

Roll Back Bosses' Offensive! Defend Immigrants Against Racist Attacks!

Workers Struggle Across Europe



Milano, October 28: Workers out in force during 4-hour general strike in Italy against layoffs and unemployment. Reuters

At the end of October, militant Air France strikers surged onto the runways of Paris airports and sent the French government reeling. The combative strikers stopped planes and battled it out with riot police, soon becoming "total masters of the place" in the words of the authoritative Paris paper *Le Monde*. Inspired by their courage and determination, other workers sought to join the strike. "This is not a strike but a revolt,"

remarked the French transport minister. The conservative cabinet of Prime Minister Balladur capitulated, scrapping its "restructuring" plan to slash thousands of jobs. For the first time in years, European workers backed down the bosses' offensive. The victory of the Air France strike boosted the confidence of workers internationally—including having an impact on airline workers in the U.S.—and unleashed a storm of class

struggle that is reverberating across much of the continent.

London's *Financial Times* (1 November 1993) summed up the impact: "Workers across Europe appear to have taken strength from the spectacular victory of Air France employees.... In Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and France, employers are facing increasing militancy as they demand job cuts and flexibility." Very soon this fighting spirit

was expressed in a series of sharp labor battles. On November 24, striking coal miners in Metz, France fought a pitched battle with the police. The next day, hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers took to the streets to protest the Socialist government's wage-slashing "social pact." And on November 26, a one-day strike in Belgium against a government austerity plan shut the country *continued on page 4*

Army Slaughters Peasants—25 Years After '68 Massacre Revolt Against NAFTA in Southern Mexico

MEXICO CITY, January 4—On New Year's Day, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—through which U.S. imperialism seeks a wholesale takeover of Mexico—officially went into effect. In protest against the NAFTA rape of Mexico, in the early hours of January 1 an insurgent force numbering upward of 2,000 peasants took over a series of towns in the southern

state of Chiapas, including the historic city of San Cristóbal de las Casas. Spokesmen for the rebels denounced the treaty as a "death sentence for Mexico's Indian ethnic groups, which the government of [Mexican president] Carlos Salinas de Gortari views as dis-

pensable." While there are conflicting reports from the region, the revolt continues as *WV* goes to press, with fighting 10 miles outside the state capital of Tuxtla Gutiérrez.

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) targeted symbols of racist repression against southern Mexico's Indian population, long terrorized in a virtual apartheid system enforced by the gun thugs and *caciques* (rural bosses) who serve the self-styled "Spanish" elite of cattle ranchers and coffee planters. Insurgents burned headquarters and archives of the "Justice" department, freed hundreds of prisoners from local jails, and commandeered stores of food and medicine, distributing them to villagers. The rebellion has been met with savage army repression, bringing a death toll estimated yesterday at more than one hundred.

continued on page 9



Mexican guerrillas launched rebellion in southern state of Chiapas on January 1 in protest over U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico. AP



FBI Provocateurs in World Trade Center Bombing

It was billed as the "Arab terrorism" trial of all time. After the bombing of the World Trade Center in Manhattan last February 26, the government quickly arrested four men from what was portrayed as a nefarious nest of Arab Muslim immigrants operating out of the second-story mosque of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman in Jersey City. Then in late June, just as Clinton was terror-bombing civilians in Baghdad, Attorney General Reno announced the feds had foiled a second plot to bomb the Holland Tunnel, the FBI's New York offices and the UN, as well as to assassinate the ultra-Zionist politician Dov Hikind and Israel-backer Alfonse D'Amato. Again, those arrested were from the blind sheik's entourage.

It soon turned out that what led to the roundup was not a fragment of a license plate but inside information from a government agent, Emad Salem, a "former" Egyptian military intelligence officer. While the Trade Center bombing trial, which began in September, dragged on with nothing but tenuous circumstantial evidence, the prosecution's case was blown apart at the end of October as snatches of transcripts of informer Salem's taped conversations with his FBI handlers showed prior government

knowledge of the bomb plots, at the very least. Now the latest revelations from the Emad Salem tapes show that *the government's confidential informant didn't just inform—he made the WTC bomb himself.*

By December, the unfolding drama in the Foley Square courtroom resembled a vaudeville act as the prosecution's star witness took the stand and pointed the finger of guilt at...two jurors, instead of the defendants sitting in the room! The testimony of gas station attendant Willie Hernandez Moosh was seen as a crucial piece of the government's case, since no witnesses claim to have seen any of the defendants actually at the World Trade Center. But when the prosecutor asked Mr. Hernandez to identify the man driving the blue Lincoln Town Car which had tanked up at his station nine hours before the explosion, Hernandez got up, looked around...and turned to the jury box. "The record should reflect that the witness is pointing to Juror No. 6," intoned Judge Duffy.

A few minutes later, when asked to identify the driver of the yellow Ryder rental van investigators say contained the explosive, Hernandez chose a second member of the jury. "Indicating Juror No. 5," Judge Duffy said. The courtroom



Elatab/Middle East

Emad Salem, FBI's fink extraordinaire and provocateur in bombing of World Trade Center last February.



Sheehan/Newsday

exploded in laughter and the prosecutor turned bright red. After some hurried recoaching, the next day on a redirect examination the feds' star witness finally managed to point his finger in the indicated direction.

However, the big news in this case is not coming from the courtroom, but from the spectacular revelations being released in dribs and drabs from the hundreds of hours of tapes made by the government's informer. Although Emad Salem has been paid over \$1 million by the feds, he took good stock of the characters he was working for and took out some insurance. In one of the first pieces released, Salem says to his FBI controller, John Anticev: "You were informed. Everything is ready. The day and the time. Boom." In another excerpt, Salem remarks: "I told you the World Trade Center, but nobody listened." And again he blasted his FBI bosses for not acting on his information: "Do you deny your supervisor is the main reason of bombing the World Trade Center?" The agent didn't deny.

This all demonstrated heavy government complicity in the plot, but the recently released transcripts show something more: direct involvement in manufacturing the bomb. Defense attorneys William Kunstler and Ron Kuby wrote a letter to U.S. District Judge Michael Mukasy saying "Emad Salem, the chief

informant in this case, was responsible for the World Trade Center bombing" (Newsday, 15 December 1993). Kunstler and Kuby cited a tape of a conversation with FBI agent Anticev, in which Salem says, "we was start already building the bomb, which is went off in the World Trade Center. It was built, uh, uh, uh, supervising, supervision from the Bureau and the DA and we was all informed about it. And we know the bomb start to be built. By who? By your confidential informant."

Among other things, this tape demolishes the government's original story, that Salem was out of the loop long before the bombing, and only reactivated after the fact. Moreover, according to Kunstler and Kuby, informer Salem checked into St. Clare's Hospital just three hours after the blast, with a diagnosis of "vertigo, stemming from a middle ear disturbance," which was a recurrence of an old ear injury aggravated by a very loud noise (like a bomb explosion). While this made headlines in Europe, the American press largely played down these revelations.

What's going on here is a classic operation of agents provocateurs. And as the U.S. becomes something that might be called a "democratic police state," such "sting" operations have increasingly been the M.O. (*modus operandi*) of the

continued on page 9

Revolutionaries Must Lead Fight Against KKK



TROTSKY

Following the U.S. Civil War, fought over the issue of slavery, Karl Marx wrote that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." This basic truth was driven home as the early organizations of American labor were destroyed by the bourgeoisie fanning antagonisms between white and black workers, while Ku Klux Klan nightriders spread racist terror. In the 1920s, the nativist fascists of



LENIN

the reborn KKK went after blacks and "reds," immigrants, labor unions, Catholics and Jews. Speaking in 1924 to a gathering in St. Louis of coal miner members of the Workers Party, WP leader James Cannon, who later became the founder of American Trotskyism, emphasized that communists must lead the fight against the lynchers if they are to become the revolutionary vanguard of the class struggle.

Our party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution of the labor problem and all our work must lead to this goal. This is our starting point in the trade unions, as in every field of activity in the class struggle. It is this fundamental conception that distinguishes us from all other parties and groups in the labor movement. It is the band of steel that binds us together into one party....

We want to be with the masses, but we must also be ahead of the masses, and not be afraid to take an unpopular stand, when it is necessary in order to combat their prejudices. Take for example the Ku Klux Klan. Here is an organization that is anti-labor in its very character—yet large numbers of coal miners are misled into supporting it. To fight the Ku Klux Klan, to expose its reactionary nature and win the workers away from it, is a difficult and somewhat hazardous task in certain sections of the country, but it is our duty to the working class to make such a fight. We would not be worthy of the proud name our party bears if we evaded such a fight on any pretext.

—"Our Aims and Tactics in the Trade Unions" (July 1924), from *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (Prometheus Research Library, 1993)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

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

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

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class 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 4.

No. 591

7 January 1994

JUST OUT!

No. 43
Winter 1993-Spring 1994
\$1 (40 pages)

Includes:

- The "Date Rape" Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt
- Immigrant Women Workers Challenge McClintock's Sweatshops
- Labor: Defend the Clinics! For Free Abortion on Demand!
- Anti-Sex McCarthyism at S.F. State: Stop the Persecution of Prof. John De Cecco!
- *Women and Revolution: International Communist Journal of Women's Liberation*
- AIDS and the Fourth Reich's Blood Business
- London: For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

3-issue subscription \$3

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

No. 43 WINTER 1993-SPRING 1994

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League \$1.00

**The "Date Rape" Issue:
Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt**

SEE PAGE 9

For Class Struggle Against Clinton's "New World Order"!

Immigrant Women Workers Challenge McClintock's Sweatshops SEE PAGE 4

Labor: Defend the Clinics! For Free Abortion on Demand! SEE PAGE 6

Stop the Persecution of Prof. John De Cecco!

SEE PAGE 2

London: Tens of Thousands March Against the Fascists!

SEE PAGE 48

Imperialist Hysteria Over Nuclear Reactor

U.S. Hands Off North Korea!

Over the last couple months, the U.S. rulers' campaign of shrill war hysteria against North Korea has been building to a climax. Last July, Clinton went to South Korea and standing at the edge of the DMZ, the highly militarized border between the two countries, threatened the annihilation of the North in case of an "attack." Then on November 7, the U.S. president declared that "North Korea cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb. We have to be very firm about it. We have our soldiers there." Echoing the propaganda buildup preceding the U.S.-led imperialist war on Saddam Hussein's Iraq two years ago, the capitalist media denounce the Pyongyang regime as an "outlaw state." A *Newsweek* (29 November 1993) headline declares North Korea "Public Enemy Number One." (Before that it was Castro's Cuba.) Alternating hair-raising threats with humiliating proposals for a putative "peaceful resolution" to this manufactured crisis, the U.S. ruling class is trying to squeeze isolated North Korea into caving in.

The DMZ is a stark reminder of U.S. imperialism's last attempt to destroy the North Korean regime, which as the soviet tanks drove out the Japanese colonialist occupiers in 1945 eliminated capitalist-landlord rule north of the 38th parallel. It is the armistice line drawn in 1953 at the end of the Korean War, partitioning the country and setting up a dictatorial U.S. puppet regime in the South. North Korean and Chinese forces fought U.S. imperialism to a standoff as Washington devastated the country, bombing the northern capital of Pyongyang to smithereens and killing more than 2 million people in its neocolonial war disguised as a United Nations "police action." Now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed through counterrevolution, with vital Soviet oil deliveries gone and the Chinese Stalinist regime taking its own road toward capitalism, the truly bureaucratically deformed North Korean workers state—headed by 81-year-old Kim Il Sung, his son Kim Jong Il and his brother Kim Yong Ju—is up against it. Class-conscious workers must defend North Korea against the U.S. counterrevolutionary offensive!

