boss, Mayor Joseph Riley: "He thought it would be better to be over-prepared than under-prepared, and it proved to be the smart course." Black or white, the job of the cops is to repress labor and minorities in order to safeguard the profits and power of the capitalists.

Democratic Party—Enemy of Labor, Blacks

The *Nordana Skodsborg* was the fourth ship since early December to be loaded by the scab outfit Winyah Stevedoring. On January 2, Winyah found itself on the

losing end of a confrontation with ILA picketers, who forced a ship to leave port before loading all its cargo. ILA locals in Houston, New Orleans, Baltimore and other ports are also under attack from scab operations. In 1989, some 600 black longshoremen from Miami, Jacksonville, Charleston and Savannah, joined by members of the largely white ILA clerks and checkers locals, converged on Wilmington, North Carolina to protest an earlier attempt to introduce scab labor in Southern ports.

The obvious response should be that the ILA mobilize its entire membership—from the Northeast to the Gulf ports—to shut down scab operations on the Charleston waterfront and elsewhere. A solid coastwise strike in defense of the overwhelmingly black Southern ILA locals, reaching out for support to other workers and the oppressed black populace, could also be a clarion call for a militant organizing effort to rip up reactionary "right to work" laws and break the open shop.

But so far the pro-capitalist ILA bureaucracy has refused to back up local struggles against scab operations, while pushing through two-tier wage schemes and other givebacks in South Atlantic and Gulf ports. The International leadership did not even call those ports out during the 1986 East Coast shipping strike. Instead, the union tops buy into the employers' line that to compete with rival ports they have to cut costs and improve productivity. The labor misleaders' services have been duly acknowledged by South Carolina's State Ports Authority, which has run ads in industry publica-



Bastion of industrial unionism in racist "right to work" South: United Steelworkers Local 8888 waged four-month strike last year against Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia.

tions touting "Team Charleston" and the ILA's record of "class peace" to lure shipping business.

From AFL-CIO president John Sweeney on down, the union bureaucracy's class-collaborationist program is codified in its role as an integral component of the capitalist Democratic Party.

Drop All Charges Against Charleston Longshoremen!

The following letter by the Partisan Defense Committee was sent to Charleston solicitor David P. Schwacke and South Carolina attorney general Charles Condon on January 20.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the brutal attack by 600 police equipped in riot gear on members of the International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 early this morning. Only days before, 50,000 people protested against the Confederate flag of slavery and Klan lynch mobs flying over the state capitol building in Columbia, South Carolina. The cops who were mobilized from across the state to enforce the Nordana shipping bosses' efforts to bust the ILA union brought home what this flag represents—the "open shop" enforced through racist terror of the cops and their KKK auxiliaries.

Longshoremen are fighting to defend their jobs against the use of non-union labor by the Nordana shipping line. They were beaten, tear-gassed and fired on with riot pellets by the cops, who also unleashed police dogs and drove into the labor protesters with police cruisers. This union-busting attack threatens the livelihoods of longshore workers up and down the Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports as well as being a thrust against all unionized workers in the South. Eight ILA members were arrested and face charges for the "crime" of defending their union. We demand that all charges against them be dropped!

For information on making a contribution to the defense of the ILA members facing charges, contact: **Robert Ford, Vice President, ILA Local 1422. Telephone: (843) 723-2774.**

Being bound hand and foot to this party of the class enemy acts only to derail and scuttle struggle against the employers. Just look at last year's strike by United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 at Newport News Shipbuilding in the Virginia Tidewater area. For 17 weeks, this integrated industrial union held firm in the face of brazen company attempts to foster a scab back-to-work

because it is a bulwark of black labor power in the South. The ILA union hall dominates the Charleston port, a symbol of this union's position as a beacon to working people and the black masses. This holds true for other Southern ports as well. In a special WV supplement (2 October 1986) headlined "Let's Win This One!" on the 1986 ILA strike, we stressed:

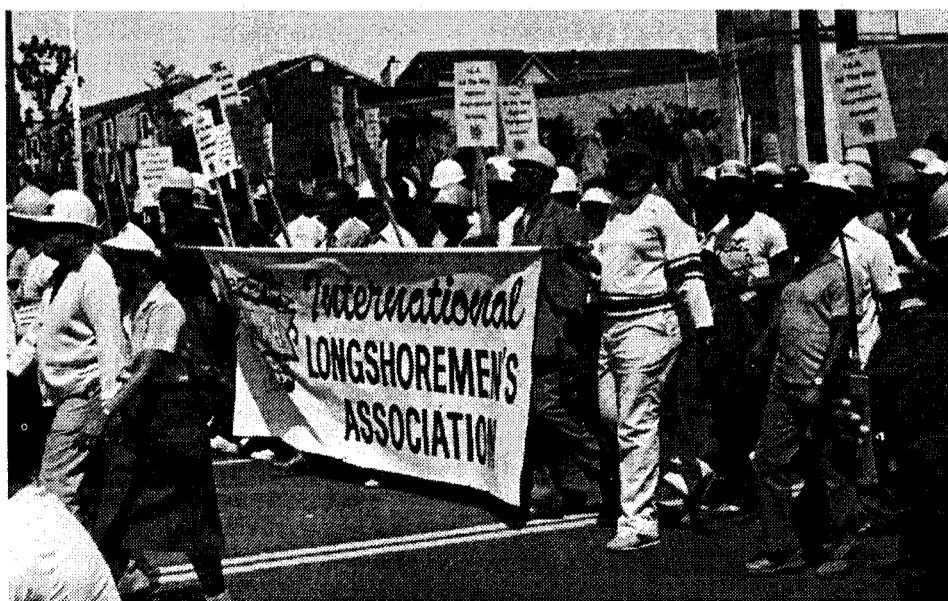
"You can't defend the unions without fighting racism. Organizing unions in the South means pitched battles with the Klan and cracker sheriffs. Tidewater longshoremen showed the way when they endorsed and helped send a contingent to the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington in November 1982."

The entire history of Southern longshore labor, going back to the first years after the smashing of the slavocracy in the Civil War, demonstrates that struggles for black rights and union rights are inseparable. In 1867, stevedores in Charleston formed the first labor organization of black workers, the Longshoremen's Protective Union Association, and won a strike for higher wages. Early black longshore unions were in the forefront of the fight to defend the gains of Radical Reconstruction. When Savannah, Georgia imposed a poll tax on all workers employed on the wharves, it was the mainly black dock workers who launched a strike which defeated the measure.

But the old racist, craft-union national ILA leadership embraced the rigid segregation which had been imposed after the defeat of Reconstruction, forcing Southern black longshore unions which affiliated with the ILA around the turn of the century into separate locals. To this day, there are still some segregated ILA locals and hiring halls in the South. The "right to work" laws passed after World War II were the outgrowth of an entrenched apparatus of segregation and oppression, from the post-Civil War "Black Codes" and "anti-vagrancy" laws to the sharecropping system and prison chain gangs.

Today, the segregationists hate unions because they represent integrated labor struggle. When black ILA militants in New Orleans called a three-day protest strike following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, white longshoremen announced they would not work without their black brothers.

The defense of ILA Local 1422 against racist union-busting must be the cause of all of labor. The fight to extend union power throughout the "open shop" South requires a class-struggle leadership whose starting point is the understanding that the interests of labor and capital are diametrically counterposed. Only when those who labor rule will there be an end to union-busting and racist oppression. Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party that fights for all the exploited and oppressed! ■



Longshoremen in Norfolk, Virginia marched against segregation, for school busing in 1983.

Flag...

(continued from page 1)

Super Bowl in Atlanta, on January 30. These black Democrats fear the independent mobilization of working people and therefore seek to channel outrage against racism into the trap of Democratic Party electoralism, as they did when many thousands bravely fought during the civil rights movement to tear down Jim Crow.

With such stone racists as Republican South Carolina State Senator Arthur Ravenel denouncing the protesters and railing against the NAACP as the "National Association for Retarded People," it is scarcely surprising that Clinton & Co. can, with the crucial aid of the black Democrats, posture as defenders of black people on this issue. But let us not forget that it is the Clinton administration which, even more than its Republican predecessors, has from its first days in office carried out a wholesale assault on the lives and livelihoods of the black population. Clinton entered the White House with a vow to "end welfare as we know it," and has carried through on that, consigning millions of white, black and immigrant women and children to starvation and homelessness. In concert with the Republicans, the Clinton White House has vastly expanded the forces of racist repression; from putting tens of thousands more killer cops on the streets, to throwing hundreds of thousands of black people into prison, to continually speeding up the nation's death rows through measures like the 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act."