The pretext for the imperialist nuclear brinkmanship is the claim that the tiny country is on the verge of developing an A-bomb arsenal. Never mind that a spokesman for the Pyongyang regime told the UN General Assembly in October that "we have no nuclear weapons; we have neither the intention nor the need to develop these weapons, nor the financial resources to support their production." Never mind that the International Atomic Energy Agency, a UN agency dominated by American officials, says that North Korea could only have produced a few grams of plutonium *four years ago*, and that was turned over to



Reuters
U.S. imperialist commander in chief Clinton at DMZ between North and South Korea for saber-rattling photo op.

the IAEA. Never mind that now-former U.S. "defense" secretary Aspin "clarified" that the North Koreans "are not building the potential for more bombs" (*Washington Post*, 13 December 1993). Never mind that North Korea has now agreed to IAEA snooping at all seven identified "nuclear" sites. Washington has cast the Kim regime as a bogeyman in order to underscore the U.S. intent to act as unchallenged cops of the world.

A week after Clinton's November 7 threat, the U.S. and South Korea launched their provocative "Team Spirit" military exercises near Seoul. These maneuvers, based on a scenario which would include massive aerial bombing of the North, were called off in 1992 as a result of an agreement by the governments of North and South Korea for mutual inspection of nuclear sites on the peninsula. Then came the announcement that the U.S. was preparing "flexible deterrence options," including additional combat units and deployment of an aircraft carrier battle group offshore. The White House ostentatiously leaked that Clinton would be briefed by Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman John Shalikashvili, a certified Cold Warrior whose father was an officer in Hitler's Waffen SS, on the Pentagon's plan (USFK 50-27) to launch a war on North Korea. Just before his resignation last month, Aspin announced a "counter-proliferation initiative," ordering the U.S. military to develop "battle plans against rogue nations with newly acquired nuclear capability."

As part of the escalation, U.S. intelligence agencies now claim that there is a "better than even" chance that North Korea already has two A-bombs. (Aspin had said the North "might" have "a single nuclear device.") While this dubious claim was made by hawks pushing for a pre-

emptive strike, the *New York Times* (28 December 1993), spokesman for the imperialist doves, pointed out: "If it is indeed hiding two bombs, any military attack would be supremely risky." As the State Department talks with Pyongyang representatives, Clinton threatens to impose sanctions against North Korea if it does not capitulate to U.S. demands soon. Even U.S. officials admit that this would be an act of war, especially if enforced by a naval blockade, that could provoke retaliation by the North. Although such threats may be a negotiating ploy, many in Washington would welcome any excuse to undertake a "final solution" to the North Korean deformed workers state.

The saber rattling is hardly the result of an imperialist consensus. There are reported divisions within the administration over how hard a line to take against North Korea. And both the South Korean and Japanese governments are unenthusiastic about the drumbeats coming from Washington. No wonder. Just as the bloody war against Iraq was partly intended to underscore U.S. military strength against its German and Japanese imperialist rivals, so *Washington's war threats against North Korea are a warning particularly to Tokyo*. As inter-imperialist trade war sharpens, Japan is moving ever more openly to repudiate its postwar "nuclear allergy." It has already expressed reservations about renewing the nuclear nonproliferation treaty next year, and unlike impoverished North Korea, Tokyo has the massive financial and scientific resources, plus a big stockpile of weapons-grade plutonium from its power reactors, to quickly become a major nuclear power.

Over the past year Washington has been turning up the heat over the supposed danger of North Korea getting The Bomb. The State Department/media propaganda campaign paints a picture of an aggressive Kim Il Sung flouting the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This "nuclear threat" scenario is a pack of lies, and pretty selective besides. The *London Economist* (17 July 1993) noted that Washington isn't complaining about "India, Pakistan and Israel, which secretly have nuclear weapons, or else could have them in a twinkling of a screwdriver, and have never belonged to the NPT" unlike North Korea which "signed up of its own free will." (Actually, Pyongyang was coerced into signing in 1985.) As Trotskyists, we unconditionally defend the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and blackmail. North Korea has every right to have nuclear weapons, particularly as the U.S. previously admitted to having some

1,000 nuclear warheads in the South, and actively discussed plans to A-bomb Pyongyang during the Korean War.

As for the "treaty violations," in 1992 North Korea gave the IAEA more than they had to under the treaty, opening up to inspection some sites the agency hadn't even known about (see "New World Order Targets North Korea," *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993). But the IAEA insisted on "special inspections," i.e., the right to stick their noses anywhere they choose. On November 1, the IAEA flatly turned down a North Korean offer to allow the agency to change film and batteries in its spy cameras. When on December 5 North Korea offered full access to five of the seven sites requested, Washington said this was "not enough." Three weeks later, Pyongyang agreed to open up all seven; the Clinton administration demanded "special inspections." Yet North Korea's mythical refusal to "cooperate" is now to be the basis for proposed UN sanctions!

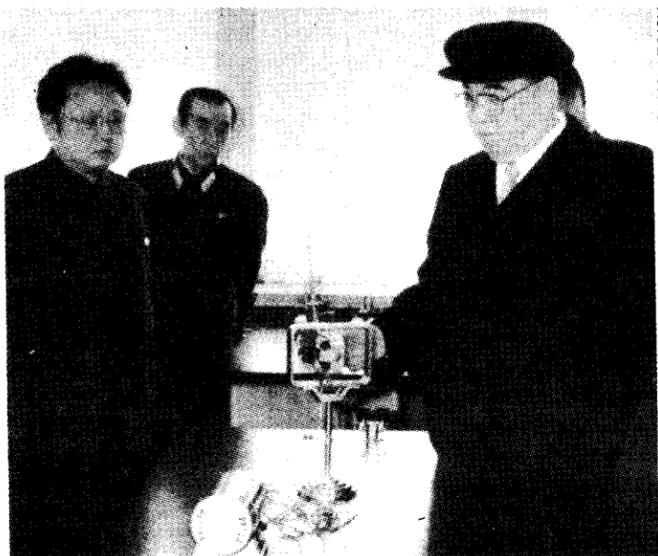
The U.S. says it pulled its nuclear warheads out of South Korea, but who knows? Nobody is going to inspect *their* bases. Besides, what gives Washington the right to say who gets a nuclear bomb? They're the only ones who ever actually used atomic bombs against anyone! Democrat Truman atom-bombed two Japanese cities in 1945, and the U.S. threatened to use nuclear weapons during the Korean War. The nonproliferation treaty is just an attempt by the U.S. imperialists to maintain their nuclear hegemony so they can terrorize everybody else.

The Pentagon knows that North Korea is no pushover, with the bulk of its million-strong army deployed along the DMZ, just 30 miles north of Seoul. A front-page *New York Times* article on December 2 meant to rattle the imperialist saber ("Pentagon Studies Plans to Bolster U.S.-Korea Forces") was critically undercut by the admission that if the U.S. provokes a war *they might lose on the ground*, at least initially. The White House, says the *Times*, thinks they would win in the end, "although some Administration officials acknowledge that Seoul would probably be destroyed in the process"! *Newsweek* reported that two highly classified Pentagon studies predicted the North could take Seoul in days and "overwhelm the South's defenses in less than two weeks." Today these arguments are used to bolster the case for negotiations. Tomorrow they could be used to promote a U.S. nuclear first strike against the North.

The U.S. provocations alarm its allies in Seoul and Tokyo. Japanese finance capital largely bankrolls the South Korean *chaebols* (big monopolies), but Washington still calls the shots militarily. The Seoul regime wants a capitalist takeover of the North *on its own timetable*. It is worried that any military escalation could easily lead to the destruction of its high-tech industrial base, or that a total collapse of the North could force it into a sinkhole "leveraged buyout" like capitalist West Germany's annexation of East Germany in 1990. And they don't have anything like the resources of the German Fourth Reich.

The South Korean bourgeoisie also fears the possibility of an explosion of social struggle, particularly by the large and volatile student movement, in response to increased U.S. provocations. Many of these student radicals are either sympathetic to the North or long for a nationalist reunification of the country. Yet the Kim Il Sung version of the Stalinist myth of "socialism in half a country"—under the watchword of *juche*, or "self-reliance"—is a bitter joke in the face of imperialist encirclement and isolation. Extension of the revolution is the only way out, and the Kim bureaucracy is a deadly enemy of that. In the U.S., Stalinist remnants like Gus Hall's Communist Party USA or Stalinoids like Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Jack Barnes' increasingly quirky Socialist Workers Party act as press agents for the Kim Il Sung regime (including praising

continued on page 9



Korea Pictorial

North Korean president Kim Il Sung (right) with his son Kim Jong Il.

Europe...

(continued from page 1)

down tight. Flying pickets spread out to ensure work stopped in the factories. Smoke from burning tires drifted across the approach roads to the Brussels airport, and nothing moved at Europe's second-largest seaport, Antwerp.

The Associated Press reported on November 29, "It looks like a replay of the fiery years of the '70s in Italy: students in the streets and workers on strike." In Italy, Spain and France university and secondary school students were protesting plans to drastically slash expenditures on education. Meanwhile, labor militancy is continuing. On December 10, as government leaders held a European Union summit in the Belgian capital, Reuters reported that "central Brussels was transformed into a sea of red by socialist trade unions" marching in protest. The next day, auto workers from factories in and around Barcelona besieged the Catalan government palace, denouncing plans by Volkswagen to shut down its "free-trade zone" SEAT plant and throw thousands of workers onto

PART ONE OF TWO

the streets. Now Spanish unions have called a one-day nationwide general strike for January 27 against the government's plans to junk restrictions on layoffs and firings that have existed since the Franco era.

While workers across the continent are fighting back, hard, they are engaged in sharp *defensive* battles. West Europe is in the throes of its deepest economic crisis in more than half a century. *Official* unemployment is already over 11.5 percent and climbing. That's more than



Informations Ouvrières

Militant Air France strikers blocked runways in Paris last October and backed down government, bosses and cops. Combative strike raised the spectre of May 1968 French general strike.

19 million jobless in the 12 countries of the European Union (EU, formerly European Community), with another 3 million-plus in the former East Germany. Unemployment is over 10 percent in Germany, formerly the "locomotive" of the European capitalist economy, over 12 percent in France, and over 20 percent in Spain, Greece, Ireland and Finland. Along with soaring unemployment there is a full-scale onslaught against the "welfare state," from Scandinavia to the tip of Italy. The Italian workers' explosive protests in October 1992, which prefigured the struggles now sweeping West Europe, were against the tripartite agreement by the bosses, government and union tops to eliminate the *scala mobile* (sliding scale of wages), a cost-of-living escalator which has existed since 1946.

In Germany, metal industry employers have simply ripped up existing contract

clauses for 3.3 million workers beginning January 1994. German bosses' spokesman Klaus Murmann has called for a "prolonged onslaught" on wages and "the whole array of fringe benefits, holiday entitlement, and social security payments" (*Financial Times*, 10 December 1993). In one year 500,000 metal workers' jobs have gone. Steel production has also plummeted. Last fall, 100,000 construction workers rallied in Bonn against cuts in layoff pay, and up to 90,000 miners joined strikes in the Ruhr and in the Saarland against coal mine closures. But the protectionist demands of the social-democratic union tops to "defend German industry" undercut the need for *international* resistance to the capitalist offensive.

Tragically, many of the miners protesting "foreign coal" imports are Turks and Kurds who are concentrated in key sectors of west German industry. The working class must reject its own leaders' efforts to turn it against its class brothers and sisters abroad through protectionist poison. It must as well mobilize to crush the fascists and defend immigrants against the racist attacks organized by the fascists and incited by the joint Kohl/SPD assault on the right of asylum. In several countries, most particularly Germany and France, immigrant workers have come to represent a strategic and militant part of the workforce. Together with second-generation youth who have increasingly entered social struggle in West Europe, they can play an important role as a bridge in building a revolutionary vanguard both in the imperialist centers and the semi-colonies.