White supremacy and the racist oppression of black people—symbolized by the bloodsoaked Confederate flag—have always been the bedrock of American capitalism. The issue of slavery was settled through blood and iron in the Civil War. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the victorious Northern capitalists, who sealed an alliance with the ex-slaveholders by withdrawing Union troops from the South following the Compromise of 1877, marking the defeat of Reconstruction. The emancipated slaves were left defenseless against the landowners and the rising racist terror exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan. At the same time, the smashing of slavery laid the basis for the eventual integration of black workers into the expanding industries in the North, although forcibly segregated at the bottom of capitalist society.

Today, black people make up a large and strategic part of the multiracial working class in the most powerful industrial country in the world. In fact, a larger percentage of black workers are unionized than white workers. Nowhere is the strategic weight of black workers more apparent than in the South, where a unionization drive would mobilize the entire black community against the white ruling class, the police and KKK.

The struggle for black rights can only go forward through the independent mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class in a struggle for workers power. The labor movement must fight to overcome the racist divisions which are fostered by America's rulers to obscure the fundamental class divisions in society and to head off united working-class struggle. The chief obstacle to such struggle is the illusion in "lesser evil" politics which binds working people and the black masses to the capitalist Democratic Party. The AFL-CIO



WORKERS VANGUARD 50c
No. 728 31 December 1999

Giuliani, Democrats Strong-Arm NYC Transit Union

We Need a Workers Party!

Break with the Democrats! Defend Labor's Right to Strike!

DECEMBER 31—The 31,000 members of New York City Transit Workers Union (NYCTU) are to appear in the streets of New York City on Monday, December 31, to demand that the city government stop the use of anti-labor laws to force the union to accept a new contract. The union is currently in a contract dispute with the city government. The union is demanding that the city government stop the use of anti-labor laws to force the union to accept a new contract. The union is demanding that the city government stop the use of anti-labor laws to force the union to accept a new contract.

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION
80 WEST END AVE

WV Photo

Marxist-led labor/black mobilization rode Klan terrorists out of NYC on October 23. Mobilizing labor's power in defense of union and black rights requires break from capitalist Democratic Party.

labor bureaucracy reinforces these illusions through its service as representatives of the interests of the capitalist class enemy within the organized labor movement. As such, the labor tops routinely try to prevent, derail and sell out trade-union struggles.

At the political level, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been a structural component of the Democratic Party since Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" coalition of the 1930s. Its program is class collaboration, and its policy is to present the Democrats as more sympathetic than the Republicans to the interests of workers and blacks and to act as merely a pressure group within this capitalist party in order to quell any outbreak of labor or black unrest. But the Democrats serve only one master, the bourgeoisie. It is because of the Democrats' influence over trade unionists and black people that it is the preferred war party for U.S. imperialism.

The massive turnout on January 17 is one of many recent indications, beginning with the 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS, that the widespread anger at the base of this society is beginning to break through the surface. But the first and most important task in the resurgence of class struggle is to break from the politics of "lesser evilism." Only by freeing itself from the grip of the capitalist class and its parties can the working class go forward. The struggle for unionization, against police brutality and the mass incarceration of young black men must be linked to the fight for a *workers party*, a party based on the independence of the working class from all reliance on the class enemy and fighting for the perspective of a workers government, where those who labor rule.

Democrats Shield KKK Lynchers

Seeking to court the black vote, the Democrats try to posture as opponents of the Confederate flag above the South Carolina statehouse. But only last October, the Democratic Party pulled out all the stops in an effort to ensure that the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan would be able to wield the Confederate flag in a rally to inspire and organize racist terror

in the heart of New York City! From racist "law and order" Senator Charles Schumer to black Democrat Al Sharpton, the New York State Democratic Party establishment acted as the main force against the massive mobilization of integrated working-class power that rode the KKK and their Confederate flags out of town on October 23. The Democrats called for a demonstration of "tolerance" for the hated KKK and offered to share their sound permit to allow the fascists to spew out their incitements to race war, working behind the scenes with Republican mayor Giuliani, the cops and the courts. Sharpton and the black establishment *Amsterdam News* went so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the Klan's "right" to rally for genocide.

The labor/black mobilization against the Klan was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—and energetically built by hundreds of trade unionists and youth. It was a powerful demonstration of the social power of the working class, as up to 10,000 working people mobilized to stop the KKK, against the efforts of the Democrats to defend the "rights" of the Klan. What was seen in the October 23 labor/black mobilization led by Marxists was an example of a workers party in action, with the working class mobilized in its own interests and independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class. The Democratic Party acted in its class interests as a party of racist American capitalism. Above all, these capitalist politicians fear and oppose the mobilization of labor power. The capitalists hold the homegrown Nazis of the KKK in reserve, to be deployed to crush the organizations of the working class in the face of a proletarian challenge to capitalist class rule.

In 1984, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, it was Democratic Party mayor and current U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein who raised the Confederate battle flag in Civic Center to placate the Southern Democrats. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which is fraternally allied with the SL, repeat-

edly mobilized to tear down that racist banner. Wearing the uniform of a Union soldier, a black SL supporter scaled the 50-foot flagpole in April 1984 and shredded the Confederate flag, hurling it to the ground where it was burned!

Feinstein, consciously playing the racist card in her bid for the party's vice presidential nomination, repeatedly replaced this emblem of the KKK after it was torn down. Only when the flagpole itself was found cut down by an acetylene torch was she finally forced to replace the Confederate flag with that of the "California Hundred," the first 100 volunteers from the state to fight with the Union Army. We wrote in the midst of this campaign, "It is a telling verdict on the capitalist system and the anti-progressive role of the bourgeoisie today that it falls squarely to the communists to uphold the verdict of American history against slavery, while Democrats like 'Dixie Dianne' uphold the banner of black oppression" ("Black Militant Puts Dixie Flag on Trial," WV No. 357, 22 June 1984).

Dixiecrats Old and New

For the better part of a century, the Democrats, who had earlier been the main party of the Southern slavocracy, ruled the Jim Crow South with an iron fist supplemented by KKK terror. It was under Democratic Party state governments that Southern sheriffs savagely attacked civil rights marchers in the



John Herman Williams
Robert F. Williams (center) organized armed self-defense against KKK terror in Monroe, North Carolina in late 1950s.

1950s and '60s. It was a Democratic governor who brought out the flag of slavery in Georgia in 1956 to signal defiance of the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against segregation in public schools. Alabama followed suit, while Virginia simply closed down all public education for two years rather than see black and white children together. As Malcolm X said at the time, "A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat."

The civil rights movement profoundly altered the shape of bourgeois politics, blowing apart the Democrats' New Deal alliance between organized labor, Northern liberals and Southern segregationists. The 1964 Republican presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, who voted against



From left: Klan lynchers with liberal lawyer Norman Siegel, NYC, October 23; Democrats Al Sharpton and Scott Stringer defended racist terrorists' "rights"; Senator Charles Schumer at Democrats' rally for "tolerance" for KKK.

the Civil Rights Act, authored the "Southern strategy," persuading Southern Dixiecrats to defect to the Republicans. In every presidential election since then, the Democrats have centered their campaigns on getting back the white vote, desperately seeking to reverse the perception that they were beholden to blacks, labor and other "special interests."

The Democrats developed their own Southern strategy, successfully running Georgia governor Jimmy Carter for president in 1976. During his campaign, this "born again" racist publicly proclaimed his allegiance to "ethnic purity," a code word for racial segregation. Indelibly marking the Carter years was the November 1979 Greensboro Massacre, when a caravan of Klansmen and Nazis, including a paid government "informant," opened fire on an anti-Klan protest in North Carolina, killing five leftists and union organizers.

After 12 years of the Republican Reagan and Bush administrations, Clinton and his Democratic Leadership Council got the White House back in 1992 through his efforts to win back "Reagan Democrats." To this end, he deliberately attacked black rap artist Sister Souljah as being "anti-white" in order to embarrass Jesse Jackson, the leading black figure in the Democratic Party, and took time during his campaign to fly back to Arkansas to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector, posing with the cops at the prison for a photo op. Recognizing that Clinton was appealing to white racist voters far more than his Democratic predecessors in the 1980s had done, many blacks responded by staying away from the polls. After the Republicans won control of Congress in 1994, Clinton cynically turned for support to the Democratic Party's traditional constituencies of labor and blacks, bringing Jesse Jackson back into the inner circle. Jackson, of course, eagerly embraced his role of bringing back black voters to the Democrats.

It is the role of black Democrats like Jackson, Mfume and Sharpton to keep the black masses firmly in line behind the Democratic Party despite years of unmitigated attacks under Democratic administrations, going back to the Kennedy years when beleaguered civil rights field workers who mistakenly sought help from the FBI had the phone hung up on them by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The black bourgeois politicians have also served in the vanguard of the racist "war on crime" and "war on drugs." Continuing where his Republican predecessors left off, Clinton has presided over a qualitative rise in the prison population, particularly of black and Hispanic men, who make up a majority of prisoners. One-third of young black men are either imprisoned or in some other way en-



"We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"

See the video documenting the historic 1984 removal of the Confederate flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center! This bold campaign by the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense embodied our commitment to black liberation through socialist revolution. Video showings are planned. Contact your nearest Spartacist branch for locations and times.

WV Photo

snared in the racist injustice system; 35 years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, fully one in eight black men do not have the right to vote because of a felony conviction.

By next month, the number of those entombed in "democratic" America's prisons is due to reach two million, fully one-quarter of the world's prison population (Justice Policy Institute, "The Punishing Decade: Prison and Jail Estimates at the Millennium"). By some estimates, nearly half a million are behind bars for drug offenses, many on charges as minor as simple possession of marijuana. We call for the decriminalization of drugs and demand an end to all laws against consensual "crimes without victims." Alongside the astronomical growth of the prison population has come a massive increase in the rate of state murder by executions and expansion of the death penalty, which is a legacy of slavery and Southern lynch law. Abolish the racist death penalty!

While Gore and Bradley mouth pious statements against racism, both capitalist parties agree on pushing the racist death penalty and beefing up the number of racist cops terrorizing the ghettos. Joining black Democratic politicians in pushing the "anti-racist" credentials of Bradley and Gore are "progressive" intellectuals like Harvard's Cornel West, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, and Henry Louis Gates Jr. West has been stumping for Bradley, while Gates has come out for Gore. It was Gore who played the "race card" by first

making an issue of Willie Horton, a furloughed black prisoner who then allegedly committed a murder, in the 1988 Democratic presidential race against Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis. Gore baited Dukakis for being "soft on crime," by which he meant soft on



AP photos

Democratic Alabama governor George Wallace vowed, "Segregation forever." Birmingham police attack civil rights protesters, 1963.



black people. Horton then became the focal point of a viciously racist campaign by George Bush Senior on his way to winning the election against the "liberal" Dukakis.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

Jackson, Mfume and other black Democrats are representative of the thin layer of middle-class blacks who materially benefited from the civil rights movement. With American society racked by the fight for black equality and the burgeoning protests against the imperialist war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, the U.S. rulers moved to restabilize society—and the credibility of the Democratic Party—by co-opting a layer of black liberals and nationalists while unleashing murderous repression against the Black Panther Party and other radicals.

Today, Mfume's NAACP joins with city administrations throughout the country, and with many black politicians, to push for stricter gun control measures and for lawsuits against handgun manufacturers. This is in the service of the racist rulers' attempt to disarm the victims of racist attacks and the working class in general by eliminating the already attenuated right to bear arms. The whole history of this racist society shows: gun control kills blacks!

We remember the very different NAACP of Monroe, North Carolina, which under the leadership of ex-Marine Robert F. Williams successfully organized armed self-defense against KKK nightriders in the late 1950s in defiance of the liberal-pacifist civil rights leaders

like Martin Luther King Jr. and national NAACP head Roy Wilkins (see "Robert F. Williams, 1925-1996: Courageous Fighter Against Racist Terror," WV No. 655, 8 November 1996, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 14, January 1997). In his *Negroes with Guns* (1962), Williams recounted how he organized his chapter of the NAACP:

"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."

Williams' policy of organized armed self-defense against KKK violence ran counter to the passive resistance philosophy and liberal perspective of King & Co. The liberals preached "nonviolence" to black youth facing the deadly violence of the Southern sheriffs and Klansmen and sought to contain the civil rights struggles within the framework of "respectable" bourgeois politics. They presented the brutal beating and murder of civil rights militants as a "moral example" to pressure the liberal wing of the Democrats against the Dixiecrats, promoting reliance on the federal government under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. In this way, a mass movement for racial equality was derailed into bourgeois electoral politics. Many of the black activists of those years went on to become elected Democratic Party officials.

This was the period when the Spartacist League originated as the Revolution-

ary Tendency (RT)—a left opposition in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) fighting to uphold the Trotskyist program of revolutionary proletarian internationalism against the rightward-moving party leadership. A central component of the RT's opposition to the SWP leadership was the struggle for a *revolutionary integrationist* perspective, linking the tumultuous struggles for black equality to labor's fight against capitalism. Counterposed to liberal integrationism—the false view that blacks could achieve social equality within the confines of the American capitalist order by pressuring the Democratic Party—revolutionary integrationism is premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society, where white supremacy and racism, no longer serving the purpose of dividing the working class, will be things of the past. When the enormous productive resources of this country are used for the benefit of those who labor to produce them, the foundation will be laid for the full integration of blacks and the eradication of all social inequalities.

Having abandoned a revolutionary perspective, the SWP refused to intervene into the Southern civil rights struggles while initially tailing the liberal-pacifist King leadership and later advocating black nationalist separatism. Expelled from the SWP in 1963, the RT, within the limits of its small numbers, sought to intervene in these struggles in the North and in the South. We counterposed our proletarian program for black freedom to the liberals' reliance on the Democrats and intersected a layer of civil rights

continued on page 8

Spartacist/SYC Forums

1989-90—Revolution vs. Counterrevolution in Germany

NEW YORK

Saturday, January 29, 3 p.m.
322 W. 48th Street, 1st Floor
(E or C to 50th St., between 8th & 9th Ave.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

CHICAGO

Saturday, February 5, 3 p.m.
University of Illinois at Chicago
Rm. 613, Circle Center, 750 S. Halsted
For more information: (312) 454-4930

BAY AREA

Saturday, February 12, 7 p.m.
For more information: (510) 839-0851

Seattle WTO Protests Pushed Anti-Communism, American Chauvinism

Defend China Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Saturday, February 12, 3 p.m.

Harvard University, Science Center, Room 109

BOSTON

For more information: (617) 666-9453

Flag...

(continued from page 7)

militants fed up with King's liberalism. In the South, we advocated organized armed self-defense against the racist nightriders, publicizing and materially supporting such groups as the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana under the slogan, "Every Dime Buys a Bullet!" We called for a "workers united front against federal intervention," opposing both the use of federal troops to put down militant black struggles and the imposition of government anti-labor measures such as wage controls and anti-strike bills. We raised a series of transitional demands such as the call for a "Southern organizing drive backed by organized labor." In the 1966 document "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9), the Spartacist League stated:

"The struggle for black freedom demands the total break of the Negro people from the Democratic Party....

"Only by the development of a working-class program and by explicitly opening the door to support by white workers can real political independence be maintained, real gains won and the basis laid for eventual working-class political unity. This unity will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry.

"The creation of a South-wide Freedom Labor Party would serve as a tremendous impetus for similar action by Northern workers. The struggle for such a party would necessitate a rank-and-file revolt within the organized labor movement to overthrow the present labor bureaucracy."

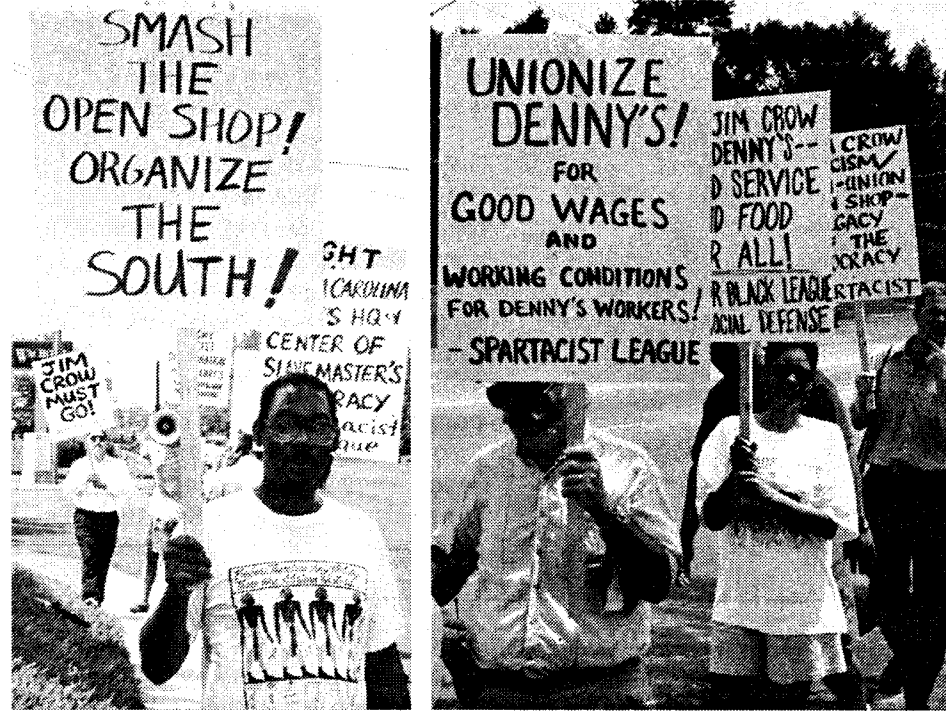
Organize the South!