The capitalist offensive in the West is a direct result of the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR—a colossal defeat for the world proletariat, with corresponding impact on the consciousness and confidence of the most advanced sectors. Now that the Cold War has ended in the destruction of the bureaucratically degenerated workers state of the USSR, the European bourgeoisies are scrambling to cash in, at the direct expense of the proletariat. Capitalist rulers no longer feel it is vital to fend off the "threat of Communism" by means of reforms and palliatives designed to buy off working-class resistance. A race is now on to boost profit margins by lowering production costs in the interests of "greater competitiveness." For the capitalists, every attack on the working class brings the prospect of lowering the cost of labor power. Whether this is achieved by direct cuts in wages, pensions and welfare payments, by slashing employer contributions to social funds, by increases in taxes on consumption, by speed-up through elimination of trade-union influence on working conditions or by mass layoffs, the end result is the same.

The postwar accommodations and mechanisms of institutionalized class collaboration are increasingly being replaced by open assaults on the working class. Envious ruling-class eyes are

turned on the "Anglo-Saxon" economies, where ten years of Reagan/Thatcherism have already ripped through the living conditions and trade-union organizations of the working class. Privatization of government-owned concerns in order to break strong unions and bolster debt-ridden government treasuries (pioneered by Thatcher's Britain in the 1980s) is planned across the continent. The ring of racist immigration controls which surrounds the Western European countries has been viciously tightened, with France and Germany in the lead. And for the first time since the 1930s, the fascists are becoming a significant force in countries like France, Germany and Italy. This army of shock troops for racist reaction is growing in the wings, fostered by economic despair and the ideological boost of the trumpeted "death of Communism," which is actually the collapse of Stalinism.

Reagan and Thatcher launched frontal attacks on the unions, the former destroying the PATCO air controllers in 1981 while the "Iron Lady" provoked the year-long British coal miners strike of 1984-85, after which the Tory government decimated the numbers of miners by massive closures of the mines. But in many countries of West Europe, where the workforces are heavily unionized (compared to barely 15 percent unionization in the U.S.), the bourgeoisies are hoping to use their reformist "labor lieutenants" to shove their "reforms" down the throats of the working class. In Italy, where the crisis is sharpest and the parties which have ruled the country since World War II have collapsed, the ex-Communist social democrats of the PDS are being called upon to form a "popular front," using the fear of fascism to bind the masses to this treacherous class collaboration.

But contrary to the hopes and expectations of the European bourgeoisies, the working class has reacted fiercely to the capitalist offensive, often repudiating their own leaders. When Air France union leaders wanted the strikers to go back before the government caved in, the workers refused. And when a year ago, the Italian ex-Communist union leaders tried to sell the elimination of the *scala mobile* to their ranks, thousands of workers pelted them with coins, bolts and vegetables and tried to storm the speakers podiums. This explosive labor revolt in West Europe can help undercut one of Stalinism's central lies, the supposed impossibility of revolution in the imperialist West, which it used to sell its anti-revolutionary program of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence." Today, following the collapse of Stalinism, militant class struggle in West Europe can have a powerful effect in reawakening the class and socialist consciousness of the proletariat of the former Soviet bloc.

While the bourgeois press fumed over the French government's climbdown over Air France, Prime Minister Balladur is reportedly "obsessed" with the spectre of a new May 1968, when ten million



Reuters

Belgium, 25 November 1993: Pickets shut down Brussels international airport with flaming barricades on access roads during one-day general strike.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 521-9338

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Los Angeles

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

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

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

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

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

workers struck in what was perhaps the biggest general strike ever. And well he should be. In many countries there has been an upsurge of attempts to take on and thwart the fascists, such as the 50,000-strong anti-fascist mobilization in London in mid-October. Given the bourgeoisie's assault on the welfare state, reformist schemes have little credibility. When today the bosses and the reformists talk of "reform," they are promising less work for less pay, and for more and more people, no work at all. The need for socialist revolution is placed in front of the European workers movement. For class-conscious workers the question is not just "will there be another 1968?" but how to achieve a May '68 that goes all the way, to the taking of power. The key is building Trotskyist parties forged on a transitional program leading to workers revolution.

Trade War and Capitalist Austerity

With the end of the Cold War, the post-World War II anti-Soviet alliance has come unglued, laying bare the permanent rivalry between the various imperialist powers, particularly between the three giants of modern imperialism, the United States, Japan and Germany. Each of these countries is aiming to fashion a trade bloc: the U.S. through NAFTA, Japan through a new version of the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere," and Germany through the European Union, including the projection of incorporating "East-Central Europe" (Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia) as its immediate hinterland. The bitter economic competition points toward global trade war, while ultimately a new redivision of the world can only come about through a third inter-imperialist world war...only this time by nuclear armed powers (see "U.S. Gears Up for Trade War," WV No. 589, 3 December 1993).

The U.S. retains significant economic, military and geographical advantages over its rivals, largely stemming from its double success in defeating Germany and Japan, while simultaneously eliminating Britain as a serious competitor, in the course of World War II. The U.S. economy is the world's largest, and still the most productive. Its "backyard," to north and south, contains no sizable independent imperialist competitor: in that sense America's "home market" extends over an entire hemisphere. Militarily the United States currently holds a decisive lead, including an armed presence on both of its major competitors' territories. This military superiority was used to bloody effect with the subjugation of semi-colonial Iraq in 1991, guaranteeing the American stranglehold on vital oil supplies. U.S. financial and industrial capital is tightly interwoven with that of Britain, giving it a major position in the European capital markets which still center in London.

The U.S. is also an aggressive competitor of Japan in the race to dominate China, which (although still remaining a deformed workers state) is being increasingly drawn directly into the world capitalist market. Not least, from a capitalist standpoint, the U.S. imperialists



Above: French students take to the streets in Paris last month protesting conservative government's plans to divert money to private schools. Below: Protest in Solingen, Germany last June after fascist firebombing of Turkish family. Banner reads: "Yesterday Jews, Today Turks." Reuters



benefit from the lack of political class consciousness in the American working class, brought about through a combination of economic prosperity in the 1950s and '60s, pounding ideological campaigns of anti-Communism, and endless exploitation of the racial division in the proletariat stemming from the unfinished business of the Civil War. After a humiliating defeat by the Vietnamese peasants and workers, over the last two decades the American bourgeoisie has succeeded in driving down working-class living standards and mauling the trade-union movement.

Germany presents a very different picture. It coexists with three other sizable, if second-rank, imperialist powers (Britain, France and Italy), which will continue to chafe at German domination of Europe, whatever their current or future tactical alliances. Although by far the largest and most productive economy in Europe, on a world scale it stands at a severe competitive disadvantage by virtue of the great concessions made by the West German bourgeoisie to the working class, during the decades of the Cold War. Workers in the former West Germany have the highest wages and shortest working week in the world (except for the small Scandinavian countries), with an average six weeks paid vacation on top of public holidays. These conditions were granted to the West German proletariat in order to secure stability, and to reduce the potential attraction of the full employment and large-scale social provisions of the Stalinist-ruled DDR (East Germany) next door.

Germany's leader, Helmut Kohl, promised that the capitalist unification of Germany would see a "blooming economy" sprout up in the former DDR. It has in fact reduced the East to a wasteland of demolished and disused factories, where the lives of millions have been turned upside down and nearly destroyed. Colossal unemployment is barely concealed behind a myriad of make-work, fake-work and short-time schemes. The

financial cost of this policy of capitalist destruction has been immense—and the German ruling class is determined that either the German workers or its imperialist competitors will foot the bill for tremendous government borrowing. Punitive high interest rates (spread across Europe via the now-defunct European Monetary System) have exacerbated the recession in other countries, while drawing foreign capital to Frankfurt. But meanwhile the strong D-mark has eaten away at Germany's export industries. In this context, tensions between Germany and its imperialist partners/competitors in Europe have inevitably grown. But rather than getting caught up in inter-imperialist rivalries through protectionist demands, workers must fight for a socialist United States of Europe.

Following the *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, Germany in one sense faces the most acute social and economic crisis, but it does so coming from a position

of immense wealth and trading advantage. In the cases of Spain, Italy and Belgium, the bourgeoisie bought social peace through rampant government borrowing. Belgian government debt far exceeds the total annual production of the country. The Italian economy has run for years on escalating state borrowing, much of which went to feed the rampant corruption permeating economic and political life. This system, symbolized by the Mafia but including the web of bribes (*tangentopoli*, or bribe city) to politicians from the most modern northern Italian concerns and the distribution of jobs by party affiliation (*lottizzazione*) in state-owned industry, was tolerated as an underpinning for the permanent rule of the anti-Communist Christian Democrats and their Socialist allies. This system is now seen as an unaffordable overhead cost to capital.

The Italian bourgeoisie wants to crack down on the working class, regularize the functioning of the state apparatus, tame the Mafia, tax the petty bourgeoisie and drain dry the oceans of red ink that state-owned companies float upon. For this they require a "strong state": a regime capable of pushing through massive layoffs and cuts in wages and social provisions in the face of a strong working class. While the crumbling of the governing parties under the blows of anti-corruption investigations led to a surge in the vote for the fascists and rightist Northern League in recent municipal elections, the Milano stock market, the American embassy and the Pope opted for the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), which touts itself as "the force of stability, security and government" in a chaotic Italy. While these ex-Communist social democrats have vowed to impose anti-working-class austerity, a new "popular front" centered on the PDS could run into resistance from militant workers determined to defend their livelihoods and smash the fascists.

As the European economic crisis has gone from bad to worse, the capitalists have tried to deck out their layoffs and pay cuts in "social" garb. The favorite con game of the moment is the "shorter workweek." The German auto manufacturer, Volkswagen, whose largest shareholder is the SPD-led government of Lower Saxony, strong-armed union leaders into a "deal" to reduce the workweek in its plants to 28.8 hours (from 35), with the 20 percent reduction in hours to be matched by a corresponding reduction in labor costs. The purpose of this "work-sharing" exercise is to *make the workers pay for the bosses' crisis*. At the European level, EU chief Jacques Delors, a French "Socialist," issued a "white paper" calling for extensive infrastructure investment, more "flexible labor markets" (easier layoffs) and widespread pay cuts to supposedly preserve employment. The fear is, in the words of a top Brussels official, "the risk of a social explosion" (*Financial Times*, 13 December 1993).

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Barcelona, 9 November 1993: SEAT auto workers march in protest against plant closure. Martin/AP

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

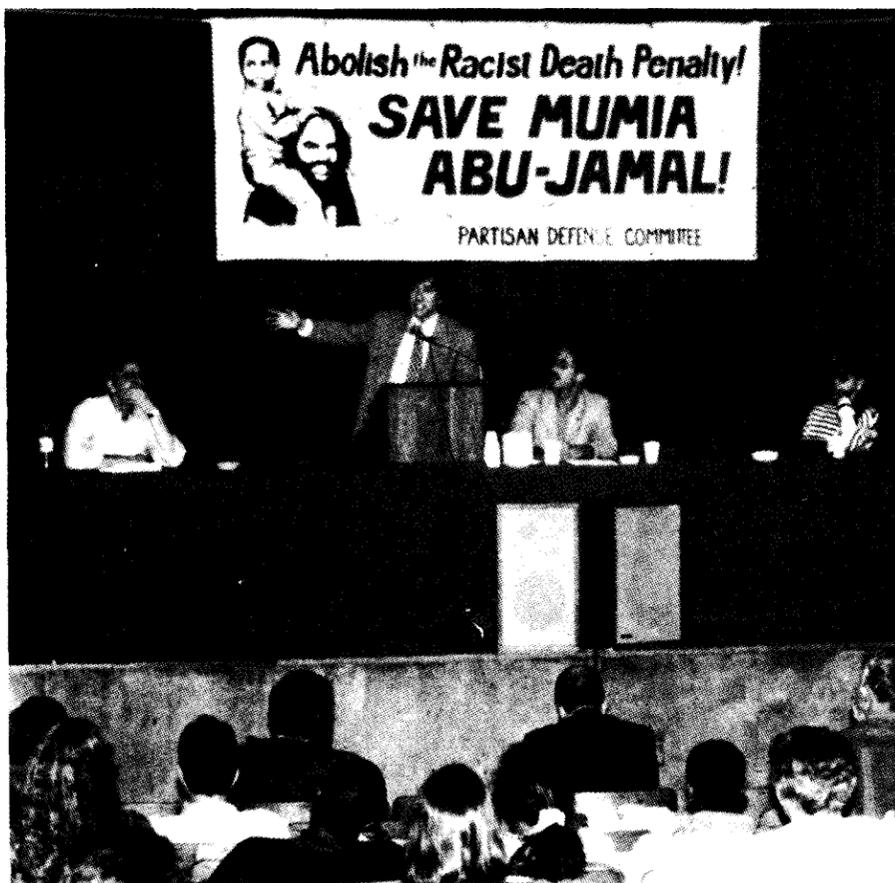
Stop Racist "Legal" Lynching— Abolish the Death Penalty!

The Partisan Defense Committee is fighting to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Philadelphia Black Panther Party spokesman, award-winning radio journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed over a decade ago on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman and sentenced to die for his political views.

On October 1, about 150 trade unionists, socialists, students and death penalty abolitionists came out to a PDC rally in New York on Jamal's behalf. Speakers there included Wadiya Jamal, Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife; former political prisoner Dr. Alan Berkman; and Dan Williams, Jamal's co-counsel with Leonard Weinglass. A message of support was read from Ray Martinez Jr., a Philadelphia union official for SEIU Local 668. Ed Kartsen spoke on behalf of the Spartacist League. The PDC's fight for class-struggle social defense is in accordance with the political views of the SL.

In a taped message of greetings to the rally, Jamal said: "I speak from one of the largest and fastest-growing black communities in central Pennsylvania—death row.... There's never a 'good' time to be on death row, but the present must be one of the worst. In the midst of a Democratic administration, born in the blood of executions and bent on out-Republicanizing the Republicans, this is truly an era of death."

Mumia continued: "For some, especially those accustomed to looking only at the surface of things, this is a time of true confusion. Especially with the fall of the Soviet Union, the betrayal of what was once called the 'socialist bloc,' the creeping swarm of global capital in Eastern Europe and in Asia—who would not be confused? But fear not, for this is a system in deep crisis.... Witness NAFTA; race riots more intense than in



WV Photo
Dan Williams, co-counsel with Leonard Weinglass for Mumia Abu-Jamal, speaks to Partisan Defense Committee rally to save Jamal.

the '60s; an economy marked more by decline and debt; industries fleeing from the hinterlands; urban battlegrounds of rage. Babylon is falling."

We print below an edited version of the presentation to the rally by Paul Cooperstein, spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee.

* * *

For those of you who first saw Mumia tonight on the video, or first heard him on the tape, you're going to walk out of

here changed. You should walk out of here changed because there are very few Mumia Abu-Jamals. Someone who passionately and articulately gives voice to the desperate pain and struggle of millions—from the 2,700 others on death row to the homeless huddled over subway gratings for a hint of warmth.

Mumia gives a touch of humanity back to the men and women in this country's prison hells, given up as non-persons by this racist society—he tells us about Norman, known at Huntingdon as "old-head," who recently died at age 54 of stomach cancer, who "more than anything in life longed for freedom, the company of a woman, and the sweet summer sun of Virginia (perhaps sweetened a tad more by the scat of jazz great Betty Carter)." Mumia writes of the 59-year-old Philadelphia grandmother whose home of 23 years is razed by city officials as part of the "war on drugs." He reminds the older folk and tells a generation of youth about political prisoners like Geronimo Pratt and Sundiata Acoli. He scathingly critiques this oppressive society. To hear Mumia's voice is to know why they want to silence him forever.

Look at Mumia—because Mumia is the death penalty in America. Would he be on death row if he were not black? Not a Black Panther? Not a MOVE supporter? Not a powerful voice for the oppressed? The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about.

The Partisan Defense Committee has initiated protests demanding Jamal not be executed, bringing together opponents of the death penalty around the world. These have been *united-front* protests, by which we mean united action across a spectrum of political beliefs, while assuring everyone's right to have their own say. This is a very important point. Exclusionism and censorship of those participating can only sap and

erode the base for mass action.

We are opposed to the death penalty on principle. We do not accord this government the right to say who lives and who dies. The fight against these racist "legal" lynchings calls for an understanding of why the death penalty exists, persists and is actually flourishing at the close of the 20th century. It boils down to a simple truth stated by Frederick Engels over 100 years ago: "The state is an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class."

Throughout its 200 years of existence the American ruling class has utilized executions for the sheer purpose of instilling terror—the lynch rope made official. Electrocutation, poison gas, hangings, lethal injections—these are nothing but racist "legal" lynchings.

I picked up the *New York Times* today, and it's very appropriate that opposite the obituary page they had a Supreme Court preview. That says a lot about this country! The law of this land is that if you're black or Hispanic and you're convicted of a capital crime by the "injustice system," it doesn't matter if you're innocent—you're going to die. In January the Supreme Court held that the state of Texas could go ahead and execute Mexican American Leonel Herrera despite evidence of Herrera's innocence. In May Herrera was strapped onto a table and injected with lethal drugs. Minutes later he was dead. Now the state of Texas is trying to ram through the execution of Gary Graham, ignoring the roster of witnesses who have given conclusive evidence of his innocence.

Speedup on Death Row

The factories in this country may be rusting but there's a speedup on death row. Already this year, 32 people have been executed, surpassing 1992's 30-year high. The capitalist rulers of this country are literally a death cult. Over 100,000 Iraqis slaughtered in the Persian Gulf; Somali men, women and children cut down in cold blood as the U.S. seeks to recolonize this East African country in the revived racist spirit of the "white man's burden" in Africa. And here at home, 86 men, women and children of



WV Photo
Wadiya Jamal: "Twelve years is long enough for an innocent man to be sitting on death row, separated from his family, separated from his children that he cannot physically touch."

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001 (212) 500-1022

Chairs:

Ossie Davis
Mike Farrell

Advisors:

Adjos A. Aiyetoro
Edward Asner
Harry Belafonte
Daniel Berrigan, S.J.
Julian Bond
Haywood Burns
J.L. Chestnut, Jr.
Ashanti Chimuranga
Leigh Dingerson
E.L. Doctorow
Curt Goering
Whoopi Goldberg
Barbara Koppie
Conrad Lynn
Raymond Martinez, Jr.
David P. Richardson, Jr.
Sonia Sanchez
Percy Sutton
Pamela S. Tucker
Paul M. Washington
Haskell Wexler
Frank Wilkinson
Howard Zinn
Rev. Philip Zwerling

Counsel:

Leonard I. Weinglass

Administrator:

Fred Horstmann

November 1, 1993
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

To the Partisan Defense Committee:

I would like to wholeheartedly thank the Partisan Defense Committee for helping raise funds for the legal defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal at your forum October 1. A total of \$1,590.25 was collected and made available to Leonard Weinglass, Mumia's lead counsel. A special account for tax-deductible contributions has been set up at the Bill of Rights Foundation by Weinglass. This is cash available now to help pay for the ongoing investigation, for example. And the event was not even billed as a fund-raiser!

As I said at the forum, Mumia must have the best possible legal defense. This costs a lot of money for which there simply is no substitute. Legal defense means examining the volumes and volumes of the trial record. It means investigating events that occurred over a decade ago and locating witnesses. It means filing legal papers in the context of Clinton's proposed crime bill that will further severely restrict the right of habeas corpus appeal. This is painstaking, difficult and extremely necessary work.

Since being the first to raise the banner to save Mumia's life back in 1987, the PDC's work has been most commendable.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Horstmann
Fred Horstmann
Administrator

the integrated Branch Davidians religious sect were burned alive in Waco, Texas for the "crimes" of exercising their rights of religious freedom and bearing arms—rights supposedly protected under the first two amendments of the Constitution. Remember the May 13, 1985 bombing of MOVE which killed eleven black men, women and children and burned a whole city block. We've often said the MOVE bombing was the signature of the Reagan years. The recent mass murder in Waco must be the fingerprint of Clinton's. And of course there's the ritual cop slaughter of black and Hispanic youth on city streets nearly every day.

A death cult. There's a judge in Texas who signs execution warrants with a "happy face." San Quentin prison actually has a museum (probably one of the few you can find open in that state). The most popular part is the death penalty wing, situated right next to the gift shop, complete with a miniature gas chamber and a "personal collection" of miniature nooses tagged with the victims' ID numbers.

This aroused bloodlust, this death row speedup, is part of a buildup of repressive forces—more cops, more prisons, repressive laws, attacks on immigrants. Now the government is using the prosecution of the blind Muslim sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and 14 others in connection with the World Trade Center bombing as a battering ram to criminalize dissident views and fuel racist hysteria against immigrants. They're reviving the thought crime "seditious conspiracy" laws and whipping up a "terrorism" scare—an ominous repressive package that presents a grave danger to leftists, unionists, minorities, immigrants, to anyone who runs afoul of the "New World disorder."

The demand for the abolition of the death penalty is part of the tradition of struggle for black equality in America. It is no accident that the United States and South Africa are among the few industrialized countries with the death penalty—it is a legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights. And while South Africa hasn't executed anybody in the past three years, American executioners have taken 90 lives in that same time.

The death penalty is part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets to keep black people in their place. It all goes back to slavery when the slave codes made it clear that only white life was considered sacred. With emancipation the slave codes were replaced by the cross-burnings and lynchings of the KKK. And it was the spirit and sometimes the letter of the law of the slave codes that the Klan restored when it put the torch to Reconstruction after the Civil War and restored the lethal spirit of slavery with Jim Crow lynch law.

Dan [Williams] talked about the [1987] *McCleskey* case. You can almost hear the

Public hanging in 1936. Today the state carries out legal racist murder by lethal injection. Texas judge signs execution order with a "happy face."

1936



voice of Justice Taney, who in the 1857 case of fugitive slave Dred Scott pronounced, blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The disparities in instituting the death penalty that Dan cited were dismissed by Rehnquist & Co. as "irrelevant," "inevitable," "insignificant"—racism is for them a natural and unchangeable part of the judicial process.

But it's these same courts which are cranking out the corpses, that liberals have looked to for so many years, harking back to the era of the liberal Warren Court. The Warren Court included ex-KKK member Hugo Black, one-time head of the Securities and Exchange Commission William O. Douglas, and Warren, who as attorney general of California was the driving force for herding Japanese Americans into concentration camps during World War II.

The liberal Supreme Court rulings of the Warren years came in the context of mass struggles, beginning with the civil rights marches against Jim Crow and culminating with the protests against the Vietnam War, which shattered the Cold War climate of the 1950s. Most of the landmark rulings of the '60s recognizing the rights of defendants in criminal cases involved disenfranchised blacks caught in the web of police state terror in the South.

But of course these decisions never stayed the hand of the government's political police—witness the bloody FBI COINTELPRO vendetta against black militants which left 38 Black Panther

Party members dead and many others, like Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt, to rot in prison hells.

That Warren era was a brief and unusual moment in American history, when the capitalist state was attempting to contain, co-opt and eventually destroy the mass civil rights movement and the radicalization centered on opposition to the Vietnam War. They succeeded. After the 1973 withdrawal from Vietnam, the marches stopped, the antiwar movement fell apart. Most black militants of the '60s who weren't cut down by COINTELPRO were co-opted by the Democratic Party.

So, with a couple of personnel changes, the Court immediately began to take back the formal gains of the preceding 20 years. By 1976 the death penalty was back. The racist Bakke decision of 1979 against affirmative action signaled the end of any pretense of upholding black rights. The 1980 Harris decision affirmed the Hyde amendment which denied Medicaid funds for abortion, making it unavailable for the majority of women who need it. And we've now seen a dozen years of unchecked reaction ushered in when in 1979 the KKK and Nazis, assisted by an FBI informer and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent, gunned down five leftists, civil rights workers and union activists in full view of TV cameras in Greensboro, North Carolina.