This program is as vital today as it was over 30 years ago. The crucial importance of organizing the South is accentuated by the continuing flight of industrial production from the North and Midwest to the South to escape unions. One measure of changing demographics is that the majority of the black population once again lives in the South, with many returning from Northern and Midwest states following jobs as industry shifted. By 1990, North and South Carolina combined had more manufacturing production workers than any state except California, with both U.S. corporations and foreign firms like BMW flocking to take advantage of low wages and anti-union "right to work" laws. A factor behind opposition by some South Carolina corporate leaders to the Confederate flag is that the tumult over this bloody rag is bad for business.

Any struggle to organize unions in the "right to work" South will run head-on into the entrenched racism and extralegal terror which has long served to keep this

area union-free and greatly profitable for the capitalist exploiters. Only North Carolina has a lower proportion of unionized workers—4.2 percent—than South Carolina, where a bare 4.5 percent of wage and salary workers are in unions. What this means for the bosses' bottom line can be seen in the fact that the average manufacturing wage in South Carolina—

Last summer also saw the organizing victory of the UNITE textile workers in the anti-union bastion of Kannapolis, North Carolina. This victory for labor in the South was a contributing factor to the growth in union membership nationally last year, which climbed by more than a quarter million. Many of these newly unionized workers, in Kannapolis and



July 1993 protest in Atlanta was part of nationwide campaign organized by SL and Labor Black Leagues to demand, "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!"

\$10.54 per hour—is almost 25 percent lower than the national average.

The inseparable connection between labor's rights and black rights in the South was brought home during a union organizing drive at a Perdue chicken plant in Alabama in 1995, when plant supervisors burned a cross on company property to intimidate workers into voting against the union. But the bosses' "labor lieutenants" in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, because of their ties to the Democratic Party, refuse to mobilize union power in defense of black rights, thus reinforcing the deep racist divisions which the capitalists have long used to poison workers' consciousness and divide and weaken their struggles.

There are important anchors of union power in the South which can serve as launching pads for organizing drives throughout the region, including the Charleston ILA local now under attack by the government. Last year, United Steelworkers Local 8888 at the Newport News shipyard, a major military contractor, fought off management in a bitter four-month strike waged in the heat of the U.S./NATO war of imperialist aggression against Serbia. *Workers Vanguard* teams noted that you didn't see the Confederate flag anywhere near the picket lines of this integrated union.

elsewhere, are recent immigrants from Latin America, who are also in the cross hairs of the KKK terrorists. This points to the crucial need to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism and to mobilize labor against racist deportations and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Nevertheless, as we noted in "The Fight to Unionize the 'Open Shop' South" (*WV* No. 720, 1 October 1999), "Unions are built in struggle, not through ballots. And this is particularly evident in the South, with its panoply of anti-union 'right to work' laws enforced by vicious racist terror." In the main resolution of the Spartacist League's Ninth National Conference in 1994, we wrote:

"The unionization of the South cannot and will not have a narrowly economist character, nor will it likely emanate from the top echelons of the AFL-CIO. On the one side, the entire black community will tend to rally behind racially integrated workers fighting the local white power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the American ruling class will resort not only to the police, company goons and professional strike-breakers but, if hard pressed, also to the Klan and its ilk, while using racist demagoguery to turn backward white workers against the labor movement. In short, a union organizing drive in the South will become a major arena of political struggle between the oppressed black masses and the white ruling class."

This perspective requires a sharp struggle inside the unions against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which has

never undertaken a serious attempt to organize the South. Here more than anywhere else in the U.S., the support of the union tops to the Democratic Party serves to perpetuate violent racist oppression and brutal exploitation. It is necessary to fight for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions committed to the cause of black freedom and the political independence of labor from the Democrats and the capitalist government. Break with the Democrats—Forge a workers party! For a workers government!

A revolutionary workers party must act as a tribune of the people, fighting against every manifestation of injustice and oppression. Exemplifying this understanding was the nationwide united-front campaign organized by the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues in 1993 to demand "Down With Jim Crow at Denny's!" We organized pickets of restaurants of the Denny's chain—headquartered in Spartanburg, South Carolina—to protest their racist abuse of black and other minority customers. In contrast, the petty-bourgeois NAACP and Urban League sought "empowerment" by demanding black representation on Denny's board of directors, which would do nothing to change the restaurants' degrading treatment of thousands of black customers.

One speaker at the January 17 Columbia protest said that removing the Confederate flag from the statehouse would "bring an end to the Civil War." Indeed, everywhere that banner flies is a reminder that there is much unfinished business from the Civil War—the second American Revolution—to take care of. While the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s led to an end to formal Jim Crow segregation, it is an indication of how little has fundamentally changed for the black masses in the "New South" that the hated banner of slavery continues to fly throughout the region. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

To achieve black freedom will require a third American revolution, placing in power a workers government committed to building a socialist economy with genuine equality. One of the first acts of a revolutionary proletarian regime would be to tear down every last Confederate flag and monument and replace them with the red flag of the working class and monuments to *our* heroes: from Denmark Vesey, an emancipated slave executed in 1822 for organizing a slave insurrection in Charleston, to the radical abolitionist Grimké sisters, to the black Union troops of the Massachusetts 54th who fell in heroic battle on the South Carolina coast in 1863, to the countless working men and women who gave their lives in the fight to establish unions in the South. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860
Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

Public Office:
Tues. 5-9 p.m.
and Sat. 12-3 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St.
Suite 904

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Public Office:
Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

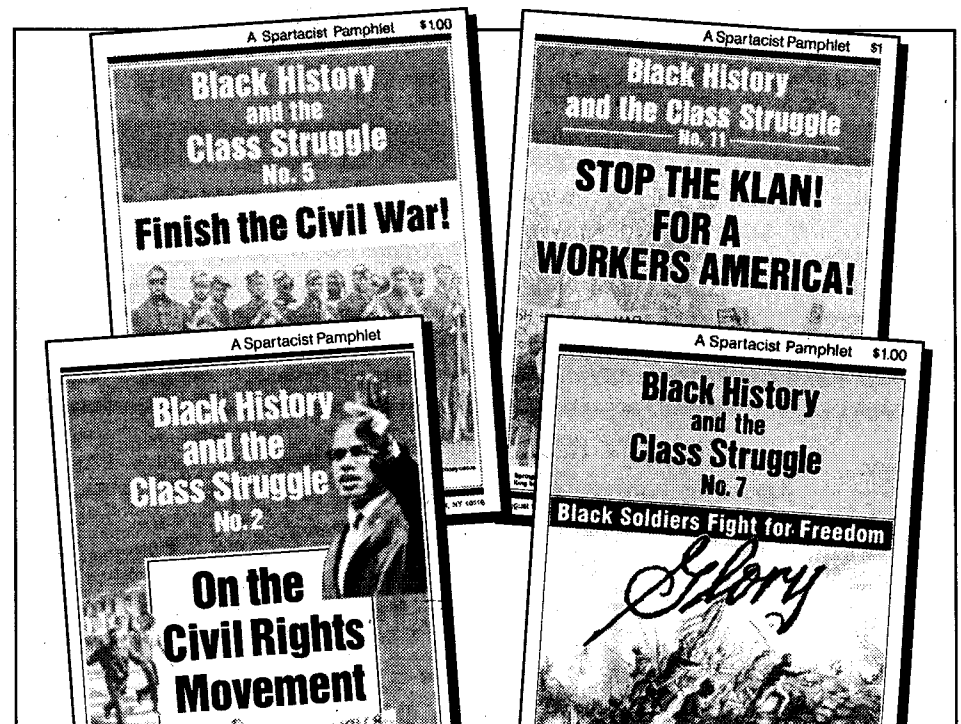
San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 395-9520

Public Office:
Sat. 11 a.m.-1 p.m.
564 Market St., Suite 718

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353



No. 2: 75¢ (32 pages), No. 5: \$1 (32 pages), No. 7: \$1 (40 pages), No. 11: \$1 (48 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

the newly elected Labour government sent hundreds of troops and RUC into Garvaghy Road to clear the way for the Orange march. We issued a leaflet denouncing this atrocity headlined: "Labour Government Has Blood on Its Hands!"