So with the courts filled with Reagan and Bush appointees, the liberals took their hopes to Congress. Elect Demo-

crats to appoint better judges, they cried. Like who? Clinton? He swore his allegiance to the racist death penalty when he took a break from the campaign trail to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Rickey Ray Rector. He's got an attorney general, Waco mass murderer Janet Reno, who would make Ed Meese proud. How about Clinton's close political ally, Texas Governor Ann Richards? She likes to pose with guns in both hands like a wild west gunslinger with notches on his belt for everyone he kills. She's got so many notches on hers she's got to start wearing suspenders! And then there's Doug Wilder, the black governor of Virginia, beloved of the reformist left. Despite a public outcry Wilder refused to stop the execution of coal miner Roger Coleman last year, saying it would be "no substantial injustice" to send him to the chair despite evidence that he was innocent. In January, Wilder ordered the execution of a disabled man, Charles Stamper, who had to be pushed to the death chamber in a wheelchair.

A number of death penalty opponents and liberals have sought the enactment of a so-called Racial Justice Act. This doesn't oppose the death penalty outright, but would "make it unlawful to execute someone whose death sentence is the product of race discrimination." But the politicians of death are more than willing to swear they're not being racist as they kill blacks! This Act would accept the validity of the death penalty and create the illusion that this racist justice system can implement it in a non-racist manner. And in another obscene spectacle, the Democrats propose a bill which would expand by dozens federal crimes which carry the death sentence, but they tack the provisions of this Racial Justice Act onto it.

Class Struggle— The Road to Victory

For the American ruling class, terror has always been the bottom line in meeting any challenge, real or perceived, to its racist class rule. 1887: the Haymarket martyrs—labor organizers, anarchists, leaders of the eight-hour-day movement—hanged in Chicago. 1915: IWW member Joe Hill, a voice of the voiceless of his day, whose songs of struggle were popularly sung by striking workers—executed by a Utah firing squad. 1927: anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—executed as part of the red scare and anti-immigrant

continued on page 8

July 15, 1993

Mr. Robert Nelson Drew
Execution No. 755
Ellis I Unit
Huntsville, Texas 77343

Dear Sir:

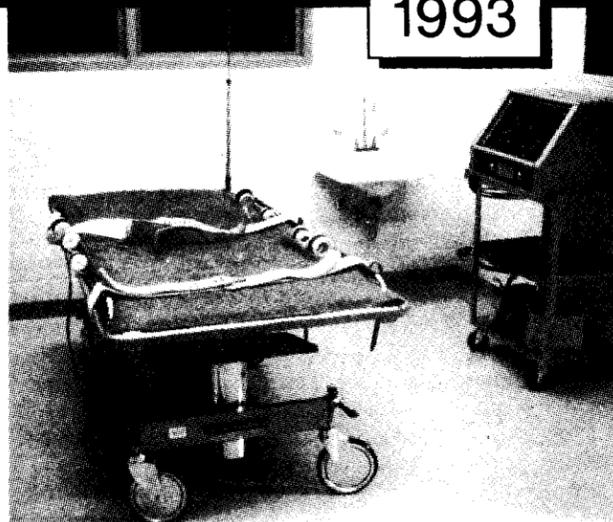
Enclosed you will find a certified copy of this Court's Order of July 15, 1993.

Please note that the order sets your execution date for October 14, 1993.

Sincerely,

Charles J. Hearn
The Honorable Charles J. Hearn
Harris County, Texas

1993



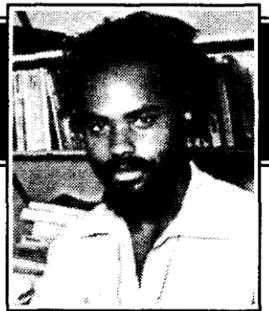
Der Spiegel photos



1985 police/FBI bombing of MOVE commune kills 11: signature of the Reagan years (left). April 1993 FBI/BATF raid on Branch Davidian group outside Waco, Texas slaughtered 86 members of integrated religious sect: fingerprint of the Clinton administration (right).

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

State of Seizure



Here is a brief quiz of sorts; between the amount of property stolen by burglars in the U.S., and the amount taken (called "confiscated" in legal jargon) by the U.S. federal government from the American people, which would you think is the largest amount?

With news reports blaring hourly of the wave of crimes washing over the nation, wouldn't one think there would be an outcry against whichever one was the greater?

Consider this: In 1992, an estimated \$3.8 billion was stolen by burglars in the U.S.; private property and monies amounting to \$4.1 billion was "confiscated" from U.S. citizens by the federal government as part of their drug forfeiture program.

People from all walks of life have had the misfortune of having their goods seized by their government, only to never see their stuff again.

Consider these real-life cases:

U.S. Army Col. Melvin Hanberg (Ret.) owned and rented houses in California. One of his tenants was a drug dealer, so the government seized his rental properties.

Charter pilot Billy Munnerlyn had his Learjet seized by the government when it was learned one of his

passengers was a convicted cocaine dealer (unknownst to him) with \$3 million cash in his luggage.

Nashville landscaper Willie Jones, on a trip to Houston to purchase new seed stock, violated the state's unwritten rules by paying for his roundtrip ticket in cash. This act, coupled with his blackness, placed him in perfect fit for the so-called "drug carrier profile."

Once tagged, he was stopped, searched, and \$9,600—money he was going to use to re-stock his business—was seized, confiscated, taken—stolen. No drugs, of any kind, were found.

These 3 cases could be multiplied by the tens of thousands, where the property and profits of the people are plundered by "their" government, in the name of a "War on Drugs."

As the government has failed to even make a dent in America's humongous drug intake, it has, in frustration, embarked on an insidious, dirty war on the people's few remaining civil liberties, feeding and fueling itself on the people's wealth, via a "tax" that takes all, once they are labeled "suspect."

For so long, average, everyday, law-abiding Americans have either silently sat by or quietly ignored

the bogus "War on Drugs" that was a War on Blacks in actuality, while police rode roughshod over people's rights, and while courts, too, looked the other way.

Now people of means are tasting the bitterness of injustice, where the state strips them of their rights to property, of association, of the means to conduct lawful commerce, of the fundamental right to be free from unlawful search or seizure of their persons and property, all with the blessings of a right-wing, Tory judiciary, who grant the state any license, in the name of the "War on Drugs."

Each of the three people named here are among the "law-abiding Americans," whose lives and businesses are forever transformed, because of a "policy" of forfeiture that is but a hair's breadth away from robbery.

Now the government is hungry, and like a junkie, needs your money to feed its fix.

Your government at work.

5 November 1993

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

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 7)

hysteria following on the heels of the Russian Revolution.

At the height of the Depression, as mass integrated labor struggle was growing, the racist rulers held the noose over the heads of the Scottsboro Boys. In the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were

electrocuted for being communists and Jews. Now, the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs.

The selling of the death penalty and increased repression as an answer to crime is a dangerous lie. The U.S. has become the world's biggest jailer with more than one million men and women in prison—over half of those in federal pens were sent there as part of the government's drug witchhunt against the ghetto and the workplace. The incarceration rate does not and cannot reduce the rate of crime, whose root cause

is the desperate poverty and hopelessness engendered by this capitalist system.

The bosses' looting of basic industry has left millions jobless, drastically driven down the living standards of those left with jobs, and decimated the inner cities. In New York we've lately heard a lot of ranting from both political parties about the "decline in the quality of life." By that they don't mean the grinding poverty in the inner city where the infant mortality rate rivals that of the impoverished Third World. They don't mean the broken-down schools without books, where classes are held in a bathroom or where, as in East St. Louis, industrial waste and sewage backs up so schoolchildren have to literally wade through shit. No. They are talking about removing from their view the visible signs of the poverty and decay which they are responsible for. Like the recent razing of the shantytown near the Manhattan Bridge, or calls to sweep the "squeegee men" off the streets. If these same squeegee men were in Moscow, the capitalist press would be hailing them as "entrepreneurs"!

The systematic oppression—the joblessness, the racism, the hopelessness—which is at the root of the crime and punishment cycle cannot be solved this side of a social revolution. And because they have no solution to the problems that particularly beset those people they now call the "underclass," this state can only repress—and that they do with a vengeance. The campaign for death and repression depends on convincing people that there is no other way out, that their options are closed within the capitalist system which produced the problems.

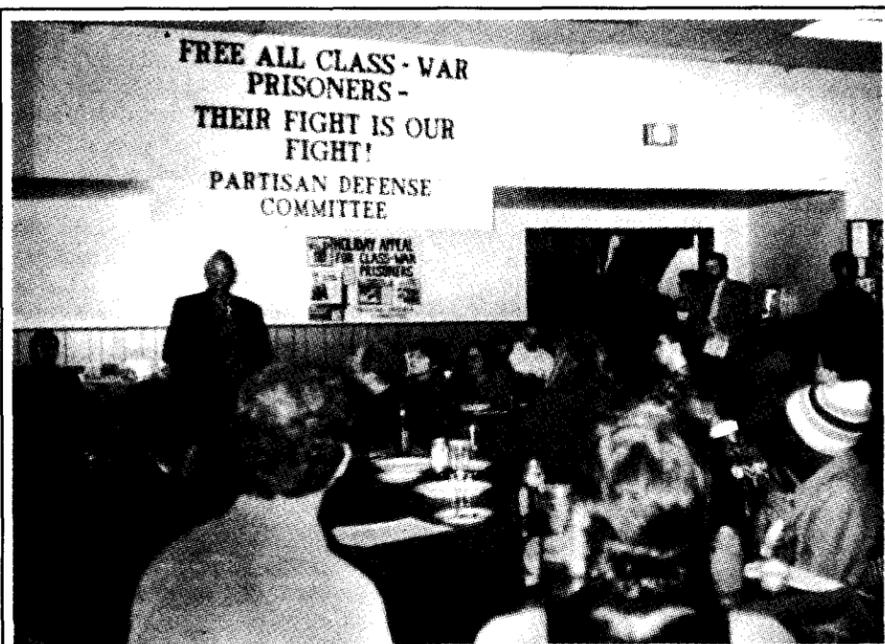
The death penalty is an abomination. But it was not responsible for the massacre of the MOVE martyrs in Philadelphia. George Jackson and Fred Hampton were not murdered by the death penalty. Two hundred years of chattel slavery and 100 years of Jim Crow did not occur because of it. The thousands who died to form the trade unions in this country in the early decades of this century—and who continue to die—did not for the most part languish on death row. The tens of thousands of Japanese interned here during the Second World War and the millions of socialists, Gypsies, homosexuals and Jews incarcerated in Hitler's death camps were not imprisoned and killed on capital offenses.

The way out—the way to victory—

is the way of the class struggle: the powerful integrated labor movement in action for its own interests and the interests of all working people and oppressed. The Partisan Defense Committee takes our heritage from the International Labor Defense of James Cannon in its early years. We stand by the old principle that an injury to one is an injury to all, and in that tradition carry on the ILD's program of stipends to class-war prisoners—Mumia, Geronimo, the imprisoned MOVE members, steel worker Bob Buck—as a message of solidarity. Our strategy is mass labor-centered protests, like those around the world that saved the lives of the Scottsboro defendants. We place no faith whatever in the justice of the courts but look instead, as James P. Cannon said, to the supreme court of the masses.

Unions representing millions of workers around the world have taken a stand in defense of Jamal. We need to turn these motions, resolutions, letters to the governor into action based on some real labor power. Hopefully in this room there are some transit workers, city workers, maybe some teachers and hospital workers. These are powerful unions. Mobilize your co-workers, pass union resolutions with muscle—which means money. We need a fight to throw out the pro-capitalist labor "leaders" and forge a new leadership willing to unchain labor politically and wield its real weapons: its power of withholding labor, choking off capital's profits. It's time to make the unions fighting organizations of the working class once again.

As the past 30 years should show, under capitalism no gains, no democratic rights are secure. Should we prevail in efforts to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which we will, we may still be here ten, fifteen years from now fighting to save another from the executioner's hands. Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. Then and only then will the Supreme Court of capitalist injustice join the other relics of the barbaric past, the medieval rack and the modern death chamber. In a socialist America, maybe with Geronimo Pratt in the Ministry of Justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the Ministry of Information, then and only then can we start to speak of justice. Free Geronimo! Free Mumia! Free all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■



WV Photo

PDC Holiday Appeal Success

With benefits in Atlanta, Chicago (photo above), San Francisco and New York, the Partisan Defense Committee just concluded its eighth annual Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners. Altogether, the PDC raised over \$11,000 for its program of monthly stipends and holiday gifts for the prisoners and their families.

The benefits featured greetings from death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and heard updates on the campaign to save Jamal's life. The 175 people who turned out in New York were honored to hear from James Frazier, a New York City transit worker facing frame-up weapons

charges after he was shot in the head by a NYC cop on October 24, causing the loss of vision in his left eye. About 125 people came to the San Francisco benefit, and SEIU Local 535 sent a donation.

In Chicago, nearly 100 people heard from Jackie Breckenridge, International vice president of the ATU; Johnnie Jackson, president of CLUW; and Katie Jordan, president of ACTWU, all of whom have endorsed the PDC-initiated mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield, Illinois.

The PDC thanks everyone who made this year's Holiday Appeal a success.

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

The revolt in remote rural Chiapas sent shock waves throughout the hemisphere. In the U.S. it made front-page news in New York and headlines in San Francisco. Reuters commented that the Mexican government, "which has spent several years and many millions of dollars grooming its public image" for NAFTA, "faces a public relations nightmare." In Mexico City, the booming stock market fell sharply on news of the uprising, but rebounded on reports of the army massacre. Meanwhile, in Bolivia, peasant groups declared their solidarity, warning that "the humiliated, starving, indigenous peoples and the poor... could rise not only in Bolivia but also in the rest of Latin America."

The blood running down Chiapas' roads and drenching its fields blots out the cynical rosy propaganda of a "new, democratic Mexico" pumped out by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has ruled Mexico since the 1920s and faces elections scheduled for August of this year. As the American embassy dispatched "observers" to Chiapas, air bombardments and barrages from U.S.-supplied helicopter gunships wiped out scores of insurgents—armed mainly with old rifles, pistols and machetes and a small number of automatic weapons—as they withdrew from San Cristóbal and other occupied towns.

El Financiero (3 January) reported, "In the area near San Cristóbal soldiers could be seen firing machine guns from helicopters, indiscriminately shooting at vehicles in the area." So far, army communiqués have not mentioned the capture of any insurgents, a sinister indication that there may be a "take no prisoners" policy. The government, echoed by "opposition" parties, issues phony calls for "dialogue" in an effort to clean up its

image after the 25th anniversary of the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre of hundreds of student protesters in Mexico City.

NAFTA Spells Starvation

The revolt in Chiapas, one of Mexico's most impoverished states, reflects the growing desperation of the poor throughout this country as NAFTA goes into effect. "There is no housing, work or education, there is no justice; we are hungry.... They torture and murder our leaders," said insurgent spokesmen, identified in *La Jornada* (2 January) as "Indians who spoke Spanish with difficulty."

In Mexico's south those who dare protest are often "tried" and jailed without ever learning the charges against them (proceedings are in the Spanish language only, with no translation to the Maya languages spoken by most of the region's Indians). Human rights groups report that more than 500 people in Chiapas have been "disappeared." The state recently achieved international notoriety with a series of death squad-style murders of homosexuals. Thousands of Guatemalan agricultural laborers and refugees seeking to escape genocidal "counterinsurgency" have been deported back to the Central American terror regime, which borders Chiapas. The south has also been a killing ground for teachers' union "dissidents": a majority of the approximately 150 teacher activists murdered in the 1980s were killed in the states of Chiapas and Oaxaca.

Under NAFTA, according to calculations by a national alliance of peasant groups, at least 3 million Mexican peasants will be driven off the land by the flood of U.S. agricultural products such as corn, wheat, sorghum and soya which the trade pact will unleash (*La Jornada*, 30 December 1993). Meanwhile, Mexican wage earners' buying power has fallen by over 60 percent under drastic austerity measures imposed since the "debt bomb" exploded a decade ago.

NAFTA has further emboldened employers, backed by the government, to slash real wages, gut union contracts and suppress strikes. In recent weeks *maquiladora* owners fearful of the potential for labor struggle along the Mexico-U.S. border launched a wave of firings of workers suspected of union organizing.

While the government's PR men project an image of "social peace," the reality of Mexico is far different. The northern industrial city of Monterrey was recently shaken by a strike of 22,000 teachers who faced beatings and kidnappings. In the states of México, Chihuahua, Michoacán and elsewhere, townspeople have taken over municipal buildings, and in some cases run the cops out of town, in protest against police repression and vote fraud. In this context, the army massacre in Chiapas is intended to terrorize all who seek to struggle against poverty and repression.

This is underlined by witchhunting declarations from the government and right wing which, with characteristic racism, blame the "manipulation of the Indians" in Chiapas on everyone from an anonymous "mastermind of high cultural and political level" to "liberation theology" priests, Central American guerrillas and a couple of tiny, shadowy "urban guerrilla" groups whose spokesmen, imprisoned in the capital, have denied links to the EZLN while solidarizing with its aims. In April of 1990, a shooting attributed to one of these groups was the pretext for a large-scale dragnet of "subversives."

Rebel spokesman Comandante Marcos defines the EZLN as "not Maoists or Marxists" but an indigenous "ethnic movement," while stressing the group's calls to "depose" Salinas and install a government of "public figures" to "convoke equal elections." Yet the *New York Times* (4 January) quoted a guerrilla in the town of Altamirano saying that the rebels were fighting "for socialism

like the Cubans have, but better." Meanwhile, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, presidential candidate of the opposition nationalist PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), has denounced the rebels' "violence," urging faith in the 1994 elections while he asks the blood-drenched army to respect human rights and "protect the integrity and heritage" of Indian communities (*El Día*, 2 January).

The Chiapas revolt is a heroic but desperate reaction to a long chain of defeats and attacks on Mexico's working, poor and indigenous people. It harks back to the "armed struggle" launched in the wake of the 1968 massacre by small groups which were quickly crushed. It looks to the traditional symbol of peasant radicalism, Emiliano Zapata, martyred by the northern bourgeoisie as it came to power through thwarting the Mexican Revolution—a revolution which left Chiapas' system of servitude virtually untouched. The key lesson of both 1968 and the 1910-17 Mexican Revolution is that the liberation of Mexico's poor and oppressed will come only when the powerful and combative *proletariat* leads the impoverished peasantry behind the banner of *permanent revolution*.

The imperialist yoke and rural despotism can only be broken with a workers and peasants government that expropriates the bourgeoisie and fights to extend the revolution throughout Latin America and across the Rio Grande to the proletariat of the U.S. and Canada. It is *internationalist labor struggle*, not rural guerrilla war, that can defeat NAFTA and point the way to liberation of Mexico's oppressed masses. Denouncing the barbarous terror against the brave insurgents of Chiapas, the Grupo Esparquista de México, as part of the International Communist League, fights to build the Leninist vanguard party so desperately needed by the toilers of this land. Stop the massacre! Army out of Chiapas! ■

Provocateurs...

(continued from page 2)

police. Under Jimmy Carter, the FBI took its revenge for Watergate and the COINTELPRO revelations with the ABSCAM ("Arab scam") scheme, charging politicians with bribery for accepting money from feds posing as rich Arabs. The government entrapped independent car maker John DeLorean, who had antagonized his ex-boss GM, in a cocaine-dealing scheme. They ran a set-up on Washington mayor Marion Barry to make an example for their racist "war on drugs" in black D.C. The latest case was the exposé of the CIA running drugs by the ton into the U.S. from Venezuela, supposedly as part of an operation against the Medellín cartel.

This is hardly new in the annals of police provocation. The World Trade Center plot recalls some of the wilder operations of the old tsarist Okhrana secret police. Victor Serge noted in his 1925 book, *What Every Revolutionary Should Know About Repression*, based on examining the Okhrana files after the Bolsheviks took power in the 1917 October Revolution, that "Provocation, when it becomes so widely extended, becomes a danger even to the regime it serves." A police spy, Evno Azev, who became the head of the Social-Revolutionaries' "battle organization" in 1909, was one of the organizers of the assassination of Grand Duke Sergei and the Minister of the Interior Plehve. This was even approved by a top police official, Rachkovsky. One of Plehve's successors as minister of the interior, the infamous Stolypin, was also killed by an anarchist agent provocateur working for the tsar's police.

Emad Salem, the FBI's own fink extraordinaire, who learned his trade as an Egyptian army officer and intelligence agent, infiltrated the Jersey City mosque and became a trusted aide of blind Sheik Rahman, the Egyptian fundamentalist

cleric whose followers have been trying for years to overthrow the Cairo regime of U.S. ally Hosni Mubarak. But Rahman himself was working with the U.S. The common thread in the bombing cases is the CIA's "Afghan connection." The sheik's following was full of now-unemployed veterans of the U.S.' decade-long proxy *jihad* (holy war) against the Soviet-allied reform government of Afghanistan. The Salem tapes reveal that Rahman "was using a fax machine to command anti-Communist Muslim rebels, moving forces from Pakistan to Afghanistan" (*New York Times*, 27 October 1993).

In an interview published in the *New Yorker* (10 January), the sheik complained bitterly, "what bothers me, and makes me feel bitter about the whole thing, is when a person who was called a freedom fighter then is now called, when the war is over, a terrorist."

As we wrote last August, "To the classic Watergate questions of what the feds knew and when they knew it, the answers are clearly, 'everything' and 'before it happened.' We don't pretend to know what was being cooked up in Jersey City storefronts, Queens garages and CIA offices from Langley, Virginia to the World Trade Center. Some of the accused may have been entrapped into thinking that they were preparing for another *jihad* in the Balkans" (*WV* No. 582, 13 August 1993).

The World Trade Center bombing trial and the conspiracy case against Sheik Rahman is being used to whip up an anti-Arab terrorism scare whose purposes range from whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to reviving discredited sedition laws and intimidating all those who fall out of step with the government. We have no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, but we nevertheless defend those who were caught in the web of government provocation against this witchhunt prosecution which aims to cover up the government's crimes. The "conspiracy" and

"sedition" laws exist to be used against striking unionists, leftists and oppressed minorities, while the conspirators in power in Washington go free.

As to what really went on in the WTC bomb plot, we may not know until we are able, like the Bolsheviks, to open the police archives after the revolution. ■

North Korea...

(continued from page 3)

North Korea's virtues as a vacation spot!). But while these *reformist* outfits talk of reunifying Korea, they do not even mention smashing capitalist rule in the South.

A "peaceful" capitalist reunification is precisely what the *chaebols* dream of. This would be a hellish disaster for the North Korean masses—those not starved to death would be slave labor for the Seoul capitalists and Tokyo (or Wall Street) banks—as well as for South Korea's powerful, combative proletariat. The South Korean workers have been heroically combative, carrying out pitched battles in shipyards, auto plants

and steel mills against the strikebreaking military. But this economic militancy has not yet been matched by the revolutionary consciousness needed to sweep away the capitalist exploiters. The key to victory is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for *revolutionary* reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North. And a Korean revolution can be the gateway for socialist revolution in Japan, industrial powerhouse of Asia.