Although the Orangemen were banned from marching down Garvaghy Road the last two years, the Catholic residents have been subjected to an annual siege by the army, the RUC and thousands-strong Loyalist mobs. The 1998 siege ended only after the murder of three young children, the Quinn brothers, in Ballymoney when Loyalists petrol-bombed their home in the dead of night. A book titled *Garvaghy—A Community Under Siege* (by Garvaghy Residents [1999]) describes what happened next:

"A couple of days later the barricades were removed from the Garvaghy Road. As far as the police and the British government were concerned, the siege was over for another year. But this is not true. We, the nationalist people are under siege every day of the year, confined to a nationalist enclave, no amenities in our area, no cash point machines, no medical centre. All amenities, like the swimming pool, are in Loyalist areas. There is no access to the town centre at night. Children are afraid to wear their school uniforms, because if someone recognises that they go to a Catholic school, they will be beaten up.... The siege of nationalist Portadown goes on!"

In March 1999, Rosemary Nelson was murdered by a bomb placed in her car. A Catholic resident of Portadown and prominent lawyer, she represented the Hamill family and had begun to prosecute the RUC officers who watched Robert Hamill being killed. She represented the Garvaghy Road residents in legal battles against Orange parades. She had given evidence to a UN special reporter that she had received several death threats from the RUC via her clients. The UN investigation covered RUC/Loyalist death threats against lawyers, which were first brought to light by the 1989 murder of another prominent Catholic lawyer, Pat Finucane.

Portadown is a segregated town, close to where the Orange Order was founded at the end of the 18th century as a battering ram against any unity between Protestants and Catholics. The young industrial proletariat concentrated in Belfast waged mighty battles at the beginning of the 20th century, culminating in the engineering strike in 1919. This strike was a powerful illustration of the power of the integrated working class, consisting of mainly Protestant workers led by a Catholic. It was defeated by a massive wave of sectarian pogroms against Catholics (and violent attacks on Protestant shop stewards) which prepared the ground for partition.

Pro-Labour "Socialists" Toadying for Imperialism

British self-styled "socialist" groups loyal to Labour are shameless touts for imperialism and the "peace" fraud. The Socialist Workers Party's (SWP—co-thinkers of the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.) support to imperialism in Northern Ireland extends back to 1969 when they supported the introduction of British troops, asserting that: "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but

vital" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969). They rarely mention the army's presence today, much less call for troops out in their British press, however their paper in Ireland mentions it in the "where we stand" column. For revolutionaries in Britain this is an elementary act of opposition to one's "own" bourgeoisie, which for the reformist SWP is reason to drop it. Meanwhile they pay lip service to it in Ireland where the troops are unpopular.

The SWP in Britain and Ireland greeted the Unionist-dominated Executive with a huge headline "It Is Time for Class Politics" and enthused about the possibility for "the rejection of sectarianism" and the "re-emergence of class politics" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 December 1999). A month before, their press boasted (in Britain, but not in Ireland) that SWP honcho Pat Stack took part in a "debate" with Billy Hutchinson of the fascist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The event, "Socialism 2000" in Glasgow, was organised by the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP). Another speaker was...a superintendent of Strathclyde Police. The SSP are persistent champions of Hutchinson and, like the SWP, are wretched pro-imperialist Labourites. The UVF's sole



UPI
Early 20th century Irish revolutionary leader James Larkin opposed British imperialism, fought for class unity of Protestant and Catholic workers.

purpose is murder of Catholics and gruesome terror. The contemptible "socialists" who see fit to "debate" Loyalist killers illustrate where support to one's "own" bourgeoisie leads. They support the imperialist "peace" which rests on the RUC, the army and the Loyalist death squads. This is reformism in its true colours—promoting the "democratic" credentials of imperialism, including its fascist auxiliaries.

This Loyalist-"socialist"-cop confab took place a few weeks after files on more than 300 Catholics were found in a County Antrim Orange Hall, no doubt on their way from the RUC/army to the likes of Hutchinson's gangs. We say: Smash the UVF and fascist Loyalist forces! We call for an integrated workers militia to defend both Catholics and Protestants against sectarian attacks. Such a militia, incorporating both Catholic and Protestant workers, must combat sectarian terror, from Loyalist forces as well as Irish nationalists, and must be led by cadres of the revolutionary vanguard party.

When instances of integrated working-class struggle do arise, intervention by



Workers Hammer
Spartacist League/Britain fights for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland.

the communist vanguard will make a decisive difference to the outcome. In 1993, 1,000 workers at Belfast's Shorts factory who are mainly Protestant walked out in protest at the murder of a Catholic co-worker by the UVF. This was a potential opening to intervene and transcend the sectarian spiral. It was wrecked by the IRA's Shankill bomb a few weeks later, an atrocity which killed nine Protestant shoppers.

Workers Revolution Will Overthrow Irish Capitalism!

Successive Dublin governments have been key to the success of U.S. and British imperialism's efforts to broker a deal about the North. Irish *taoiseach* (prime minister) Bertie Ahern eagerly played this role, as did Labour when in government prior to 1997. The Irish Labour Party relished sucking up to U.S. and British imperialist politicians and to the Ulster Loyalists. The Irish government has now removed Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution. Marxists did not support this irredentist claim that sovereignty over Northern Ireland rested with Dublin, which was written into the 1937 Irish constitution by Eamonn DeValera as a deliberate ploy to whip up nationalist fervour. However, we recognise that it was relinquished to smooth the reactionary deal at the expense of the Northern Catholics.

In 1998 Tony Blair became the first British prime minister to address the Dail [Irish parliament] and now the Dublin government are to receive an official visit by Queen Elizabeth, the first visit to Ireland since independence by a reigning British monarch. As Dublin politicians bow and scrape before England's sacred cow, the point will not be lost on Northern Catholics that she recently awarded the RUC the George Cross, one of British imperialism's highest awards, for "gallantry."

Recent developments in Anglo-Irish relations are a product of counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union. Rivalries between imperialist powers have again come to the fore and competition between the U.S. and Germany is apparent over the EU and NATO. U.S. imperialism has a keen interest in cementing a deal between London and Dublin, hence they assigned former Senator George Mitchell to oversee the Northern Ireland deal. The Irish state is preparing for entry into NATO, which means being in a common military alliance with Britain. In December Ireland joined the "Partnership for Peace" (PfP), the anteroom for NATO. Banging the nationalist drum, the Irish government refused to join NATO in 1949 because "the continuance of partition precludes us from taking our rightful place in the affairs of Europe" (quoted in J.J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985* [1989]). Subsequent governments have maintained that Ireland's defence policy is "neutral." This is a nationalist myth. There was nothing neutral about Ireland's attitude towards NATO's anti-Soviet Cold War. This was summed up as: "to preserve Christian civilisation" and support "those powers primarily charged with the defence of 'the free world' against communism" (F.S.L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine* [1971]). Today over 900 Irish troops form part of imperialist "peace-

keeping" missions from Lebanon to the Balkans to East Timor. We demand: Irish/UN troops out of Lebanon! British/Irish and all imperialist troops out of the Balkans, the Near East and East Timor! Smash NATO through workers revolution! The Irish state's entry into PfP means it will increase its participation in imperialist wars and will strengthen its forces for repression against the working class and oppressed at home.

The Irish Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy tie the working class to the capitalist state. They are complicit in maintaining Catholic church domination of everything from schools to hospitals and are steeped in the hideous oppression of women. Their function is to convince workers to accept wage restraints in the "national interest," i.e., in the interests of the bourgeoisie which is making exorbitant profits at the expense of the proletariat. Class-collaborationist agreements like "Partnership 2000" are instrumental in securing these fat profits. Wages are low and unemployment remains high despite economic expansion. "Partnership" between the working class and the capitalists is a lie: their interests are irreconcilable.

There is simmering discontent among the proletariat in the South where the oppression of women remains potentially explosive. There is opposition in the society to the virulent racism directed against refugees and Travellers. Abortion is illegal in Northern Ireland as well as in the South. We call for the right to free abortion on demand! For the separation of church and state! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! The Dublin Spartacist Group raised these demands in a leaflet for last October's strike by 27,500 nurses, who are mainly women, the largest strike since the state was founded. We seek to transcend racial and ethnic divisions of the working class in the context of class struggle. The leaflet called for full citizenship rights for immigrants and also noted: "Successful class struggle against the clericalist state in the South would also find great resonance among both Catholic and Protestant workers in the North." While Catholic workers in Northern Ireland earn 15 per cent less than Protestant workers and are more likely to be unemployed, conditions for Protestant workers are dire as well. The overall industrial decline of British imperialism has impacted heavily on Northern Ireland.

Over twenty years ago in "Theses on Ireland," we noted:

"We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. While the establishment of a united workers state of the whole island may be preferable, the above demand is algebraic, leaving open the question of where the Protestants fall.... Placing the demand in the context of a socialist federation has the additional advantage of highlighting the essential relationship of the proletarian revolution in the whole area and the virtual impossibility of the resolution of the Irish question on a working-class basis outside this framework."

—Spartacist No. 24,
Autumn 1977

Down with the imperialist "peace" deal! British troops out now! For workers revolution both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea! ■

Socialist Worker TUC victory
Scanlon and
Jones must
take action

11 September 1969

DEFEND the BARRICADES
No peace until Stormont goes

EDITORIAL
FOR A BRIGHT future
we must fight the
forces of reaction,
the forces of the
imperialist system,
the forces of the
bourgeoisie.

The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists.

Hurricane...

(continued from page 12)

favorable reviews, *The Hurricane* has provoked fierce criticism by some bourgeois mouthpieces who seize on minor factual discrepancies in order to discredit Carter's fight for freedom and with it the notion that black people are framed up in American courts. Liberal director Jewison feeds into this by conveying the message in *The Hurricane* that justice will ultimately prevail under this capitalist system, which is racist to the core.

Carter himself has long been active in the fight for Jamal's freedom, endorsing and speaking at defense rallies initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee beginning in March 1995. Carter also endorsed the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23. In a recent statement on Mumia, Carter said: "Jail-house stool pigeons, jury tampering, jury fixing, paid criminals for perjured testimonies, the manufacturing of evidence by police departments, the lies in the seat of government itself. That's what Mumia Abu-Jamal is in prison for. That's what I was in prison for." While various liberals and fake leftists today focus on calls for a new trial for Jamal, the frame-up of Carter and Artis through two trials and numerous court appeals underlines that there is no justice in the capitalist courts! **Free Mumia now!**

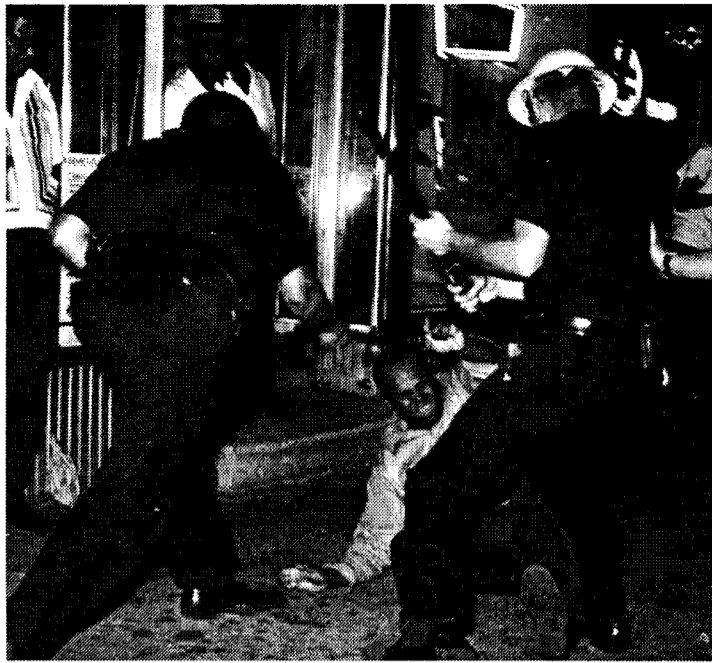
From Jersey to Johannesburg

The Hurricane claims to be based on Carter's autobiographical *The Sixteenth Round* and on *Lazarus and the Hurricane* (1991), written by Canadians Sam Chaiton and Terry Swinton. Absent from the movie, however, is any reference to the turbulent social struggles of the 1960s and Carter's increasing involvement in the black freedom struggle.

In the mid-1960s, ghettos across the country erupted in response to cop terror and grinding racist oppression, beginning with Harlem in the summer of 1964. By the time an off-duty cop gunned down 15-year-old James Powell in cold blood in July 1964, Harlem's residents were becoming politicized and organized, engaging in school boycotts protesting segregation, staging demonstrations against cop terror and rent strikes against slumlords in which thousands formed tenants councils. When people took to the streets to protest Powell's killing, the cops moved in to crush the black masses.

The newly formed Spartacist group sought to give organized expression to the anger of the Harlem masses and to rally working-class support to the side of the besieged inner city. The Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee organized a rally of nearly one thousand largely black and Hispanic workers in the center of New York's garment district around the slogans "Remove the Rioting Cops from Harlem" and "Support the Right of the Citizens of the Ghetto to Defend Themselves."

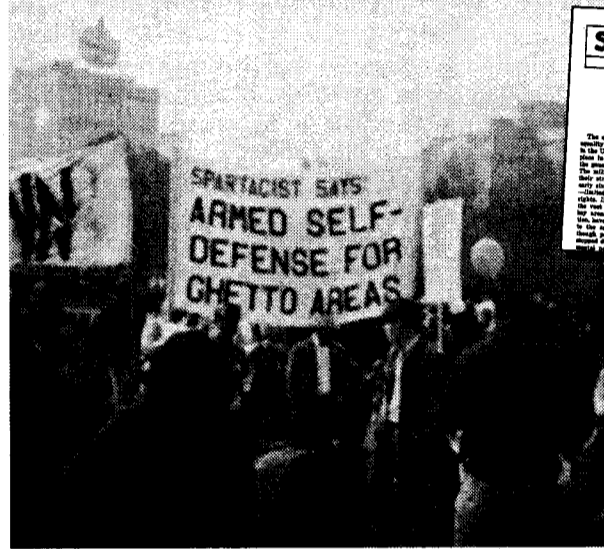
Unlike the liberal Martin Luther King Jr., who preached nonviolence to the black masses while supporting police



AP

suppression of ghetto upheavals as in Watts in 1965, Rubin Carter did not believe in "turning the other cheek" against racist terror. In response to the murderous cop occupation of Harlem, Carter (as he recounts in *The Sixteenth Round*) told a *Saturday Evening Post* reporter: "When scores of children were being trampled, stomped, and mutilated by a legion of club-wielding police—while other cops held their guns to the

Spartacist



children's heads—the black community should have arisen right then and fought to their death in the streets, if it was necessary. Because self-protection is the absolute right of every living being on the face of the earth."

From the moment the *Saturday Evening Post* ran Carter's advocacy of armed self-defense, painting it as a call for killing cops, he was a marked man. *Hurricane* was repeatedly hauled in by the Paterson cops on traffic citations and other bogus charges and harassed by police in just about every city where he went to box. In his book, Carter recalls being ordered down to police headquarters as soon as he arrived in Los Angeles, where he was told by the chief of police, "We knew you were coming, boy; the F.B.I. had you pegged every foot of the way."

Carter increasingly chose to box abroad. In the weeks leading up to a 1965 fight in South Africa, his guide was



Wide World

Harlem, 1964: Murderous cop occupation was aimed at quelling ghetto unrest as residents were becoming organized and politicized. Right: Progressive Labor leader Bill Epton and radical attorney Conrad Lynn preparing to march against cop terror in defiance of police ban.

Steve Biko, an 18-year-old anti-apartheid activist who went on to become a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement and was murdered by his apartheid jailers in 1977. Carter was determined to aid the black freedom struggle in South Africa. At great personal risk, he bought enough guns when he returned home to fill four duffel bags, delivering them to the outlawed African National Congress when he returned to South Africa in Feb-

only "evidence" the cops had was a statement *four months after the fact* by two local criminals, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, "identifying" Carter and Artis as the killers. Bello and Bradley, who were supposedly carrying out a burglary near the bar when the shootings took place and had themselves been suspects in the killings, became the state's chief "witnesses." In return, the burglary charges against the two were dropped and they were given a \$10,500 reward.

The trial was a sham from beginning to end. The state's case rested on the bought lies of Bello and Bradley. Most of the defense witnesses were intimidated by cops and prosecutors into silence, some leaving town or going into hiding. In May 1967, Carter and Artis were convicted by an all-white jury, in a city with a population which is one-third black.

The movie gives a compelling portrait of Carter's determined fight to clear his name and preserve his humanity inside the prison hellholes. Carter resisted submitting to the prison regime, refusing to wear prison clothes or shave his beard. As a consequence, he was subjected to the first of many trips to the "hole"—the prison within the prison—solitary confinement in a bare concrete room devoid of light or furniture, except for a slop bucket for a toilet and a stone slab for a "bed." In one scene, Carter is shown preparing to take on a gang of prison guards to prevent them from searching his cell and confiscating the manuscript of his autobiography, *The Sixteenth Round*, which would be critical to winning public support. This calls to mind efforts by prison officials to censor Jamal's prison commentaries, which have been instrumental in publicizing his cause and keeping him alive.

Seven years after the trial, Bello and Bradley admitted to *New York Times* reporter Raab and an investigator working for Carter that their testimony was a lie. Just before going public with the story, Raab was threatened by cop De Simone, who warned him: "I have a bad heart. If I go out, maybe you'll be going with me." In September 1974, Raab's exposé appeared on the front page of the *Times* and Carter's autobiography hit the bookstands.

Movie stars, popular sports figures and prominent bourgeois politicians—from Harry Belafonte and Johnny Cash to Coretta Scott King and Jesse Jackson, Newark mayor Kenneth Gibson and then-Congressman Ed Koch, who went on to preside over a reign of racist cop terror as mayor of New York—flocked to Carter's cause. Muhammad Ali became co-chair of Carter's defense committee, which included future heavyweight champion Joe Frazier. Bob Dylan's song "The Hurricane" brought the case to a whole generation of youth. In October 1975, the New Jersey Supreme Court ordered a new trial.

The second trial was an even greater travesty than the first. The prosecution got Bello to repudiate his admission of perjury, while suppressing a polygraph test which showed this repudiation to be a lie. Bradley was locked away on old



Spartacist fought for revolutionary proletarian perspective in 1960s struggles for black equality, sought to mobilize working class in solidarity with besieged ghetto masses.

ruary 1966 for another bout—which he won with an eighth-round knockout.

The police/FBI surveillance of Carter was part of a massive program of government spying and terror against black activists which targeted even pro-Democratic Party liberals like King. In the 1960s, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover proclaimed: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." The deadliest barrage of the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation was leveled against the Black Panther Party—38 were killed by the cops and FBI, countless others were framed up and imprisoned. Among the latter was Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was in the cross hairs of the FBI from the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Philadelphia Panthers in 1969.

Two Trials, Two Travesties

A few months after Carter returned from South Africa, the Paterson cops seized on the fatal shooting of two men and a woman at the Lafayette Bar and Grill to go after him. As he and Artis left a black nightclub nearby, they were stopped by police "looking for two Negroes in a white car." Denzel Washington's Carter quips in the movie, "Will any two do?" When Carter and Artis passed lie-detector tests and eye-witnesses failed to identify them as the alleged killers, the cops released them, declaring that they had never been suspects.

Four months later, Carter and Artis were charged with the murders. The cops had never dusted the murder scene for fingerprints, nor found the murder weapons, nor taken paraffin tests of alleged suspects immediately after the killings to determine if they had fired a gun. The

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- New Renewal
- \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____
 Address _____
 Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

728
 Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

charges for the duration of the trial. Having presented *no* motive for the triple slaying in the first trial, the prosecution "discovered" one nine years later by pointing to the social unrest of the 1960s and Carter's militant views. Arguing that "in 1966 there were many blacks with legitimate grievances," the liberal Passaic County prosecutor claimed that Carter and Artis had been driven by "revenge" for the killing of a black bartender earlier the same night.

Carter and Artis were convicted a second time and again sentenced to life terms. It was only thanks to the commitment of a handful of individuals that Carter was finally exonerated and freed in 1985. The story of how Chaiton and Swinton, authors of *Lazarus and the Hurricane*, got involved in Carter's defense is a significant part of the movie. Working in Brooklyn in the summer of 1979, the two Canadians befriended a black ghetto teenager, Lesra Martin. Chaiton and Swinton took Lesra back to Toronto and taught him how to read. Among the books the black youth read was *The Sixteenth Round*. Captivated by Hurricane's story, Lesra started a correspondence with him and interested his Canadian "family" in



AP
Sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos raise "black power" salute at 1968 Mexico City Olympics in defiant protest of racist oppression in U.S.

Carter's cause. Along with roommate Lisa Peters, Chaiton, and Swinton moved to New Jersey to join with Carter's lawyers to fight for his freedom.

Carter's conviction was finally overturned in 1985 by U.S. district court judge H. Lee Sarokin in what we described at the time as an "unusual and courageous decision" ("Hurricane Carter Must Not Go Back to Jail!", WV No. 391, 15 November 1985). Sarokin wrote: "The extensive record clearly demonstrates that petitioner's convictions were predicated upon an appeal to racism rather than reason, and concealment rather than disclosure." Carter was released from prison, but it was not until 1988 that the prosecution ceased its vindictive effort to put him back behind bars for the remainder of his life.

Long before Carter was freed, his liberal and celebrity supporters had deserted him in droves. Having gotten the new trial they had demanded, they were satisfied by Carter's reconviction that justice had

been served. Few turned out for the trial and there were no mass protests. This is alluded to in the film when Carter's lawyers question Chaiton and Swinton's commitment to the case, explaining that all of the "famous and infamous" who once attached themselves to Carter have since abandoned him.

Even after Hurricane's release, the black liberal *Amsterdam News* (16 November 1985) peddled the line of the cops and prosecutors, portraying Carter as a "bad dude" who was "capable" of committing the murders. In a protest letter to the paper (which it refused to publish), the PDC wrote: "It is particularly indecent for the *Amsterdam News*, a newspaper which promotes itself as 'the new Black view,' to join the vindictive prosecution attempt to railroad Carter back to that prison hellhole for life.... The *Amsterdam News*' 'new Black view' is just the tired old con game of binding blacks to the Democratic Party of racist pig Ed Koch" ("Hands Off Hurricane Carter!", WV No. 392, 29 November 1985). The same con game was evident last October as *Amsterdam News* publisher Elinor Tatum joined black Democrat Al Sharpton in going to court to defend the KKK's "right" to rally for racist genocide in New York City.

Free Mumia Now!

Liberals like director Norman Jewison seek to paint injustices like the frame-up of Hurricane Carter as an aberration and argue the lie that "the truth will set you free" and that justice will ultimately prevail. Similarly, the film features a prison guard who befriends Carter, falsely portraying the role of these enforcers of capitalist rule who brutalize the prison population. Thus the film's closing sequence shows Carter looking up from the courthouse steps to see the gray skies suddenly break as the sun (and god) shine down. But if truth alone were sufficient, Carter would never have spent a day in stir, and Jamal would have been back on the streets of Philadelphia nearly two decades ago. What kind of "justice" is it that steals nearly 20 years of a man's life on the basis of concocted "evidence" and rigged juries? The truth is that Hurricane Carter is a living condemnation of the capitalist state and the racist injustice of its courts. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (*Black History* No. 15, August 1998):

"This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. This is part of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, and as Marxists we understand that it will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this machinery of state terror whose purpose is to keep profits and interest payments flowing into the coffers of Wall Street."

Based on this Marxist understanding, the PDC and Spartacist League place no reliance on the capitalist courts and all confidence in the working class. In the 13 years since the PDC took up Mumia's cause, we have publicized his case and his writings internationally and initiated numerous labor-centered united-front



Spartacist Canada
Carter at March 1995 PDC rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Toronto.

rallies to demand his freedom and abolition of the racist death penalty, the lynch rope made legal. While seeking to draw in the broadest possible forces behind Jamal's fight, we have fought for a perspective centered on mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class. But if labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on behalf of Jamal, it must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state and the capitalist political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—that have worked for years to frame up and execute this innocent man.

Counterposed to a class-struggle fight for Mumia's freedom, an array of reformist "socialists" have focused on the call for a "new trial," among them the International Socialist Organization, Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Communist Party and Solidarity. Behind this call is a political program premised on the belief that the capitalist state can be reformed and that the bourgeois courts can be pressured to be "just." Thus these fake socialists foster illusions in the courts which kept Carter in jail for two decades and have turned down Jamal's appeals on a number of occasions. Watching *The Hurricane* and seeing Carter dragged through a second frame-up trial should give pause to many leftist youth who might have been hoodwinked by the call for a new trial for Jamal.

All these groups appeal to "mainstream" bourgeois liberals—i.e., the Democratic Party—whose concern is to bolster the "integrity" of the capitalist "justice" system in the face of evident travesties like the kangaroo court which railroaded Mumia to death row. Many of these liberals would have no qualms about seeing Mumia locked away for life or even executed if only there could be an appearance of "justice." Explicitly pandering to this sentiment, Solidarity's *Against the Current* (February 1999) published in its "What We Can Do to Build the Struggle" column the grotesque call: "Demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and that no execution take place until after a new trial is held." So once these reformists get the new trial they want and Jamal is "justly" convicted, presumably they will be able to watch his legal lynching with a free conscience!

This is what comes of looking to

pressure Clinton's Democratic Party to oppose racist injustice and oppression. Commenting on Clinton's invitation to Carter to watch a screening of *The Hurricane* at the White House, Carter defense attorney Leon Friedman wrote in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (10 January):

"President Clinton called it an honor to welcome him and praised him for his courage and persistence in fighting the unjust conviction. No one present commented on the incongruity of these words. It was Mr. Clinton who signed a bill in 1996 that may make it virtually impossible for another unjustly convicted prisoner to find justice in the way Hurricane Carter did."

Indeed, the 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act," which massively expands the federal death penalty and guts the fundamental right of *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts against unconstitutional state court proceedings, was explicitly aimed at ruling out any chance for freedom for those like Rubin Carter. This point was made explicitly in a 7 June 1995 debate on the floor of Congress as recorded in the Republican Policy Committee's "Record Vote Analysis":

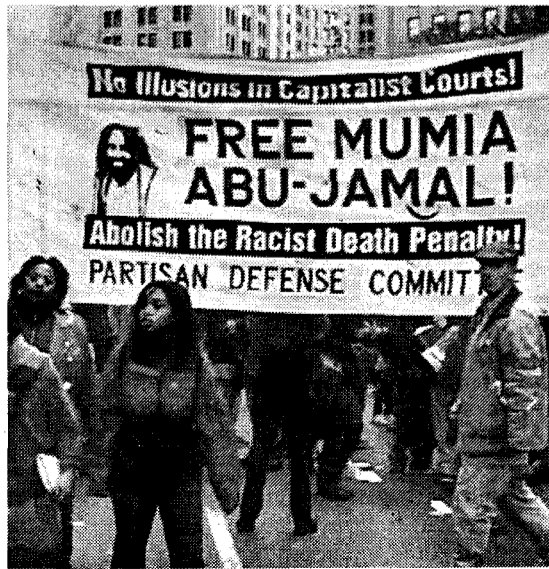
"Cases such as the Rubin Carter case, which our colleagues have mentioned, hardly make the case for allowing Federal review. In that case, this man who had been twice convicted of three murders and whose convictions had been repeatedly upheld on appeal was released by one of the most liberal judges on the Federal bench.... Frankly, we want courts that are concerned with justice not compassion."

More than three decades after the frame-up of Hurricane Carter and the ghetto upheavals of the 1960s, the inner cities of capitalist America remain hell-holes of poverty, desperation and unbridled racist cop terror. According to government statistics, in 1998 over a quarter of the black population was living below the official poverty line. Under the Clinton administration, the chasm between rich and poor has widened even more than during the Reagan/Bush years. To suppress the seething discontent bred by poverty and oppression, the bourgeoisie has greatly augmented its apparatus of brutal repression, placing tens of thousands of additional racist killer cops on the streets with ever more deadly high-tech weaponry.

The fight to defend black rights and defeat the frame-up system can only go forward through breaking working people and minorities from the capitalist Democratic Party and forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Under revolutionary leadership, the social power of organized labor linked to the anger of the ghettos can and will spell the end of the rule of capital and its marauding cops in America through victorious proletarian socialist revolution. While seeking to wield every legal weapon in defense of class-war prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal, we know that the fight for their freedom must be linked to labor's class war against the very system of brutal exploitation and racist repression these barbaric institutions serve. **Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■



WV Photos
NYC, October 23: Workers World's International Action Center and other reformists push illusions in capitalist "justice" with call for new trial for Mumia. We fight to mobilize labor/black power to free Mumia.



WORKERS VANGUARD

The Frame-Up of Hurricane Carter

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

The Hurricane

A Review, by Reuben Samuels

The Hurricane brings to the screen the dramatic story of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, the onetime middleweight boxing contender who was the victim of a vicious racist frame-up that destroyed his career, his health and his marriage. Starring Denzel Washington as Carter and directed by Norman Jewison (with Carter's participation), the movie depicts Carter's heroic 20-year fight for freedom from behind the stone walls and steel bars of New Jersey prisons. Together with his friend, John Artis, Carter was railroaded to prison on charges of committing a triple murder in a Paterson, New Jersey bar in 1966. Carter's conviction had nothing to do with the alleged crime and everything to do with his political views.

"The powers that be will only allow a black man to be an entertainer or a criminal," Carter said in a 1975 *Penthouse* interview from prison. "But when I didn't want to see people brutalized any longer—and when I'd speak out against that brutality, no matter who committed the brutality, black people or white people—I was harassed for my beliefs." The racist rulers targeted Carter the minute he stepped out of his role as a boxer in the 1960s to advocate black militancy, in particular the right to armed self-defense. As with Muhammad Ali, stripped of his heavyweight crown and banished from boxing for three years at the prime of his career because of his opposition to the



John Artis and Rubin "Hurricane" Carter after sentencing in 1967. Muhammad Ali (in forefront) led 1975 protest for Carter and Artis in Trenton, New Jersey.

Vietnam War, Carter's very prominence in the sports world made him all the more dangerous in the eyes of the racist rulers.

A Hollywood film depicting a blatant racist frame-up is a rare and welcome occurrence. However, the movie paints the capitalist state's vendetta against Carter as the work of one rogue cop, Lieutenant Vincent DeSimone (called Vincent Della Pesca in the movie). This has been noted even by bourgeois journalists like Selwyn Raab, who as an investigative reporter for the *New York*

Times in the mid-1970s broke the story about the state's bribery of key witnesses in the Carter/Artis case. Commenting on the movie in a contribution in the *Times* (28 December 1999), Raab writes: "The convictions were obtained not by a lone, malevolent investigator but by a network of detectives, prosecutors and judges who countenanced the suppression and tainting of evidence and the injection of racial bias into the courtroom."

A movie about the case of Rubin Carter and John Artis couldn't be more timely.

The Hurricane hit the theaters at a time when "racial profiling" of black motorists is pervasive on the highways in New Jersey and around the country, when an entire generation of young black men has been criminalized, when more death row inmates were sent to the execution chambers in 1999 than in any year since 1951. It also comes as death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal enters a crucial stage of his 18-year fight to win his freedom. Not surprisingly, amid generally

continued on page 10

Evanston, Illinois

Hundreds Rout Fascist Hale at Northwestern!

We print below a January 22 leaflet issued by the Chicago Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club following the successful action that drove fascist Matthew Hale of the "World Church of the Creator" off Northwestern University campus.

A person's class position often plays a big role in how that person views social

Young Spartacus

relations in society. Petty-bourgeois students, particularly at elite universities like Northwestern, often define fascism as an extreme extension of racist ideology. However, fascists like Matthew Hale are not about ideological debate, but are organizers of paramilitary action groups that target blacks, Jews, gays, and other minorities for genocidal terror. They are not to be ignored, boycotted and left to recruit for their murderous program, but *stopped* through the mobilization of the multiracial working class at the head of all the fascists' intended victims.



January 21: SL, SYC, Labor Black Struggle League gave organized expression to over 200 protesters against fascist Matthew Hale at Northwestern University. Photo placard commemorates former NU basketball coach Ricky Byrdson, murdered by one of Hale's Nazis last July.

Fascist terror is integral to the capitalist order. So long as the capitalists can maintain some modicum of class peace, they will keep their fascist dogs leashed.

However, when faced with a surge of class struggle that threatens the rule of capital, the ruling class will not flinch from mobilizing the fascists to maintain

bourgeois order and smash all organizations of the proletariat, just as the German bourgeoisie did in 1933.

Fascism in America, historically represented by the Klan, means race-terror against blacks and minorities, and maintaining entire areas as anti-union bastions. The particular targeting by fascist groups like the Klan of organizations of the working class, like the trade unions, stems from the fact that unions are multiracial formations with the potential to challenge capitalist austerly. It is no accident that the American South, which still flies the Confederate flag of slavery and Klan terror, has the lowest unionization rate in the nation and some of the worst working conditions for all workers. The defense of the rights of blacks and other minorities and the fight against fascist terror cannot be separated from the fight for the rights of labor. What is necessary to stop the race-terrorists like the Nazis and the KKK for good is a workers revolution, led by a revolutionary workers party that rips industry from the hands of

continued on page 4