With the colonial invasion of Somalia in the guise of "humanitarian" aid, the starvation sanctions and terror bombing of Iraq, the blockade of Haiti and now the saber rattling against North Korea, Clinton's America covers its militarist interventions with the UN fig leaf, just as fellow Democrat Truman did in Korea 40 years ago. The internationalist duty of the proletariat in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast is to defend our Korean class brothers and sisters against Washington's war moves, on the road to a socialist revolution that can put these nuclear-armed madmen out of business for good. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

\$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

New Renewal

international rates:
\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard*

\$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*

\$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone(____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

591
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

The 1908 Race Riot in Springfield

The January 16 Ku Klux Klan provocation targeting the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday is only the latest in a long filthy history of bigotry and racist attacks in Springfield, Illinois. In 1908, Springfield was part of a wave of racist riots across the U.S. which broke out in Greenwood, South Carolina and Wilmington, North Carolina in 1898; in Statesboro, Georgia and Springfield, Ohio in 1904; in Greensburg, Indiana, Brownsville, Texas and Atlanta in 1906.

Racist terror was the spearhead for reaction down the line. In the post-Civil War South, Jim Crow kept the freed slaves in poverty, disease and ignorance. In Northern industries and Western mines, workers tried to organize against the robber barons' brutal exploitation. By pitting white workers against black and fomenting chauvinist hatred of the millions of non-English-speaking immigrants, the bosses succeeded in crippling the workers movement.

This reactionary period was later, in 1915, to see the rebirth of the modern KKK with the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman in Atlanta framed for the murder of a white girl. Terror against blacks was fomented through white-supremacist propaganda like *The Clansman*, a novel and play by Thomas Dixon ghoulishly celebrating KKK lynching. Dixon's racist trash pushed the lie of the "black rapist," symbolizing the ultimate fear of the result of black equality: "race mixing." The play later became the foundation for *The Birth of a Nation*, D.W. Griffith's racist propaganda film.

In Springfield, the city fathers responded to black citizens' protests against the play by allowing only whites to buy tickets. In 1908, a white woman's false charge of sexual assault against a black workman sparked a two-day racist riot that drove hundreds of blacks from town. "Lincoln freed you, we'll show you where you belong," was one of the cries with which the Springfield mob set about to drive the negroes from town," wrote William English Walling in *The Independent* (3 September 1908). "The mob was composed of several thousand of Springfield's white citizens, while other thousands, including many women and children, and even prosperous business men in automobiles, calmly looked on, and the rioters proceeded hour after



Illinois State Historical Library
Devastation on East Madison Street in heart of black district of Springfield, Illinois after racist riot of 1908.

hour and on two days in succession to make deadly assaults on every negro they could lay their hands on, to sack and plunder their houses and stores, and to burn and murder on favorable occasion." Walling was a socialist who had traveled to Russia during the 1905 Revolution and spent several years there. He arrived in Springfield during the second day of the riot.

In her well-written and informative book, *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot* (University of Illinois Press, 1990), Roberta Senechal describes Springfield, the riot and its aftermath. On August 15, a mob of 300 to 400 whites gathered at the jail holding the black man falsely accused of sexual assault, George Richardson, and another black man charged in the slaying of a white man. As talk of lynchings sped through town, the Sangamon County sheriff arranged for an armed escort to spirit the prisoners away, afraid the jail might be attacked.

Finding the inmates gone, the mob rushed to the restaurant owned by a well-to-do white businessman who had loaned his car to aid the escape of the black inmates. Rioters smashed and burned the

car and the restaurant was looted and set aflame. The mob, now nearly 5,000, moved onto Washington Street, a main thoroughfare in the Levee, a concentration of black businesses and residences. Along Eighth Street, a group of black men armed with shotguns to defend themselves let loose a few rounds, eventually retreating amid "a cannonading which rivaled the battle of Gettysburg," according to one newspaper.

In the residential section known as the Badlands, 56-year-old barbershop owner Scott Burton was attacked in his yard. Burton fired buckshot to keep the ax-wielding, brick-throwing throng at bay. The white mob then threw a rope around his neck and dragged him through the streets, riddling him with bullets, hanging him from a tree and attempting to set him on fire. Burton was the first black man lynched, with state militiamen and local police standing by as racists rampaged. The second lynching victim, 80-year-old William Donnegan, was one of the city's wealthier blacks who lived with his white wife a block and a half from the state capitol building.

Every black business in the Levee was

targeted. Jewish businesses were also singled out for attack. White mobs set upon black homes, beating black men, women and children, setting houses ablaze and looting businesses, forcing scores to flee for their lives. When firemen arrived to tackle house fires, the racist mob cut their hoses. White people interspersed amid black residences were ordered by rioters to mark their homes with white cloths so that they would not be burned. More than 80 black people were injured and hundreds became refugees, escaping to Chicago and other towns, only to face more murderous assaults often accompanied by shouts of "Give 'em Springfield!"

In reaction to the wave of racist riots, and in particular in response to Walling's article about Springfield, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1909.

While lynch mobs ran riot and the job-trusting leaders of the American Federation of Labor excluded blacks from the lily-white crafts, in sharp working-class struggles interracial unity came to the fore. Black workers in Springfield played a strategic role in Sangamon County's coal mining. Nearly one in ten miners was black and over 150 lived in town. After the coal bosses brought up black miners from Alabama to be used as unwitting strikebreakers and provoked bloody battles during a strike in nearby Virden in 1898, black members of the United Mine Workers from Springfield fought the use of black laborers as strikebreakers. After the 1908 race riot in Springfield, when a number of racist miners demanded that blacks be discharged from the union, John H. Walker, then president of the Illinois UMW, let it be known that "the local that took such action would first be fined, and, if still obstinate, would be expelled from the organization" (Philip Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973*[1974]).

The fact that today the Klan believes it can rally in Springfield, the capital of the "Land of Lincoln," is testimony to the racist hypocrisy that gives the lie to the promise of equality under capitalism, in the North as well as the ex-slave South. The stark fact is that from 1911, for the next three-quarters of a century no black person was elected to public office in Springfield, even

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black mobilization in Springfield: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan January 16'."

Partial List of Endorsers as of 4 January 1994

29th Ward Peoples Assembly, Chicago, IL
Aboriginal Death in Custody Watch Committee, Sydney, Australia
Marcellus Barnes, Vice President, Black Caucus, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
James R. Barrett, Executive Committee member, Union of Professional Employees, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,* Champaign, IL
Tom Beardsley, President, American Postal Workers Union, Oakland Local,* Oakland, CA
Willie Lee Bell, Delegate to Central Labor Council, IAM Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Karen Biber, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019,* Oakland, CA
Danny Bishop, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Black United Fund of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Local 400, Vancouver, BC
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
Robert Clark, President, United Electrical Workers District 11,* Chicago, IL
Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Aurelio Crippa, Secretary, CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) Milano,* Milano, Italy
Danny K. Davis, Cook County Commissioner,* Chicago, IL
Diane M. Dujon, Chapter Board member, SEIU Local 509 (UMass/Boston),* Mattapan, MA
Alfred Erdölli, Roma Union e.V.,* Berlin, Germany
Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA
Roger Gates, President, United Rubber Workers Local 713,* Decatur, IL
Don Gunn, New South Wales Assistant Secretary, Media Entertainment & Arts Alliance,* Sydney, Australia

Charles A. Hayes, Former Congressman, Chicago, IL
David Hilliard, Business Representative, United Public Employees Local 790,* Oakland, CA
Baruch Hirson, Co-Editor, *Searchlight South Africa*,* London, England
Johnnie M. Jackson, President, Chicago Chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Katie Jordan, President, Chicago ACTWU,* Chicago, IL
Karl Kleihorn, member, presidium of the Dachau concentration camp community,* PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism),* Berlin, Germany
Jürgen Kuczynski, member, Russian Academy of Sciences,* PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism),* Berlin, Germany
Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
George Lach, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2203,* Baltimore, MD
Gerald E. Lockridge, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Jim Lougheed, 1st Vice President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local,* Vancouver, BC
Raymond Martinez, Jr., Philadelphia Chapter President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668,* Philadelphia, PA
Fr. John Maxwell, Pastor, St. Andrew's Catholic Church,* Oakland, CA
Richard B. Maye, President, Ministerial Alliance of Springfield,* Springfield, IL
Harold Mitchell, President, AFSCME Local 100,* Cleveland, OH
Jim Moran, Director, PHILAPOSH,* Philadelphia, PA
James H. Neil, Co-chief Shop Steward, Harvard Dining Service Workers, H.E.R.E. Local 26,* Cambridge, MA
Partisan Defense Committee
William A. Pelz, Director, Social Sciences Program, DePaul University,* Chicago, IL
Keith A. Phelps, Business Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 1064,* Livonia, MI
Raylene Pileggi, Chief Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
Teresa Polk-Henderson, Senior Health and Safety Field Representative, SEIU Central Regional Office,* Chicago, IL

James C. Prola, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2019,* Oakland, CA
Rabbinical Office of the Jewish Community of Milano, Milano, Italy
Rail, Maritime & Transport Union, Finsbury Park branch, London, England
Thomas W. Ramsay, Communications Director, SEIU Local 399,* Los Angeles, CA
J. C. Reynolds, President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732,* Atlanta, GA
David P. Richardson, Jr., State Representative, Pennsylvania House of Representatives,* Philadelphia, PA
Bill Richerson, Union Representative, SEIU Local 1877,* Oakland, CA
John Rohan, President, AFSCME Local 2019,* Oakland, CA
Israel Shahak, Civil Rights Advocate, Jerusalem, Israel
Donald A. Smith, Trustee, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Larry G. Solomon, President, UAW Local 751,* Decatur, IL
Spartacist League of the U.S.
Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL
William H. Taylor, Sr., President, OCAW Local 7-507,* Argo, IL; Chairman, Inter-Union Wet/Dry Corn Milling Council USA and Canada*
Ron Teninty, International Representative, Teamsters,* Richmond, CA
Isiah Thomas, President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Alvin E. Thompson, Legislator, Massachusetts House of Representatives,* Boston, MA
Ronald A. Tyeer, Vice President, CWA Local 1150,* New York, NY
Charles Valenta, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 1034,* Philadelphia, PA
David F. Watts, President, UPIU/Allied Industrial Workers Local 837,* Decatur, IL
Allen L. Weiss, President, Teamsters Local 279,* Decatur, IL
Christopher Wilson, Chair, Friends of Michael Bryant, Pasadena, CA
 *Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed on page 12.

Coal Contract Knifes Miners' Jobs and Safety

Defend Logan County Miners!

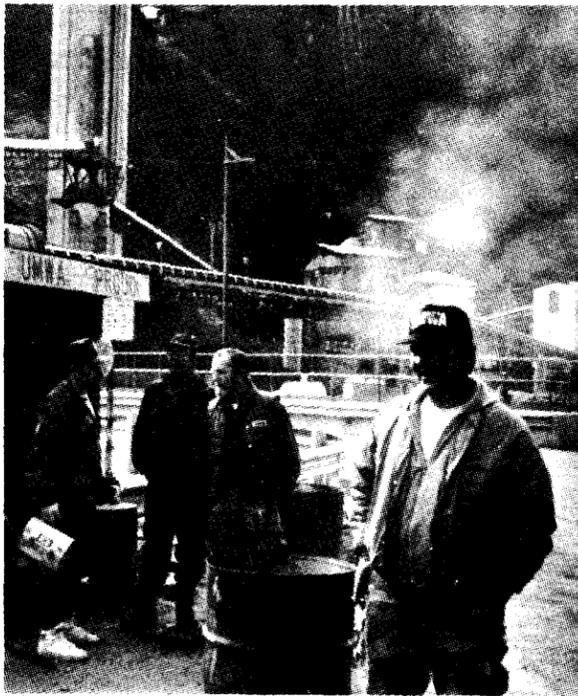
On December 7, United Mine Workers (UMWA) president Richard Trumka announced a settlement of the union's ten-month-long so-called selective strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Two weeks before, Trumka ordered picket lines taken down across the coal fields. And as eight Logan County, West Virginia miners were arraigned in a vicious federal frame-up, the UMW tops remained silent in a clear signal to the bosses. From the outset, Trumka wanted to wear down the union ranks to the point where they would accept a sellout contract.

This contract is designed to drive down working conditions and safety in union mines to the level of non-union operations. Crafted under the pressure of federal "mediation" by Clinton's Labor Department, it is a deadly threat to coal miners and the existence of their union. Even after ten months of "selective strike," in which no more than 17,500 miners were ever called out—while the UMW tops allowed scabs into the mines and coal to be shipped—over one-third of the union still voted against this disastrous contract.

The contract specifically excludes from any amnesty miners facing federal charges. This is a direct attack on the eight Logan County miners framed up on charges of "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce" at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine near Yoyn, West Virginia (see "Defend Logan County Miners!" WV No. 589, 3 December 1993). The miners go on trial in Charleston on January 24. The labor movement must not allow these men, who defended their union on the picket line, to be railroaded by the coal bosses and their government. An injury to one is an injury to all! Drop the charges against the Logan County miners!

The coal bosses, Wall Street and Washington were all quick to applaud the agreement. Sam Shiflet, the hated president of Peabody Coal and chairman of the BCOA, crowed that "this contract contains the first basic work rule changes in decades," and gloated that it yields "fundamental changes in the relationship between labor and management."

Trumka parrots the BCOA and government line: "Today marks the start of a new era in labor-management relations in the coal fields." What's behind this b.s. is an agreement ordering local union officials



UMWA strikers picket Montcoal mine and prep plant in West Virginia last February.

to collaborate with the coal bosses to increase "productivity." In other words, boost coal company profits by slashing jobs and working conditions. Called the "Labor Management Positive Change Process," the "joint" committees can slash job classifications and even assign miners to jobs without regard to seniority. New, "alternative" work schedules will include 10-hour days and even 12-hour shifts on Saturdays and Sundays. Around-the-clock production will wipe out necessary "dead work" time during which mine safety work is done. Together these provisions represent a massive assault on miners' safety and livelihoods.

Miners in West Virginia told *Workers Vanguard* that the "productivity" committees are like cutting your own throat. Strikers were angry about cruel changes in health care: miners are given a \$1,000 "bonus," and then forced to decide whether to spend their own money if they or their families want to see a doctor. In addition, the BCOA has set up a list of their own "preferred providers"—company doctors.

The agreement extends provisions of the 1988 BCOA

contract on hiring laid-off union miners to companies that had been "double breasting"—creating subsidiaries in order to open non-union mines. But Trumka's contract continues to sanction these non-union outfits, allowing the bosses to hire 40 percent non-UMWA miners. Local 1392 president Fred Wagner in Percy, Illinois said the contract will allow the companies to weed out militants: "If you're a guy who's been really active in the union, you won't get the job" (*Springfield State Journal-Register*, 14 December 1993).

When the walkout began, Trumka said, "I didn't want to strike to begin with." That's certainly how he ran it. The UMW tops repeated the "selective strike" strategy which led to defeats at Pittston in 1989 and A.T. Massey in 1984-85, when four Kentucky miners were railroaded by the feds and are in jail to this day.

Trumka, and Clinton, knew that a militant national miners strike would send shock waves through U.S. labor and inspire solidarity, from Staley workers locked out in Illinois to striking steel workers in Alabama, who have seen their brothers struck down and killed on the picket line. What was needed was to pull out the entire UMW, appealing directly to railroad workers, longshoremen and power plant workers to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) any coal. Winning some strikes is the road to recapturing the non-union mines in the East and to laying the basis for a militant organizing drive in the huge Western mines.

This sellout contract comes after 20 years of government-backed "reformers" running the UMW, beginning with Arnold Miller, who was installed as president in the Labor Department-controlled elections in 1972 (with Trumka on his staff). The "reformers" have hacked away at the union's proud traditions, gutting what was once the most powerful industrial union in the U.S. through class-collaborationist schemes that bind the unions to the capitalists and their government.

Trumka wears his camouflage tie up to Capitol Hill, and pleads that "if we had strong, fair and reasonable labor law, this [strike] could have been avoided." A District 31 miner had Trumka's number when he told WV that "if you remain legal, you're going to lose." Trumka has shown which side he's on. To take on the coal bosses and the capitalist state which stands behind them, with its cops, courts and labor boards, you need a class-struggle leadership which links the fight to oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders with the struggle to forge a workers party championing all the oppressed. ■

though 11 percent of the city's population was black (Dr. Lawrence C. Golden, *Report on Racial Discrimination in Springfield, Illinois* [November 1986]). Among cities its size, Springfield is one of the most segregated towns in the United States.

The struggle for black freedom is integrally linked to the fight for social revolution to smash racist capitalism. The 1917 October Revolution in Russia, in which Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks led the working class to power, was a beacon of emancipation for the downtrodden around the globe. Drawing on their own experience in mobilizing the workers to defeat racist pogroms against the Jews, the Bolsheviks taught Ameri-

can Communists that they must not be "colorblind" but must champion the cause of black people. Among the most oppressed would be found many of the strongest fighters for socialist revolution, and only united working-class struggle against every case of social and racial injustice could lead the way to freedom for all. Today, powerful action by the integrated labor movement can crush the growing fascist threat, winning a victory for all working people and oppressed minorities.

Join the Partisan Defense Committee in bringing together a powerful body of labor and blacks that can stop the Klan cold on January 16. All out to stop the KKK! ■

Stop the KKK...

(continued from page 12)

state capitol. Don't let this happen in Springfield!

Around the world, right-wing terror is on the rise, from Nazi firebombings of Turkish families in Germany to the skinhead murder of an Ethiopian student in Portland, Oregon. Following the destruction of the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe, there has been a resurgence of terror against Jews and Gypsies. Hitler's stormtroopers could have been crushed in the egg before they rose to power.

We have the power to spike the KKK

threat here and now—labor/black power has done it before. Chicago labor, along with blacks, Jews, students, gays and leftists, turned out more than 3,000-strong on June 27, 1982 against a gang of Hitler lovers who targeted gays. In Evanston in 1980, Holocaust survivors and others courageously drove the Nazis out of town when they tried to spread their terror in this Jewish community, as they had tried in Skokie in 1978. A mass labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in Philadelphia on November 5, 1988 blocked a KKK provocation at the Liberty Bell.

The KKK threatens to rally on the Capitol's east steps on Sunday, January 16 facing statues of Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King Jr., and monuments to coal miners and Illinois workers—everything the Klan hates: social justice, minorities, unions. We must be there in a mass, disciplined and democratic mobilization of militant outrage that stops their deadly provocation. All out to stop the Ku Klux Klan!

Partisan Defense Committee
30 December 1993

IT TAKES MONEY TO STOP THE KKK!

Donations are urgently needed to build the January 16 labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Springfield. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications, and equipment all cost a lot of money. Get your union, church group, student club, and friends to help build the mobilization beginning with a financial contribution. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send checks to: PDC, Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867. ■

Cathy Long, Victim of Racist Murder

Cathy Ann Long, a 31-year-old black woman and a mother, was murdered by white supremacists. Mrs. Long moved to South Bend, Indiana three years ago from San Jose, California. On December 21, her body was found in a deserted spot along a country road. Police initially claimed she was a "transient" and the press reported a "random slaying."

But according to the *South Bend Tribune* (28 December 1993), the four men arrested for this grisly slaying were part of a racist group known as the White Brotherhood. Court records state the four had left a party and decided to rob someone. They agreed it would be a black person. They encountered Cathy Long and killed her in cold blood. She was riddled with stab wounds and

her throat had been cut.

Cathy Long is survived by her husband, Jacob, and two daughters, Katherine Nicole Long and Nausha Lee King. Mr. Long told *Workers Vanguard* his wife was "grievously slain. She was a loving wife and mother, not to be slaughtered and slandered as she was."

Nothing "random" about it: Cathy Long is among the thousands of black people who have fallen victim to the lynch rope and the burning cross.

The racists are getting away with murder. They successfully came out in their white sheets at the Indianapolis state house on October 16, and at the Ohio state house in Columbus a week later. The police protected the Klan and penned up anti-fascist protesters inside

chain-link holding pens, surrounded by phalanxes of cops. The KKK was not stopped in Indianapolis. And weeks later Cathy Long was brutally slain by racist killers.

The murder of Cathy Long by white supremacists underscores a basic truth: the fascists cannot be "ignored"—we must stop them. KKK "Christmas crosses" in Columbus and Cincinnati, "White Aryan Resistance" führer Tom Metzger's skinhead punks marauding in Springfield schools, a recruiting rally on the MLK holiday—these are all deadly threats to black people, labor, almost all of us. These fascist scum must be driven back into their holes before one more life is lost at the hands of the racist killers.

WORKERS VANGUARD

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

No Racist Provocation Against Martin Luther King Holiday!

Springfield, Illinois—January 16

The following urgent call for a massive labor/black mobilization was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on December 30.

The lynchers of the Ku Klux Klan say they are going to bring their terror to the steps of the Illinois state capitol in Springfield on January 16. This time, their target is the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday. With their lynch ropes, burning crosses, robes and swastikas, the KKK is a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unions, leftists—practically all of us. There must be a militant, disciplined and defiant display of labor/black power that insures the KKK doesn't ride in Springfield on January 16! The Partisan Defense Committee urges you to organize your community, your union, your school. **Be there! Stop the Klan!**

Make no mistake—the KKK are sadistic killers, in and out of their white sheets. Just before Christmas in South Bend, Indiana, Cathy Long, a black mother of two, was brutally murdered by four white supremacists. This racist murder follows almost weekly Klan and Nazi provocations across the Midwest, from Columbus to Indianapolis. The Klan was founded by Confederate officers bent on overturning the verdict of the Civil War and imposing Jim Crow segregation. Now they are coming to Springfield to try and turn back the clock—back to 1908 when black men, women and children were driven out of town in the bloody Springfield race riot. A KKK rally on and against the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday is a real provocation. Minorities, labor unions, and civil rights activists fought for years to commemorate the slain civil rights leader. King was gunned down

in Memphis where he went to support a sanitation workers strike. From the east steps of the Capitol, white robed Klansmen intend to spew their poison at King's statue and recruit to racist violence and bigotry. We will be at

are poison to every kind of integrated social struggle—like union organizing and winning strikes. The unions were built against the violent opposition of the KKK, when these stormtroopers terrorized immigrant Catholics, as well as

The KKK acts as vigilantes for the government-sponsored war on immigrants. Meanwhile, legal lynching, the death penalty, targets blacks and Hispanics in particular—from death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania to Manuel Salazar in Illinois.

Within easy reach of Springfield—in Chicago, Decatur, Peoria and St. Louis—are unions with hundreds of thousands of black, white and Hispanic members. This is the power—the unity of the integrated labor movement—that must be mobilized to stop the KKK on January 16. Thousands of unionists, standing with blacks, Jews, gays, can fill the Capitol grounds. In stopping the Klan we will honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor.

Across the Midwest last fall, large numbers of people—especially youth—turned out to try and stop the fascists. But everywhere the KKK rallied to recruit to racist terrorism, the police penned up anti-fascist demonstrators in cages to protect the Klan. What's necessary is to link the justified outrage of the youth, the black community, and all intended victims of the KKK to the organized power of labor to stop the fascists. Asking the cops and courts to "Ban the Klan" is like black motorist Rodney King asking the LAPD for protection! It is not a question of "free speech" for the KKK—remember the four black children who were murdered in the Birmingham church bombing and the union organizers and leftists shot down in broad daylight in Greensboro. Remember Cathy Long who was murdered by nightriders just weeks after the KKK staged a provocation at the Indiana

continued on page 11



the Illinois Workers Memorial to stop them.

Illinois is a "War Zone," from the besieged miners, Caterpillar and Staley workers to black people facing racist police terror on the South Side of Chicago. This devastation is what the racists of the Klan feed on. The fascists

blacks, and the unions they joined. In the '30s U.S. Steel and other bosses hired Klansmen to set up company unions in the mines. Behind the KKK and their gut hatred of unions stands a ruling class which has driven down wages, gutted jobs, and shredded health care, education and welfare.

Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror