

**No to Colonial Invasion! Asylum for Haitian Refugees!**

## U.S. Hands Off Haiti!

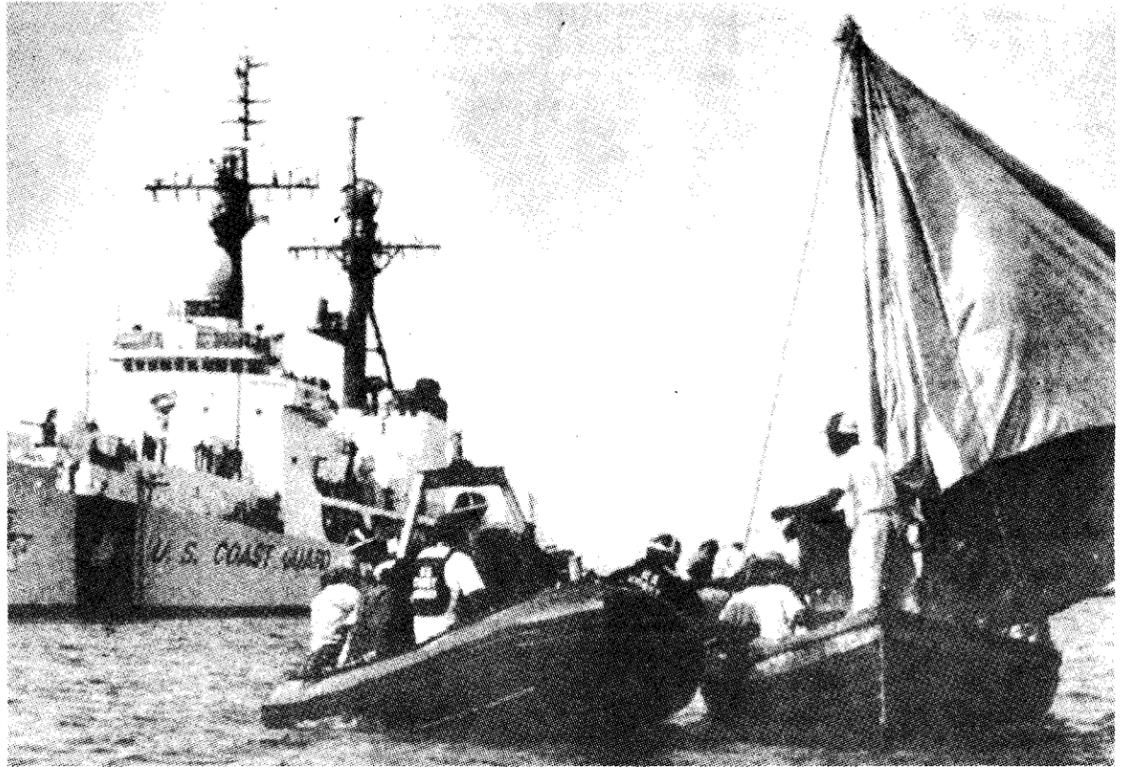
**Smash the Death Squad Regime—  
For a Workers and Peasants Government!**

**Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism!**

JULY 5—As we go to press, the Pentagon has announced that a four-ship amphibious assault group with 2,000 Marines will sail for Haiti tomorrow. They will join up with the 650 Marines aboard the USS *Wasp*, which is already in the region “conducting exercises.” Their mission: “to evacuate American citizens and designated foreign nationals, if necessary.” This is the same excuse Washington used for its invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983, for the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo and countless other neocolonial adventures. While President Clinton’s special adviser for Haiti, William Gray, denies that an invasion is “imminent” (defined as within the next few days), it is clear that the machinery of U.S. military intervention is in high gear. *The international working class must oppose imperialist intervention!*

The American bourgeoisie claims that its starvation embargo and military moves are aimed at “restoring democracy,” ousting the blood-drenched military regime and reinstalling popularly elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office. This is a brazen lie. In fact, the junta officers were trained and installed—and can be removed—by the U.S. When Washington wanted to dump General Prosper Avril in 1990, all it took was a phone call and

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As Clinton threatens military invasion in the name of “democracy,” U.S. Coast Guard captures Haitians who flee murderous junta terror. AFP

**For Black Proletarian Power**

## South Africa Powder Keg

It has been barely two months since Nelson Mandela, upon taking office as South Africa’s first black president, declared the blood-drenched land “free at last.” The imperialist media echoed his proclamation (taken from American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr.) in language usually associated with religious ecstasy. The *U.S. News & World Report* exulted: “South Africa’s election ratifies a political miracle for the ages.” Much of the left was similarly ecstatic over the “new” South Africa, pronouncing apartheid dead and buried.

However, for the black toilers of South Africa, apartheid is not simply a legal system of racial segregation—the bantustans, pass laws, Group Areas Act—but above all the economic and social dominance of the white rulers and their agents. A black gold miner on the Rand exclaimed bitterly a few days after the elections: “Underground there are 35 black men working and there is one white man watching them and

### ANC Fronts for Racist Exploiters

he has everything.” The rigid structures of apartheid may be gone, but white supremacy remains, and will remain until the racist capitalist system is overthrown by the working people who produce its superprofits.

In South Africa today, just as before the April 27 elections, whites—who make up 13 percent of the population—own 87 percent of the land, 90 percent of the productive wealth and hold 98 percent of the corporate directorships. On average, white families have an income

ten times that of blacks. In a country which developed high-tech medical equipment, 23 million people have no electricity, 12 million have no access to clean drinking water. The leading cause of death among black African children is water-borne diseases like dysentery. The leading cause of death among white children is swimming pool accidents!

While Western liberals and many leftists may be celebrating the “death of apartheid,” the leaders of Mandela’s African National Congress (ANC) knew

very well that they were betraying the black masses in the struggle against apartheid, which is necessarily a fight for social and economic equality. Even before the vote, the ANC tops worried about a “crisis of expectations” in the impoverished black townships. That’s why Mandela was relieved not to have gotten more than two-thirds of the votes, which would have put the ANC under pressure to rewrite the constitution to eliminate the various “sunset clauses” preserving white privilege. Already the masses’ patience is wearing thin. As the election and inauguration euphoria dissipates, there have already been a spate of strikes by black miners against racist practices of the Gold Fields

conglomerate, as well as by auto workers of Volkswagen and Delta Motor Corporation.

Meanwhile, land invasions by homeless squatters have begun. In the huge, overpopulated slum of Sebokeng, several hundred residents surged across the highway—dubbed the “Red Sea” by the residents—into the promised land of empty private and city-owned land where they quickly measured out their plots and began erecting

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**Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

**Mobilize to Save  
Mumia Abu-Jamal!**

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT SEE PAGES 7-10



# S.F. Mayor's Vendetta Against "Food Not Bombs"

## Stop the Frame-Up of Keith McHenry!

SAN FRANCISCO—Mayor Frank Jordan is trying to destroy Keith McHenry because he won't stop feeding the homeless. McHenry is a co-founder of Food Not Bombs, an organization which for years has incurred the deep hostility of both Jordan and his "liberal" predecessor Art Agnos by distributing food to hungry people in defiance of their schemes to drive the poor somewhere else to die. For the "crime" of giving food to starving people, McHenry has been arrested 92 times. Now Jordan is having him framed on two felony assault charges, setting Keith up to go to prison for life under California's vicious "three strikes and you're out" law. McHenry goes to trial on the first frame-up assault charge on July 11. Food Not Bombs has called demonstrations that day in San Francisco at 8:00 a.m. at the trial site, 850 Bryant Street, as well as in other cities nationally.

Former police chief Jordan and his

crew are digging into their bag of cop dirty tricks, going to any lengths to get McHenry. The January 4 incident for which McHenry is going on trial July 11 was precipitated when Nick Roomel, a Jordan administration official who had been collecting data about his target for months, punched McHenry from behind in City Hall. McHenry, the victim, was promptly arrested and charged with felony assault. On April 4, Andrew Solow, a cop working out of the mayor's office as a "community adviser," wrestled McHenry to the ground and arrested him for "assault," but had to release him because Food Not Bombs supporters had captured the incident on video.

In the latest frame-up, on May 13—after two arrests that week for distribution of literature and "felony possession of a milk crate"—Keith and a 71-year-old Food Not Bombs supporter went to City Hall to lobby city supervisors in

their offices. An aide to supervisor Barbara Kaufman slammed the door on them so violently that when McHenry caught it, his hand went through a glass panel, slicing off a chunk of his palm and severing an artery; Keith was again arrested for felony assault. The "arresting officer of record" was the same John Nevin, Mayor Jordan's personal bodyguard, who had arrested him on January 4.

By the time McHenry arrived at the police station, in the custody of one Sergeant Siobhan McAulliffe, his loosely bound wound had soaked through the bandages and he was dripping blood. Keith was denied medical attention and left to bleed in his cell for six hours, while McAulliffe tried to have him committed to the psychiatric ward at SF General Hospital. He was only taken for emergency medical treatment when the nurse at the jail where he was transferred refused to admit him, demanding he be seen by a doctor. At the hospital, he passed out from shock due to loss of blood; he easily could have died in that police cell.

At the bail hearing, the D.A.'s office slandered McHenry as "dangerous" while Sgt. McAulliffe told the press that McHenry is likely "to beat up or shoot someone" (a lie echoed in a despicable *SF Weekly* article claiming he was "cracking under pressure"). The judge sent McHenry back to jail on \$75,000 bail. When the owner of the Berkeley club Ashkenaz put up his building to raise the bail, the cops still held McHenry another week. On May 27, with the proper papers all signed, the judge said he was leaving early for the holiday weekend, and Keith, with his mutilated hand, remained in jail until June 1.

The vicious vendetta against McHenry and Food Not Bombs is part and parcel of Jordan's barbaric "Operation Matrix." Jordan launched this assault on the homeless ten months ago, ranting about the "eyesore" of homeless people in downtown streets. His SFPD hounded them out of the Civic Center, one of the locations where Food Not Bombs does its daily food distribution. Jordan ordered a homeless camp in Golden Gate Park razed and threw away their belongings on a couple of hours' notice. As of last March, there had been over 10,000 arrests and citations under "Operation Matrix." In protest against this campaign, the Spartacist League, Labor Black League and Partisan Defense Committee called a demonstration last December 14 to demand an end to Jordan's "Operation Matrix" and "Hands off Food Not Bombs!"

Plenty of working people keenly feel that they themselves are only a paycheck or pink slip away from the street. In this racist capitalist society, Operation Matrix exemplifies the supreme arrogant contempt that the ruling class and yuppie scum have for working people. After looting the economy, deindustrializing the country, devastating jobs, busting unions and turning the inner cities into vast wastelands of poverty, disease and death, now their vicious capitalist politicians, from Jordan to Clinton, want to sweep the legions of laid-off, homeless, hungry and poor working people off the streets like so much refuse.

Jordan's cops are going wild all over town. Gestapo-style police checkpoints have been set up in black Bayview-Hunters Point and the Latino Mission District (under the guise of "seatbelt checks"), enabling the cops to run background checks on the minority residents. Nightclubs popular with youth in the South of Market area are being raided by police squads every weekend. Now the SFPD is trying to turn the city's public



WV Photo  
Keith McHenry, co-founder of Food Not Bombs.

housing projects into a police state where the cops intend to abolish Fourth Amendment rights against illegal searches, invade tenants' homes at will and expel residents arrested for a felony.

The same forces trying to railroad Keith McHenry into jail are the ones who shoot black youth down in the street. The same cops will be mobilized to bust picket lines and protect scabs whenever workers strike to defend their living standards and their unions. Currently Jordan is escalating his union-busting drive against the municipal workers unions, pushing for an indefinite pay freeze and a draconian "labor relations" law that would give the sinister Jordan final say in any future dispute with city workers. San Francisco's powerful, integrated unions can and must strike a powerful blow against this dangerous cop bonapartism. We call on labor to defend Keith McHenry and Food Not Bombs.

In a letter to San Francisco D.A. Arlo Smith, the Partisan Defense Committee protested:

"If Keith McHenry were a wealthy restaurateur who threw some crumbs to the homeless for a yearly photo op he would be hailed as a philanthropist and toasted around town. But instead he now faces felony charges and is being set up for life in jail under California's 'three strikes and you're out' law for the 'crime' of trying to feed the poor.... The Partisan Defense Committee demands: Drop all charges against Keith McHenry! Hands off Food Not Bombs!"

We encourage WV readers to send letters of protest to Arlo Smith, District Attorney, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Food Not Bombs has asked that donations for McHenry's bail be sent to them at 3145 Geary #12, San Francisco, CA 94118.

Some sharp class struggle that ends in victory for the workers is key to reversing the ruling-class war against the working class and those left to die in this rotting capitalist system. Only the establishment of a workers state can create a socialist society of abundance and equality in which it will be a distant and terrible memory that once people were persecuted for feeding the homeless and hungry. ■

**NOTICE**  
**Workers Vanguard will skip the second issue in July and August.**  
**Our next issue will be dated August 5.**



TROTSKY

### No to Yankee Imperialist Intervention!

As Washington seeks to assert its hegemony as master of a "New World Order," various liberals and "radicals" join in calling for U.S. intervention from Bosnia to Haiti in the name of democracy and humanitarianism. At the time of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin denounced the "social-imperialists" who uttered leftist phrases to cover support to their rapacious bourgeoisies. Far from seeking to install "democracy" in Haiti, Clinton's starvation embargo and the threatened invasion aim to reimpose direct U.S. domination and would replace the blood-drenched military regime with a no less bloody military occupation to suppress any uprising of the black masses. As reaffirmed by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party on the eve of World War II, a central task in the struggle for socialist revolution in the United States is intransigent opposition to U.S. imperialist intervention around the globe, particularly in Latin America.

American imperialism aims at more than monopolizing the markets and the sources of raw materials of the entire Western Hemisphere. It also aims at making the Americas, from Cape Horn to Patagonia, the physical, economic, and strategic base required for the coming decisive struggles for the possession of the world. This is why Roosevelt belliciously proclaims, alongside of the evangelical preaching of Hull, that the United States will defend tooth and nail all the countries in the hemisphere....

The political and military objectives of Wall Street in Latin America are totalitarian, embellished though they are by Rooseveltian democracy. Washington seeks a monopoly in everything: in raw materials and markets, in ideology and politics, in foreign relations, in military missions, war supplies, naval and air lines and bases, in military preparations.... American military, naval, or aviation missions are already operating in Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Haiti, Guatemala, Colombia, and they are coming in other countries; they do not instruct, nor will they instruct, the forces of these countries in the special problems of their own defense, but aim to create strategic bases for the war plans of American imperialism....

We appeal to the semicolonial peoples of the south to unite with us against the common enemy: imperialism, and that includes the American brand. We pledge our unremitting aid in rallying the working class of this country in effective solidarity with the Latin American peoples in their struggles for national freedom.

The liberation of Latin America from the imperialist yoke, the destruction of the threat of fascist intervention at its very roots, can be achieved only by common action of the American working class with the worker and peasant masses of Central and South America.

—Manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party, "Yankee Imperialism at Lima" (January 1939)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 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 July 5.

No. 603

8 July 1994

# Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

a visit from the U.S. ambassador, and an Air Force plane to transport him to Miami. Disposable puppets who prove obstreperous can be eliminated the way Kennedy did it when the CIA authorized some of its "assets" in the Dominican military to get rid of Trujillo in 1961. The tacking and turning of Washington's policy on Haiti reflects deep divisions in the bourgeoisie over whether to dump the generals (considered too openly bloody to embrace) and restore Aristide (viewed as an "unstable" radical despite his demonstrated fealty to the U.S.).

The administration's threats of military intervention have provoked unexpectedly strong opposition by the Pentagon, Republican Party leaders, and Latin American countries. But after the administration's foreign policy failures in Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti, and their troubles on Capitol Hill with their health "reform," Clinton officials reportedly saw a U.S. invasion of Haiti as an "easy hit" which could provide a "significant boost" to the president's popularity polls. There is something of an orchestrated quality to the recent events. Clinton encourages longtime anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson to continue his hunger strike in protest against the government's Haitian refugee policy; the administration, citing Robinson and the Congressional Black Caucus, then changes the policy, granting some 30 percent asylum as opposed to 5 percent previously; as the news reaches Haiti, the number of "boat people" suddenly escalates, and this then becomes an argument for sending in the Marines.

For weeks the rulers of Yankee imperialism have been putting the finishing touches on military plans to invade Haiti and install a more pliant and more effective quisling regime. According to this plan, whatever happens to the current rulers, the Haitian army will remain intact, to be used as an auxiliary to U.S./UN occupation forces *in order to prevent a popular uprising*. The ultimate size of the anticipated invasion force (25,000 to 50,000 troops) makes it clear that Washington's aim is once again to occupy Haiti for years, turning it into a direct colonial protectorate as it was under the U.S. military from 1915 to 1934. As that occupation showed, the racist U.S. imperialists are a far more oppressive force than their local henchmen and would only impose another grisly dictatorship on black Haiti. *We say: Yankee imperialists hands off Haiti!*

Until recently, the Clinton administration's official policy has been to force out the Haitian military junta through economic sanctions. Stiffened UN-sponsored trade sanctions were instituted last May. These measures only pile further miseries on Haiti's impoverished masses while the military rulers and their wealthy backers make fabulous profits off contraband fuel and control of the food trade. Since they were imposed last year, the UN sanctions have driven up the price of food and medicine several-fold so that malnutrition has increased dramatically. While rich Haitians transfer money to accounts in Europe, Clinton's latest measures will limit the amount of money Haitians in the U.S. can send to their families to insure their survival. *Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!*

The surge in Haitian refugees in recent days reached a crescendo on Monday, July 4, when the Coast Guard picked up 3,247 from leaky boats in a single day. This was almost one and a half times the figure for all of 1993. In the last week and a half, well over 10,000 desperate people have been kidnapped by the U.S. on the high seas, and shipped off to its concentration camp in Guantánamo, the U.S. naval base which was

stolen from Cuba, and a hospital ship anchored off Kingston, Jamaica. Now even those granted political asylum will not be allowed to enter the U.S., but instead will be consigned to "safe haven" camps in U.S. neocolonies around the Caribbean. What vexes U.S. rulers most about Haiti is the issue of immigration. Any anti-Communist Cuban *gusano* (worm) who makes it to the U.S. is automatically welcomed with open arms. But the bottom line of Washington's policy toward Haiti is to keep black Haitians out of the U.S. We demand: *Stop the racist Coast Guard seizures—Asylum for Haitian refugees!*

Having proclaimed a "New World Order" following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Washington is arrogantly



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acting as world policeman. In addition to placing the Haitian people under the boot of colonialism, American intervention would pose a mortal threat to the Cuban revolution. Ever since the Castro regime expropriated the capitalists in 1960, establishing a bureaucratically deformed workers state, Washington has tried everything from invasion at the Bay of Pigs to countless assassination attempts on Castro in a relentless drive to destroy this social revolution in its "backyard." *Defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism! U.S. out of Guantánamo!*

The previous U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1915 touched off a revolt of the *cacos*, peasant bands led by Charlemagne Peralte, which lasted for five years until it was drowned in blood by the U.S. Marines. The U.S. military systematically burned and bombed villages and murdered thousands. A newspaper report at the time described how the U.S. Marines "opened fire with machine guns from airplanes upon defenseless Haitian villages," how they killed "men, women, and children in the open market places," and how Haitians "were slain for 'sport'" (see Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti 1915-1934* [1971]). Masses of peasants were evicted from their land to make way for the concessions to Standard Fruit for banana production. Anyone who was caught without a "good citizen" pass was summarily shot by the Marines or their sadistic henchmen of the *gendarmes* (forerunner of the present Haitian army).

The moment the stranglehold of the military regime—with its thousands of paramilitary thugs (from the remnants of the feared *Tontons Macoutes* to the *attachés* linked to the army and police)—is loosened, there will be an outpouring of cries for vengeance from the Haitian masses. These calls for *dechoukaj* (uprooting) of this system of organized murder will have an enormous resonance, as they did when the Duvalier regime was ousted in 1986. And indeed, in order to lift the iron heel of perpetual

military rule it's necessary to root out this system down to the last rural "section chief." But this will run straight into the U.S. Marines' bayonets and can easily be dissipated into the settling of individual scores. Marxist revolutionaries fight for *people's tribunals to bring the Macoute criminals to justice! Smash the bloody junta—For a workers and peasants government in Haiti! Pouvoir ouvrier—Workers to power!*

But the fate of the Haitian masses will not be decided in Haiti alone. Key to any struggle against the Haitian military rulers and their U.S. puppet masters is the sizable mass of Haitian working people in the diaspora concentrated along the Eastern seaboard of North America, from Montreal to Miami. They form a

in the region sparked by a revolt of the Haitian masses, which explains why the Clinton administration considers that military occupation of Haiti would be necessary to "keep order through December 1995, the end of Father Aristide's term" (*New York Times*, 30 May). An uprising in Haiti could indeed quickly spread to the neighboring Dominican Republic, where tens of thousands of Haitians perform near slave labor in the sugar fields. There is also mass discontent over the recent Dominican elections, dominated by virulent racism. The Balaguer regime accused its main opponent, Pedro Gómez, who is black, of wanting to "take the country with Haiti, and in many a case black voters had to produce birth certificates to prove they weren't Haitians."



Savigno/Reuters

Woman murdered on Port-au-Prince street by death squads of U.S.-trained and equipped Haitian military regime.

living bridge to the U.S. proletariat, particularly its militant component of black workers. The struggle against a U.S./UN invasion, and against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses under capitalism, must be part of an international class struggle against imperialism.

## Yankee Imperialism's Invasion Plan

U.S. plans for a military intervention are not a last-minute affair. The *Washington Post* (2 July) reported that on June 4 the U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk, Virginia issued a classified planning order instructing more than a dozen military units to "conduct execution planning in preparation for possible military operations in Haiti" and to submit their plans by June 10 to the president and defense secretary. On June 12, the *Post* reported that Defense Department sources had revealed that the Pentagon contingency plan for U.S. invasion of Haiti called for "a force of 25,000 to 50,000 Army airborne, naval and special operations personnel who would secure Haiti's political and military power centers in a rapid assault."

This enormous imperialist juggernaut is obviously intended for more than bringing to heel the 7,000-man, lightly armed Haitian army. U.S. officials are above all concerned to intimidate the Haitian population and make any resistance appear suicidal. Originally, Washington officials suggested that a "peacekeeping" force of 3,000 to 4,000 would be sufficient. But this number has now been more than tripled, "because Washington wants to insure that it would be able to deal with any eventuality in Haiti, particularly in light of the polarization of Haitian society" (*New York Times*, 25 June). Dealing with "any eventuality" means suppressing popular revolt. Indeed, the racist colonial occupation could itself very possibly *provoke* a mass uprising, even in the face of dreadfully overwhelming firepower.

It is the fear of spreading "instability"

The Pentagon last month announced that some "technical support troops" would be deployed in the Dominican Republic. And during the last U.S. occupation of Haiti, the Marines also occupied Santo Domingo, carrying out widespread massacres and leading to the installation of the Trujillo dictatorship. It is the duty of Dominican Marxists to oppose their own racist rulers' oppression of Haitians, and to promote united class struggle throughout the island. Revolutionaries throughout the region, particularly in Mexico and the U.S., would militarily support any struggle against a U.S./UN invasion, even by any maverick elements of the Haitian military who don't simply do the bidding of their American masters and instead take up arms against the imperialists.

It is undoubtedly a sign of the widespread misgivings about the "humanitarian" intentions of U.S. imperialism among the Haitian people that Aristide has spun 180 degrees on supporting a U.S. military intervention. After giving backhanded support to imperialist intervention in Haiti by calling for "swift and determined action," Aristide suddenly in late June started declaring that he was "against a military invasion." But Aristide is careful not to exceed the bounds of loyalty to his overlords in Washington. Meanwhile, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have begun training some 100 Haitian exiles—a proposal made by Aristide to the Canadian government last January—to serve as police under the imperialist occupation forces.

We have insisted that the liberation of Haiti, where Toussaint L'Ouverture led the first successful slave revolt in history in conjunction with the French Revolution, will come about not by appealing to the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialists in Washington and the UN, but through internationalist class struggle. What is needed is a Trotskyist party uniting the North American proletariat with its Caribbean brothers and sisters in struggle for socialist revolution. ■

# Reformists Cover for Teamster Bureaucracy

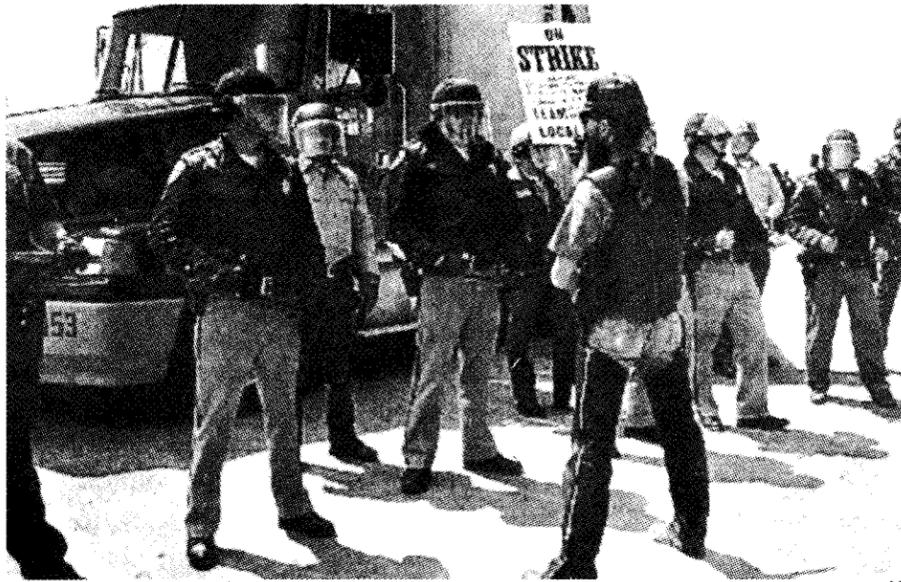
## Feds' Finks: TDU and the Left

The 24-day Teamsters strike by 70,000 truck drivers and loading dock workers in April sharply posed the possibility of reversing years of labor defeats, give-backs and humiliating sellouts. And just as sharply, the strike posed the crisis of leadership facing the working class. Strikers remained solid in the face of vicious police assaults and arrests on the picket lines. They received widespread support and solidarity from longshoremens, rail workers and other unionists across the country, who knew that the Teamsters union, despite the erosion of its power in recent years, could have won this key strike battle.

But the strike was sabotaged from the beginning by the Teamster leadership. Both IBT president Ron Carey, installed in 1991 in a government-run election along with the "reformers" of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), and the venal "old guard" of corrupt officials played by the bosses' rules. Less than two-thirds of the freight membership was pulled out on strike, none of the "double breasted" non-union subsidiaries were shut down, victimized and arrested strike militants were abandoned to the cops and courts. And when Clinton intervened, Carey quickly rolled over. In the last decade-and-a-half the American ruling class has systematically driven down the standard of living of the working class by over 20 percent. The Teamsters were one of the only major unions to retain the right to strike over grievances, which the sellout contract replaces with binding arbitration. It also gives up thousands of jobs to intermodal (rail) freight, sets up a new category of dock "casuals" with substandard pay frozen below scale, and leaves "double breasting" untouched.

The Spartacist League and our newspaper *Workers Vanguard* argued from the outset that to win the strike it was necessary to use the arsenal of class-struggle tactics which had made the Teamsters the powerhouse of labor it once was. We called for *spreading the strike* to UPS and the non-union outfits, and to refuse to bow to anti-picketing injunctions and anti-union laws which

ban "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) struck goods. We warned that the Carey/TDU gang was beholden to the employers and their government, that to win it would take a class-struggle leadership which recognized that the bosses' state was the enemy of workers' struggle. And when Carey & Co. capitulated, we told the unvarnished truth, "Teamster Con-



**The capitalist state is not neutral: cops protect scab truck against Teamsters picket at Roadway Terminal in Adelanto, California during April national freight strike.**

tract Stinks," adding that it was the "Bitter Fruit of Government Intervention." We wrote:

"So the regime the government put in, Carey and the TDU, called a limited strike, handcuffed the Teamsters into playing by the bosses' rules, wearing out the strikers and sending them back to work in order to give the bosses what they wanted from the beginning—a new category of cheaper labor."

Most of the left, in contrast, echoed the *AFL-CIO News* (16 May) headline, "IBT Stand Hailed as Victory for Labor." Typical were the quirky reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who proclaimed, "Teamsters Win One for Labor" (*Militant*, 23 May). Even one of their own salesmen complained that the *Militant's* coverage "did not reflect any of

this sentiment" against the sellout that he encountered at a strike meeting in Pennsylvania. An SWP splinter, *Socialist Action* (May 1994), called the Teamster settlement a "partial victory," lauding a "tough-minded and experienced leadership that sent its troops out slugging" and "struck with all the force at their disposal." They even hailed Carey's

responsible for that crime than the groups spawned by the International Socialists: *Solidarity/Labor Notes* (the chief braintrusts of the TDU) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO).

The ISO's refusal to defend the unions against the capitalist government's attacks—indeed its appeals to the bosses' state to intervene in the labor movement—is not surprising given its refusal to defend the former Soviet Union against capitalist attack. Indeed, these social democrats actively joined the anti-Soviet cold war. More than 50 years ago, Trotsky drew an analogy between the bureaucratically run unions and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state under Stalin. While fighting to oust the bureaucratic misleaders, the organizers of defeat, we called for defense of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution, just as we defend the trade union against state intervention. The ISO does neither. Those who cannot defend past gains of the working class will not conquer future ones.

Beneath the empty headline "Teamsters Strike Settles"—buried on page 15 of its newspaper *Socialist Worker* (May 1994)—the ISO annested the Carey leadership, talking about how it was "forced to concede" on intermodal freight, singling out the "old guard" for criticism and ludicrously claiming that "Carey has demonstrated he is more willing to take on the bosses than any of his predecessors." The ISO managed the feat of publishing two articles on the strike and contract without one word on the TDU or the feds' "racketeering" suit to take over the union! But the ISO knows quite a bit about the TDU, close-up. Longtime TDU leader Pete Camarata is a prominent ISO supporter, and was a featured speaker at an ISO May Day rally in New York City during the strike.

Seeking to distance itself from the despised TDU—which it has backed for more than 15 years—and TDU's reliance on the capitalist state, the ISO talks out of both sides of its mouth. When Carey won the presidency under the auspices of the government, the ISO hailed his election as "a tremendous victory" and "a source of pride and confidence" in one paragraph, while in the next denouncing Carey's Justice Department pals as "a threat to union democracy" (*Socialist Worker*, November 1992).

When the feds announced their RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act suit against the union in 1987, the ISO declared on paper that "union activists should stand in firm opposition to any interference from the Justice Department into Teamster internal affairs" (*Socialist Worker*, July 1987). They subsequently claimed that "the leaders of the reform group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), did not seek federal intervention" (*Socialist Worker*, July 1991)! They lie. Dan La Botz writes in his pro-TDU history, *Rank-and-File Rebellion* (Verso, 1990) that the ISers like Ken Paff were in bed with the feds:

"In April 1987, even before the official announcement of the RICO suit against the Teamsters, TDU National Organizer Ken Paff sent a nine-page letter to Stephen Trott, assistant US attorney general, laying out in detail TDU's views at the time: '[W]e strongly urge the government to seek reorganization of the IBT under Section 1964(a) of the RICO Act'."

Trying to weasel out of a tight spot, the ISO urges that the TDU return "to

*continued on page 6*

wretched "public relations" campaign as "downright revolutionary." SA honcho Nat Weinstein knows a thing or two about how to be a waterboy for the bureaucrats. He got his group off the ground by gooning leftists and militant workers on behalf of the San Francisco labor tops during the 1983 Greyhound strike.

### RICO "Socialists"

In this class battle, the burning need to fight for the complete independence of the workers' organizations from the bosses' state was posed pointblank. Opposition to this racist, capitalist government is the first principle of genuine socialists. The strike and the feds' vendetta against the Teamsters union was a test for the left—and the reformists failed the test miserably.

Behind these "socialist" groups' sickening praise of Carey and his contract stands their long history of support to the TDU and its project of bringing the government in to "clean up" the Teamsters. Many Teamsters have a deep hatred of this government, recalling how the arrogantly wealthy Kennedy clan went after Jimmy Hoffa in order to break the union's power to shut down freight across the country. During the strike, our supporters who visited the picket lines got angry challenges from some Teamsters who wanted to know if we were with the "TDU socialists" who dragged their union into the courts. Definitely not! More than a decade and a half ago, we warned that the TDU acts as "the cat's paw of reaction" who "deserve the scorn of every labor militant":

"They invite the government in to tighten its stranglehold on the unions even more than it has already. The capitalist state's constant striving to subordinate the unions to its control is in fact the *major* obstacle both to union democracy and to putting the unions on a class-struggle course."

— "Hands Off the Teamsters!"  
(WV No. 158, 20 May 1977)

It is one of the crimes of the pseudo-leftists who founded the TDU in the 1970s that a whole layer of Teamsters has come to identify "socialist" with dragging the union into the bosses' courts. And no organizations are more



Perlman/AP

## Cops Gas Staley Strikers

DECATUR, Illinois—Police spray pepper gas pointblank at unionists in civil disobedience protest outside A.E. Staley corn processing plant. One year after members of UPIU/AIW Local 7837 were locked out by Staley, on June 25 a national solidarity mobilization drew thousands

to the plant. Union tops and "Corporate Campaign" organizers say, "Call in the Troops...It's War," but tell workers to get on their knees. To shut down Staley production and profits, labor must mobilize mass picket lines that nobody dares to cross!

# Logan County Miner Framed for Picket Line Defense

## Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

On June 24, after deliberating for three days, a Charleston, West Virginia jury convicted United Mine Workers (UMWA) member Jerry Dale Lowe on federal frame-up charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" in the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County last summer. Lowe, a union miner for two decades, comes from a UMWA family; his father was a former local president. Now Lowe faces a \$1 million fine and 50 years in prison, singled out by the authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. Coal miners, the UMWA, the entire labor movement

must demand freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

Lowe was never charged under state laws, for murder or anything else. So in order to make an example out of Lowe and seven other UMWA militants at the Ruffner mine, the coal bosses and the federal government turned a lone local contractor into "interstate commerce." Seven of the eight Logan County miners accepted plea-bargains and received \$500 fines with 120 days of jail time. An Assistant U.S. Attorney said that the government was going after "violence on the labor strike lines" (*Charleston Gazette*, 25 June). Yet it was Arch Min-

eral's armed goons from Elite Security who daily attacked UMWA pickets with tear gas and bullets. The scab who was killed was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs.

The feds had the fix in from the beginning. Clinton's U.S. Attorney for Charleston, Rebecca Betts, came from the law firm of King, Betts & Allen, which represents Arch Mineral.

In December, UMWA president Richard Trumka settled the ten-month-long, so-called "selective strike" against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. Trumka's contract specifically excluded miners facing federal charges from an amnesty, abandoning the Arch 8. This backstabbing follows the union misleaders' betrayal of four Kentucky miners framed up during the A.T. Massey strike ten years ago, union men who remain in prison for up to 40 years. The UMWA International spits on the union tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all"—there was no union mobilization for Lowe's trial.

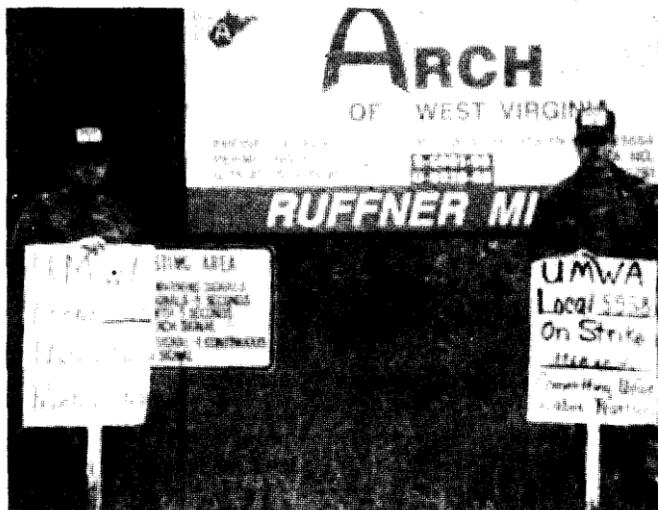
Lowe told *Workers Vanguard* that his attorney is appealing the verdict and sentencing is scheduled for August 26. He asked for donations to his legal defense to be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Ave., S.E., Charleston, WV 25304, earmarked for "Ruffner miners."



Charleston Gazette

WV warns workers that a dubious outfit called the Workers League has tried to stop money from going to Lowe's defense fund, claiming in their *International Workers Bulletin* that any money will be used "for the purpose of further isolating the Logan County miners and ensuring their conviction." Unable to distinguish between the pro-capitalist politics of the union bureaucracy and the need to defend union strike militants and the union as a workers' organization, the WL swings wildly between groveling before the union tops one year and writing off the unions the next.

There must be a fight inside the union to bring out a massive outpouring of solidarity in defense of Lowe. The imprisonment of this union fighter is an attack on all labor. The entire UMWA and all unions in the Charleston area must be mobilized to demand: Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!



Miners picketing Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine during 1993 strike faced down company gun thugs. Now strike militants are victims of vicious federal frame-up.

## CAT Strike...

(continued from page 16)

now when the battle has been joined, with the future of the union at stake, they are not even attempting to stop production. Instead these "labor statesmen" are appealing to the Democrats in Congress to pass a bogus "striker replacement" bill supposedly outlawing the hiring of "permanent" scabs.

The success or failure of this strike turns on the question of leadership. Control of the strike must be torn from the hands of the UAW misleaders by electing strike committees including the best militants. Thousands of unionists from around the Midwest have come to Peoria, forced to sit through speechifying by the bureaucrats and Democrats and then sent home. They should be mobilized in real solidarity action with mass picket lines to stop all scabbing, including management. Seal off CAT: No one goes in and nothing comes out! And if they try to bring in the National Guard like they did at Hormel, strikers should occupy the plants! The American labor movement badly needs another Flint '37.

Since the UAW's Solidarity House leadership caved in to the company's scabherding threats and called off a bitter 163-day strike against Caterpillar in April 1992, CAT has been running a reign of terror on the shop floor. In June, a worker was suspended outright for making a sign that read, "Cat Treats Workers Like Dogs." There have been scores of individual firings, including union representatives.

Unlike the walkout of 1991-92, the current shutdown comes at a time when Caterpillar has low inventories and has been amassing record-breaking profits, expected to reach an estimated three-quarters of a billion dollars this year. On Wall Street, the strike produced an immediate slide in investor confidence as brokers played hot potato with Caterpillar stock, which since March has dropped by 17 percent.

Meanwhile, CAT's claim that "more than 3,000" UAW members are crossing picket lines doesn't play in Peoria. In the

face of the company's threat to keep production going by getting "replacement workers" and demoralized union members to scab, strikers are standing firm. As one picket said, "You walk through that door, you're a traitor to anyone who ever went on strike—ever." CAT bosses have even driven back into the union fold some workers who scabbed in the last major strike. Nevertheless, the company intends to continue production in order to break the union's back, and has set up a massive hiring apparatus to recruit thousands of scabs. It's not enough to stand pat. To win this battle, the CAT strikers must shut the company down!

The UAW bureaucracy, however, has devoted its efforts to preventing the kind of hard class struggle needed to win this battle. The International is providing a miserly \$100 a week in strike pay from a strike fund of over \$1 billion! In local meetings held in the first days of the walkout, union leaders told their members to remain peaceful and not to interfere with the company's scabs. Typical was the June 22 meeting of Local 2096 in Pontiac, which "focused in part on reiterating the UAW's position that workers can't be [permanently] replaced because the strike centers on unfair labor practices" (Bloomington *Pantagraph*, 23 June). So the strikers are supposed to stand there and watch the scabs steal their jobs—"temporarily"!

This so-called "protection" against permanent replacement during an "unfair labor practices" strike is one of the supposed rights upheld by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), an agency of the capitalist state. The NLRB—or "National Labor RUNAROUND Board," as it was called in the '30s—has filed 92 charges against Caterpillar in the past two years, and not a single one has been resolved in the union's favor. Of dozens fired by the company during this period, none have been reinstated. The Peoria *Journal-Star* (23 June) pointed out that the legal process "could take up to 10 years to resolve." As one Decatur striker told *Workers Vanguard*, "By the time they get around to talking about it, there's nothing left to talk about."

UAW members are ready and willing

to fight the arrogant CAT bosses, as they demonstrated in nine local walkouts in the months preceding this strike, five of which have taken place since April. But Solidarity House wants to subordinate the strike to its no-struggle strategy of relying on the bosses' government and the capitalist Democratic Party. Even the union's demands—which simply call on the company to comply with the NLRB—are tailored to curry favor among Democrats and moderate Republicans in Congress, where the AFL-CIO's pet "anti-scab" bill is coming up for a vote. UAW International secretary-treasurer Bill Casstevens was willing to stop the strike from taking place if CAT merely took back 14 workers. What about all the other UAW members who've lost their jobs in the leadership's losing "inside game"?

Even capitalist mouthpiece *Business Week* (4 July) lectured the company for reacting against "the UAW's toothless gestures." The company cops in Solidarity House have helped the auto bosses slash hundreds of thousands of jobs and steal billions of dollars in givebacks. They spread protectionist poison, pitting U.S. workers against their Mexican and Japanese fellow workers. They have policed auto and ag imp workers in the interests of the American bosses' profits. But CAT workers refused to continue to take the firings and abuse meted out by the bosses, and local union presidents told Solidarity House they couldn't keep them in the plants any longer.

They may have been forced to call the strike, but that doesn't mean the bureaucrats will do anything to win it. They want to send strikers into a blind alley, to beg Congress for the Democrats' bill that would supposedly ban the hiring of scabs during a strike. But in fact it is a dangerous no-strike measure that would place organized labor in the straitjacket of the capitalist state. Any strike which comes under the law prohibiting "permanent" scabs will be subject to arbitration.

Permanent or otherwise, CAT's scabs are a mortal threat to this strike, to the union and to the jobs and livelihood of its members. If Caterpillar succeeds in bringing strikebreakers into its plants day after day, even if production goes

nowhere, the demoralizing effect will induce increasing numbers of union members to break ranks and join the scabs. The union tops like to call central Illinois the "War Zone." In reality, it is a one-sided class war. And the abject capitulation of the labor traitors to the capitalists has led to broken unions and the ominous growth of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi filth.

Across the Midwest, the racist KKK terrorists have held their deadly provocations protected by the cops. When the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois against the Klan attack on the Martin Luther King holiday weekend last January, the state AFL-CIO tops ordered Illinois labor to stay home.

It is urgently necessary to stop the scabbing! All of organized labor must mobilize to help shut down the key CAT plants in central Illinois. From rubber workers and locked-out Staley workers in Decatur to John Deere workers facing their own strike deadline this fall, there is an army of workers to be mobilized in defense of the union at Caterpillar. Coal miners in particular would jump at the chance to teach a lesson to the Vance Security thugs which Caterpillar has hired to provoke strikers—these are the same goons which have terrorized striking unionists from West Virginia to Illinois.

Two years ago, as CAT began hiring scabs, and coal miners and other unionists in the Midwest were joining the picket lines, the UAW tops discouraged other unions from coming to their aid and shut down the strike rather than wage a knock-down, drag-out battle. Significantly, this came within 24 hours of the AFL-CIO executive committee's endorsement of Bill Clinton for president. With the labor movement bound to the capitalist system through the bosses' Democratic Party, it's no wonder that strike after strike has gone down to defeat. A fighting workers party is needed to lead labor's liberating struggle for a workers government to replace the capitalist boom-bust system with a planned economy serving human needs. ■

# Sentenced to Decades in Prison Hell

## Clinton/Reno Mass Murderers Railroad Waco Survivors

President Clinton and Attorney General Reno were fuming after a Texas jury refused in March to convict eleven Branch Davidians of murder and conspiracy for the "crime" of surviving the government's April 1993 massacre of the members of an integrated religious commune outside Waco. But the vindictive rulers were determined to pursue their vendetta over the deaths of four BATF

(Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) agents in their murderous February 1993 raid on the Mount Carmel farm compound by meting out the maximum retribution. Having the blood of 86 men, women and children on their hands wasn't enough; Clinton and Reno want to railroad the surviving Davidians to jail for a long time.

Despite being cleared of the most serious charges, seven Davidians were convicted in March of voluntary manslaughter and weapons possession, and already faced long prison terms. Although Judge Walter Smith had originally thrown out seven additional convictions for "using a firearm in furtherance of a conspiracy" (since the jury had ruled there was no conspiracy), he later reinstated these convictions under pressure from the "Justice" Department.

On June 17, despite nationwide appeals for leniency (dismissed by the judge as "obviously organized") and letters from the jury which acquitted the Davidians, with jury foreman Sarah Bain weeping in the courtroom and protesting that the jurors had not understood the charges, Smith imposed the maximum sentence of 40 years each for five Branch Davidians (10 years for voluntary manslaughter, 30 years for the weapons charge), as well as 5 to 20 years for each of three other defendants. One defendant, Ruth Riddle, was within hours of being released; now she must serve five years. In addition, the prisoners were collectively ordered to pay over \$1 mil-

lion to the government murderers of their families and friends. We say: Free all the survivors of Clinton's Waco holocaust now!

The judge blamed his draconian ruling on the new federal sentencing guidelines. Yet the judge bypassed the jury completely in fulfilling the wishes of his bloodthirsty masters in Washington. In this racist "democracy" for the rich, the government increasingly seeks to gut the right to trial by a jury of one's peers, particularly when the principle of the state's monopoly on deadly force is at issue. And make no mistake: the ruling class' "gun control" campaign is a bid to further oppress defenseless subjects.

The fraud of American "justice," the brunt of which usually falls on poor black and minority prisoners, has been glaringly exposed by the trial of the Waco survivors. For daring to defend themselves against the BATF and FBI conspiracy, for insisting on their right (supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution) to practice their religion and bear arms, the tiny Branch Davidian sect was broken on the wheel of rampaging state terror—we will not forget.

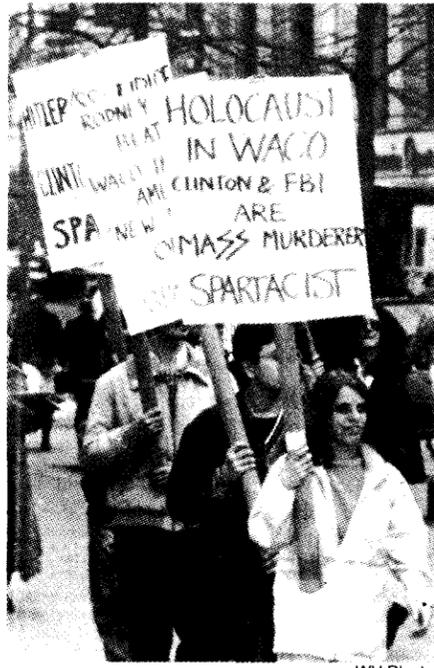
Against the media campaign to blame the Waco inferno on the victims (shamefully echoed by many liberals and leftists), the Spartacist League raised a cry of outrage against the capitalist rulers, initiating an emergency protest at New York's Federal Building within hours of the massacre. Two days later we picketed FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C.,



Daemrich/Sygma

**Survivors of government's fiery assault on Branch Davidian religious commune outside Waco, Texas now face draconian prison terms.**

denouncing "FBI Baby Killers" and demanding the immediate release of the imprisoned survivors. As Marxists, we understand that the capitalist state machinery exists in order to mete out murderous repression against workers, the oppressed and all who defy ruling-class dictates; justice for the victims of this racist ruling class can only be achieved by sweeping away this official Murder Inc., carrying out a socialist revolution that will avenge capitalism's crimes against humanity. ■



WV Photo

**New York City, 19 April 1993: Spartacists protest outside Federal Building within hours of Waco massacre.**

## TDU...

(continued from page 4)

its roots," when they "wanted to fight the bosses, were progressive on race and sex divisions." These "progressives" have never sought to bring out the power of the Teamsters against the race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis; they have never opposed the unions' organizing of racist, strikebreaking cops; and all the fake "socialists" in the TDU remained silent when the Teamsters raided the Farmworkers on behalf of the employers in the 1970s.

Contrary to the ISO's cynical rewriting of history, the TDU's central strategy has always been to drag its opponents in the union into the capitalist courts and to appeal to the bosses' Labor Department. In an interview in 1977, Camarata told *Workers Vanguard*: "I think the union's so corrupt right now that you need it [government intervention] for a while, at least until you get things straightened out." The ISO parroted that line as recently as three years ago, saying: "In concert with the government—forced to curb the openly corrupt aspects of the union—the reform movement under TDU's leadership has gone a long way toward leveling the playing field for those seeking union offices" (*Socialist Worker*, January 1991).

But what else can you expect from an outfit whose main international leader Tony Cliff of the British Socialist Workers Party bragged how SWP steel workers crossed miners' picket lines during the yearlong 1984-85 miners strike, and asserts internationally that the racist, strikebreaking police are part of the labor movement.

Another supposed socialist who hails scabbing is Peter Sollenberger, who currently heads up the centrist Trotskyist League (TL). The first issue of the TL's *Workers Struggle* (June-July 1994)

applauds the West Coast longshoremen who honored the picket lines of striking Teamsters at Sea Land terminals. But back in 1977, when Sollenberger and his then-partner Leland Sanderson set up the Revolutionary Workers League, the first issue of the RWL's paper was devoted to defending their crossing of picket lines during a strike by Ann Arbor AFSCME campus workers!

*Workers Struggle* hails the TDU as an "inspiration" which "revolutionaries should join and build," fantasizing that "TDU could have been the basis for organizing insurgent rank-and-file strike committees to spearhead a renewed strike." Only if they got prior approval from Attorney General Reno! The TDU majority on the General Executive Board joined the "old guard" in voting to *cut off strike benefits* and force the Teamsters back to work. The TL's only lament is that the "TDU is limited by its reliance on the capitalist government." "Limited"? Reliance on the capitalist government is the TDU's reason for existence!

As we wrote in 1977: "The corrupt Teamster bureaucracy must be ousted, but not by the bosses' government. This is the task of a militant leadership which knows that the bourgeois state is the workers' mortal enemy." For class-struggle militants, that is the real lesson of the Teamsters strike. The "reform movements" built by the fake-socialists in the Steelworkers, Mine Workers and Teamsters have played a significant role in "disciplining" the working class by bringing labor under the greater control of the bosses' government. Our objective is to free the unions from the bureaucracy that chains them to the bosses' government and transform them into organizations of struggle of the working class fighting for a workers government. This is the only road to ending unemployment, racist oppression and the other ravages of capitalism. Those who seek to "reform" the unions by bringing in the

agencies of the capitalist state wipe out the basic precondition for class struggle against that state—the political independence of the proletariat. Government

out of the unions! Break with the Democrats and Republicans! For a workers party to smash capitalism and form a workers government! ■

## Free Jesse Acuna!

As we go to press, WV has learned of an ominous new development in the case of Jesse Acuna, the Teamster striker from Pico Rivera, California who was charged with assault for his defense of the picket line in the recent national freight strike.

At the behest of the district attorney, a specious charge of felony "torture"—thrown out for lack of evidence at a preliminary hearing in municipal court—has now been reinstated at a pretrial conference on June 24 in Superior Court.

As a result, Acuna's bail was increased from \$30,000 to an outrageous \$100,000 in spite of the fact that Jesse, a father of two, has attended every court appearance and met every condition mandated by the court. Unable to meet the exorbitant bail, Jesse was hauled back to jail where he languishes in the state's clutches.

The D.A. is throwing the book at this courageous Latino striker, tacking on the bogus new charge, in order to go after the picket line militancy that can be key to winning strikes. In Chicago, Steve Coates, a member of Local 710 and a third generation Teamster, still faces phony criminal misdemeanor charges after he was savagely beaten during a cop assault on a picket line at the Roadway yard on April 11. All labor must answer the vicious state vendetta against Teamsters who did their duty on the picket line!

The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with



WV Photo

the Spartacist League, has donated to Acuna's defense and attended several of his court appearances. A number of his fellow Teamsters have enthusiastically taken up Acuna's defense despite the criminal abstention of their own union's leadership.

Acuna's trial resumes in Superior Court in Norwalk on July 15. The courtroom should be filled with union brothers and sisters in a show of solidarity for our brother. The PDC also encourages donations to the Jesse Acuna Defense Fund, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241. Free Acuna! Drop the Charges!

### Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

# Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Jennifer Beach

"Mumia is somebody that we need desperately. At a time like this, we cannot afford to let them take such a voice from us without putting up a struggle of gigantic proportions."

With these words, veteran actor and civil rights fighter Ossie Davis kicked off a speak-out for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on June 3 in New York City. Over 250 unionists, students, community activists and socialists filled the Ethical Culture Society's auditorium to break National Public Radio's ban on award-winning journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his powerful commentary championing the cause of the oppressed. Davis was speaking on behalf of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which sponsored and organized the rally, along with the Partisan Defense Committee, to protest NPR's May 15 cancellation of a series of commentaries by Jamal, the former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter who has been targeted for death by the Philadelphia police.

Jamal's commentaries were to have been aired on the prestigious *All Things Considered* show, but NPR caved in and canceled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and other reactionary forces. They want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. The NPR controversy put a national spotlight on Jamal's case and the fight against racist legal lynchings. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole railed on the Senate floor against NPR's plans to air Jamal's commentaries and threatened to cut off their federal funding. The "message" Dole so opposes is that of an articulate, compassionate black man describing the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice, where 2,800 people wait on death row.

NPR's cancellation of Jamal's broadcasts in response to a sinister cop campaign makes breaking the ban "a life-and-death issue of free speech." In the last few years, the American assembly line of death has vastly speeded up. Jamal's case is what the death penalty in America is all about, the attempt to terrorize the minority population, part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets. Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

The June 3 speak-out attracted a diverse audience and featured a wide array of presentations centered on Jamal's words portraying his own life. The highlight of the evening was a dramatic reading from Jamal's commentaries by Ossie Davis; Judge Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*; and Bernard

White of WBAI radio. On stage, their alternating voices imparted Jamal's searing portrayal of black life on death row.

Michael G. Haskins of WBAI radio also read powerfully from Jamal's writings. A videotaped statement was sent by actor Mike Farrell, co-chairman of

and their unbridled racist state terror. As seen in the PDC video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, Jamal was among the journalists covering Mayor Frank Rizzo's 8 August 1978 press conference following the siege of the Powelton Village MOVE home by hun-

found a common theme: "Kill 'em all and let god sort 'em out."

The urgency of the speak-out for Jamal was magnified the following week when the Pennsylvania House of Representatives voted to override Governor Casey's veto of a bill ordering execu-

## NYC Rally for Death Row Political Prisoner



WV Photo

At New York speak-out, Judge Bruce Wright, WBAI's Bernard White and actor Ossie Davis read from works by Mumia Abu-Jamal, censored by National Public Radio.

the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Other speakers included Fred Horstmann, administrator of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Dr. Alan Berkman, a former political prisoner who served eight years in the frame-up "Resistance Conspiracy" case. James Frazier, a black NYC transit worker who was shot by the police and is now fighting frame-up charges, also spoke.

Greetings were read to the rally from actor Ed Asner, adviser to the Committee. Amnesty International released a statement saying it is working against Jamal's execution, and noting: "The National Conference of Black Lawyers and the ACLU have pointed out that Mumia's political views are his right to hold."

### The Philadelphia Story

For over 25 years Jamal has been in the cross hairs of the Philadelphia police

dreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop during the police assault and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Three years later, Jamal was shot in the chest and railroaded to death row.

Capital punishment is front and center in American politics this election year. Talk show host Phil Donahue wants to broadcast a live execution. Racist TV/radio "shock jock" Howard Stern is running for governor of New York for the express purpose of bringing the death penalty back to the Empire State. Feeding off the crime hysteria drummed up in Washington and the media, Democrats and Republicans have

tions. An ACLU official stated that if the bill were to go into effect, "nearly 100 executions would be scheduled in Pennsylvania over the next six months." The bill's sponsor, Rep. Michael McGeehan, said of Jamal that he was "specifically interested in this case. We're going to see him die." On June 14 the state Senate fell two votes short of an override. But Casey has already signed more death warrants than the four previous governors combined. With Pennsylvania's gubernatorial race heating up this year, the FOP is pushing to make the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal a key issue, bombarding the media with demands for his immediate execution.

Phone calls protesting NPR's censorship should be directed to Vice President Bill Buzenberg or Marty Morgan at (800) 235-1212, or fax to (202) 414-3045. If

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# Jamal...

(continued from page 7)

you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to Mumia Abu-Jamal; AM 8335, 1100 Pike Street, Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, of the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, can and must become the focus of the fight against the racist death penalty. Raise your voice and organize, in your unions, community, youth and church groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. Join the campaign! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty!

We print below excerpts from the speeches and greetings delivered at the speak-out.

## Ossie Davis

Actor, activist and co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

I have four or five very clear, cogent reasons to explain very fully my participation in this speak-out. Number one, I am against the death penalty on the face of it. Number two, I am particularly against a death penalty where most of the victims are black. That is racism and a crime against people.

Also, I am as aware as you of those statistics that haunt me day and night: four out of five of my young sons, in the category of 20-some years, are in prison or wards of the prison system.



WV Photo

Actor and activist Ossie Davis, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

More of our young men are in prison than in college. That is a horror. How can I live with those statistics? I have sworn that for the rest of my life I will speak out for them, I will remember them, I will visit them, to try and rescue them from the horrible sentence that has been imposed on them by a racist, exploitative society.

There is currently abroad in the country a growing hysteria, a growing panic, that expresses itself in the formula "three strikes and you're out." Our whole society, instead of facing up to what is happening, and what is not happening, decides to resolve the problem—of unemployment, of crime, of



WV Photo

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel, detailing the railroading of Jamal. Facing a racist Philadelphia cop vendetta and a notorious "hanging judge," Jamal was stripped of his rights, barred from court and sentenced to death for having been a Black Panther.

drugs, of inferior education, of homelessness—by coming up with a formula, which will take as many of the victims as they can catch in their net and put them safely away out of sight. They will build more prisons to warehouse people for whom there is no meaningful, gainful employment in our society. That will not solve the problem, it will only exacerbate it.

I invite you to do as I intend to do, to speak out, to reach out, to try and involve as many of your associates as you can in this struggle. I know that we can win. And I speak from experience. I was involved in the Committee to Defend Angela Davis and I lived to see a groundswell of activity that ultimately enabled her to walk free. I was also involved when Ben Chavis was in prison, as a part of the Wilmington 10, sent there by the state of North Carolina. We knew that we couldn't win Ben's freedom merely on the basis of what was done in the courts. We had to go to the streets, we have to get the people involved, we have to get them in motion.

As Napoleon said, victory belongs to the one who can survive the last 15 minutes of the battle. We cannot afford to let the bastards wear us down. We gotta fight! The march to freedom, and the march to equality, was in process when I was born. I just got on board. I suspect when they let me off and put me in one of those quiet places forever, the march will still be going on. And I will be able to tell history that, at least, when I was alive, there was a place for me in the line of march. You should be happy to say as much. That's the reward for being alive, to be a part of the struggle. That's all you were promised.

## Leonard I. Weinglass

Lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

The background film that you saw tonight really gives the context of what

this is all about. Mayor Rizzo, who as a police commissioner became nationally famous for his raid on the SNCC headquarters, and the following year on the Black Panther Party headquarters, of Philadelphia, became mayor in '72. A good part of the country became Rizzozized. The city became the "law-and-order" capital of the country. And one of the only voices to speak out against these raids, against the heavy-handedness of the police, was Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther who had risen to become probably the best-known radio broadcast journalist in the African-American community in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, incidentally, has more

Mumia was immediately brought to court. Who was assigned as his judge? A man who had been undersheriff for 16 years, and now sat as a judge, a lifetime member of the Fraternal Order of Police, and a judge who bears the distinction across the United States as having sentenced more people to death row than any sitting judge in the United States, including Texas and Florida.

The police had interviewed 125 witnesses. Mumia was allocated \$150 and his investigator succeeded in interviewing two witnesses. He asked to defend himself and that right was given to him, as it must be. But into the third day of jury selection, his right to speak in his own behalf was stripped from him by the judge, who was awed by the strength of Mumia's voice, and felt, clearly, that Mumia was coming across much too well with this jury. So Mumia lost his right to speak on his own behalf.

A lawyer was brought in to represent Mumia who didn't want to represent him, who pled to be relieved, who didn't know the case, but who was ordered by the judge to continue. And this lawyer unfamiliar with the case continued as Mumia's lawyer. Mumia protested, and because he protested before the jury, that his voice was being silenced and that this lawyer shouldn't represent him, and that his life was on the line, Mumia was barred from the courtroom. He missed almost half of his trial. The lawyer, who didn't know the case, was in there questioning witnesses when he really didn't know the facts himself.

Despite all this—and despite the fact that the one juror who Mumia had selected, an elderly African-American woman, was removed by the judge in Mumia's absence because the judge felt she had violated a court order, and was replaced by an elderly white gentleman who said he didn't think he could be fair—despite all this the jury retired, having heard three eyewitnesses produced by the prosecution, who said Mumia did the shooting first, and having heard a hospital security guard report that Mumia, a reporter who had covered court trials in Philadelphia, had openly confessed to everyone within earshot that he had shot the police officer. A remarkable piece of testimony, because the two officers who were holding Mumia up under his arms filed a written report that night saying Mumia had said nothing. Neither of those officers testified because when Mumia's lawyer went to call them they reported that they were on vacation and unavailable.

The jury came back, five o'clock Friday afternoon, July 4th weekend, when they had been sequestered in a hotel for two and a half weeks and away from their family. Sure enough, they came back with first-degree murder. And the judge immediately set down the hearing

## From the Death Sentence Hearing, 3 July 1982:

Prosecution questioning of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Q. To Mumia: "Do you recall saying, 'All power to the people?'"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Do you believe your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?'"

A. "I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

Q. "Do you recall saying that: 'The Panther Party is an uncompromising party, it faces reality?'"

A. (Nods affirmatively) "Yes."

people on death row than any city in the United States, except Houston. The prosecutors in Philadelphia seek the death penalty more frequently than prosecutors in any city in the United States. Because of this, Pennsylvania has the fourth-largest death penalty population in the United States, now about 173.

On December 9, 1981, Mumia's brother [Bill Cook] was pulled over by a police officer. All the witnesses say that a fight developed on the sidewalk between the police officer and Mumia's brother. Mumia then arrived on the scene. That's what everyone says.

Mumia was shot, through the chest, with a bullet piercing his lung, going through his liver and lodging in his back. The officer was shot, twice, once in the back and once in the face. Both fell down at the scene. Mumia was critically injured but recovered after prolonged surgery, the officer did not. Mumia then was charged with the murder of the officer—despite the fact that four people who were on the street at the time, who were not known to Mumia or to his brother, who were at four different locations on that block, all said they saw the shooter run away. The police did not do a follow-up investigation on that.

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for the next day, Saturday of July 4th weekend, to determine whether or not Mumia should get the death penalty.

The jury heard evidence that the United States Supreme Court has ruled cannot be used against a person to get a death penalty, namely, his political association with the Black Panther Party. Even though that was used against him, the United States Supreme Court refused to overturn Mumia's death sentence, despite the fact, as Mumia pointed out, that they did overturn the *Dawson* case where a fellow was a member of the Aryan Brotherhood. The United States Supreme Court felt bringing in a white racist organizational affiliation was too prejudicial to the defendant and reversed it. But Black Panther Party membership was not.

Lastly, the prosecutor argued to the jury that Mr. Jamal will have appeal after appeal after appeal and his case will be reviewed, so you needn't feel you're taking personal responsibility here for the death penalty. That precise argument has been held by the United States Supreme Court to undermine what the jurors must confront when they judge whether or not a person should be given life or death. To have the prosecutor say to them, don't worry, you're really not giving the death sentence when you give the death sentence, undermines the responsibility that they must feel when they make that judgment.

So sure enough, within one hour after deliberating, this jury came back and gave him the death penalty.

And so you have what in a sense is not atypical of a death penalty case. Uninvestigated, underrepresented, a hostile court, a jury not of one's peers, improperly selected, evidence improperly admitted, evidence of innocence kept out, and a prejudicial argument by the prosecution. But he has your support, and the support of people around the world now. And we hope to be able to not just free Mumia, but to follow his own wishes, which is to demonstrate, irrefutably, that this death penalty is an abomination on our system, and is racist. If Mumia would get a new trial tomorrow, we're confident on the basis of what we've developed thus far, that we could win his case.

### Wadiya Abu-Jamal

*Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal*

For almost 13 long years we have suffered at the hands of the "outlaw," this "outlaw" being the system, because Mumia can't stop telling the truth.



WV Photo

### Wadiya Abu-Jamal

Mumia is the teller of truth, and the voice of the voiceless. The system couldn't stop him on the streets of Philadelphia; they couldn't stop him in Huntingdon State Prison. And this is the reason why they want Mumia dead.

They're looking at Mumia like, "How dare he tell how murderous and corrupt the people of this system are." To tell the truth about the oppression of blacks and whites and Puerto Ricans. So please use all that's right within you to support Mumia and all innocent people on death

# Greetings to the Rally

## Jacob Ecclestone

*Deputy General Secretary,  
National Union of Journalists*

June 3, 1994

To the organisers of the New York rally in defence of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

On behalf of the National Union of Journalists of Great Britain and Ireland, I send you greetings and good wishes.

The suppression by National Public Radio of the programmes about the Abu-Jamal case is an act of censorship, of intolerance, of fear.

The continued imprisonment, persecution and threatened execution of Abu-Jamal mocks those in America who talk of justice, freedom, and equality.

The United States stands condemned in the eyes of all civilized people for

row. If not for yourself, for your children, for your grandchildren. If not for them, for our children and our grandchildren. And for nothing else, merely because it's right to do.

## Elombe Brath

*Chairman of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition*

We condemn the decision of National Public Radio—it should be National Republican Radio—to cancel Mumia's two-minute commentaries, scheduled to begin running on Monday, May 16, the day before the 40th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* of Topeka, Kansas decision. Both NPR and the Supreme Court are examples of hypocrisy. In 1993, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) exposed that 26 of 27 regular commentators on NPR were white. Mumia was definitely needed.

Comrades, brothers and sisters, we have to work to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. We have to abolish the racist death penalty and the neo-fascist substitute for lynching—genocide on an incremental plan. In consideration of the jellyfish, spineless, no-balls position taken by NPR, Mumia's commentaries have been running on WBAI for two years.

## Paul Cooperstein

*Partisan Defense Committee*

What role did the Clinton White House have in NPR's gag order? The same day NPR killed Mumia's broadcast, President Clinton was speaking to thousands of cops, promoting his "three strikes you're out" crime bill, which will add dozens of new crimes punishable by death. Clinton told that throng, "We recognize that there should be capital punishment for people who kill law enforcement officials in the line of duty." Days earlier, his home state of Arkansas executed two black men within one hour.

To strengthen this vast apparatus of terror and repression they want to silence this most articulate and compelling argument against capital punishment—Mumia. This is the way the racist capitalist state deals with its opponents. It is their cops whose role in capitalist society is to protect the wealth, privilege and power of the few against the masses who are propertyless, jobless and increasingly homeless. It boils down to a simple truth stated by Engels over 100 years ago: "The state is an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class."

Anyone who thought putting a Democrat in the White House would alter this trend toward greater repression and death better take another look. Clinton appears prepared to outdo Reagan and Bush in unleashing terror. The 1985 bombing of MOVE was the signature of the Reagan years. Last spring Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno

its continuing, and increasing, use of judicial execution. The NUJ supports all those in America who work to end the death penalty.

Good Luck!

\* \* \*

## Ray Martinez

*President, Philadelphia Chapter,  
SEIU Local 668*

Brothers and sisters:

Although I was born and raised in Brooklyn, having moved to Philadelphia in 1971, I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to hear Mumia speak on numerous occasions prior to the incidents of December 9, 1981.

Mumia was unjustly taken away from us. He was a marked man because of his affiliations with the Black Panther Party

made their mark with the summary execution of 86 men, women and children of the integrated Branch Davidian religious sect, outside Waco, Texas.

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:



Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 when he was Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

IWW member Joe Hill, executed by a Utah firing squad. 1927: Sacco and Vanzetti, anarchist workers—executed as part of the Red Scare and anti-immigrant 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 defendants. And 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 systematic oppression 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 in the capitalist system which produced the problems.

But there is a 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 in the interests of all working people and oppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee takes

and MOVE. I knew Mumia as someone who spoke the truth and was not afraid to do so. That was the problem as they saw it. They pinned the murder on him and put him away.

This is about mobilization and fighting back—fighting for what is right.

Many of us have been "marked" for speaking out. Many of us can become "prisoners" if we allow this to happen to Mumia.

The bosses want to keep us quiet. We may not have the money but power is in the numbers—the masses—those of us who must struggle daily to keep from going under. We're the ones who slave to put the bosses into their mansions and yachts.

This nation has a long history of silencing those who have decided to speak out for the needy. Civil rights activists, union activists, and the like, have been put away, murdered and maimed in order to silence them. We cannot allow this to happen to Mumia.

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." Our strategy is mass labor-centered protests, like those around the world that saved the lives of the Scottsboro defendants.

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. 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.

Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. Free Mumia! Free all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

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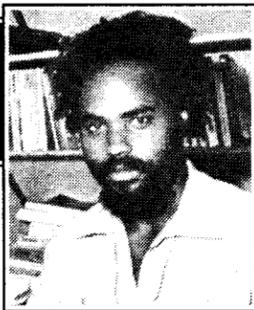
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# From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



## Life's Light in Angola—U.S.A.

*This column was written in August 1991, after prisoners struck at Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola in defiance of orders to build an "execution bed" for future death row prisoners.*

Angola—the very name evokes the mists; subtropical scenes of blue-black sun-carved bodies at hard work in lush fields of green life; of fiery Queen N'Zingha leading Black troops into battle against the Portuguese invaders of South West Africa; and of slavery, millions sold into lifelong bondage, making the dreaded trek from Africa to the so-called New World, brought in shackles to Brazil, the West Indies and the U.S. Southlands.

Angola—the nation's largest maximum security prison, "camps" spread over 20,000 acres of lush,

subtropical Louisiana earth, where over 5,000 mostly African-American prisoners work in fields and prison industries for a meager pittance—neo-slave labor.

Recently, the men of Angola put down their slave implements and stood tall in a remarkable display of human dignity, when Andrew Jones was rushed to death by rabid neo-Republican Gov. Chuck Roemer, who, despite calls for a brief stay until Louisiana's method of execution would be changed to lethal injection after Sept. 15th, barked, "This man deserves what he is about to get," letting Jones' electrocution go on.

The day after Jones' legalized lynching, Angola's warden J. Whitley ordered men in the welding shop to construct a table upon which men could

be legally poisoned.

They refused, among them, Eddie Sonnier, brother of "Pat" Elmo Sonnier, electrocuted on April 5, 1984 by Louisiana. All of the men in the welding shop were tossed into solitary, known as the "dungeon." Word spread from camp to camp, across the vast New Age slave factory. Prisoners in the field, in solidarity, laid down their hoes, refusing to work. They were put in lockdown, and the National Guard were called in.

The prisoner-welders' principled refusal to participate in their own degradation forced the administration to hire outside contractors to build the death gurney. They, and the field resisters are subject to severe administrative sanction including extended periods in the "dungeon," isolation or punitive transfer.

From the pits of these human hells, from the steaming fields where our very forefathers/mothers toiled in brutal stolen drudgery, come bright sparks of human dignity amidst the simple decent refusal to serve the state in its dehumanizingly deadly ritual.

They, rather than being punished, should be widely and warmly supported for embracing life, rather than death.

20 August 1991

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has drawn support from around the world. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Metro Toronto Labour Council and Vancouver Public Employees in Canada, Section 10 of the Mexican teachers union SNTE, as well as unions in Britain and Australia—have taken up Mumia's cause.

The Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Equal Justice have actively publicized Jamal's case. In Germany, AGIPA Press has publicized Jamal's case and raised thousands of dollars for the legal defense. Among those who have taken a stand for Jamal are: singer Harry Belafonte, South African poet Dennis Brutus, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, Chicago alderman Danny Davis, Congressmen Ron Dellums, John Lewis, Bobby Rush and Maxine Waters, authors E. L. Doctorow, Piri Thomas and Howard Fast, actors Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg and Sabrina Le Beauf, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Pennsylvania State Representative David P. Richardson Jr., and State Senators Chaka Fattah and Roxanne Jones.

The multiracial U.S. labor movement has the power to stop the killing machine. Among unions which have taken a stand for Jamal are: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); ILWU Local 10, San Francisco; ILWU Warehouse Local 6, San Fran-

# Join the Campaign!



Philadelphia, July 1993: Over 350 people came out for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

cisco; Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific, Maritime Division of the ILWU, Seattle; Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago; Hospital and Health Care Workers Union, SEIU Local 250, San Francisco; National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200, Pasadena; and Bay Area Typographers Union Local 21, San Francisco. Also fighting to save Mumia are many individual trade unionists, including Charles Valenta, president,

RWDSU Local 1010 (Philadelphia), and Cleveland Robinson, founding member and national vice president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has brought the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal to international attention. We urge readers of this special supplement of *Workers Van-*

guard to join the fight to free Jamal and contact the PDC by calling (212) 406-4252 or writing to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680; P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107. ■

## New Legal Challenge by Jamal

Jamal and his attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, are preparing a new legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts to expose the frame-up conviction and sentence of death. This essential legal step takes a lot of work—from reviewing the many volumes of the trial transcript to the massive investigation to uncover witnesses. That means the legal defense needs lots of financial help. Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state. In recent years those cases which have successfully overturned death sentences and freed the innocent defendant have cost at least \$1 million in legal fees and expenses. **Please help. Tax-deductible contributions for the defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.**

## You Can Help to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

Join the campaign to save Jamal! Organize protest! Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life. Pass motions in your unions, campus, church and community organizations. Publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter.

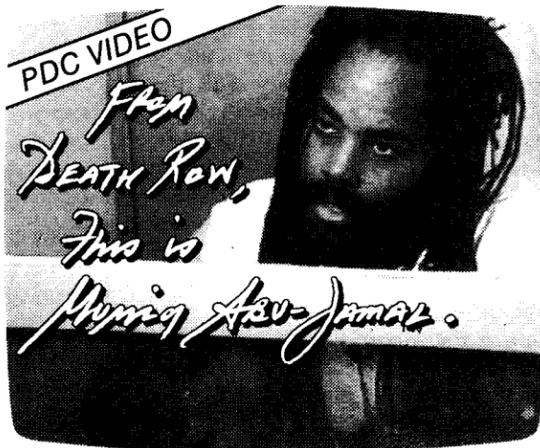
The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today the rallying cry in the fight against the racist and barbaric death penalty.

Materials available from the PDC:

- PDC 25-minute video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." Features excerpts of an interview with Jamal from death row. \$30 (including postage and handling).

- Four issues of *CSDN* are available with extensive coverage of the campaign to save Jamal (see listing at right).

- Posters, leaflets and petitions.



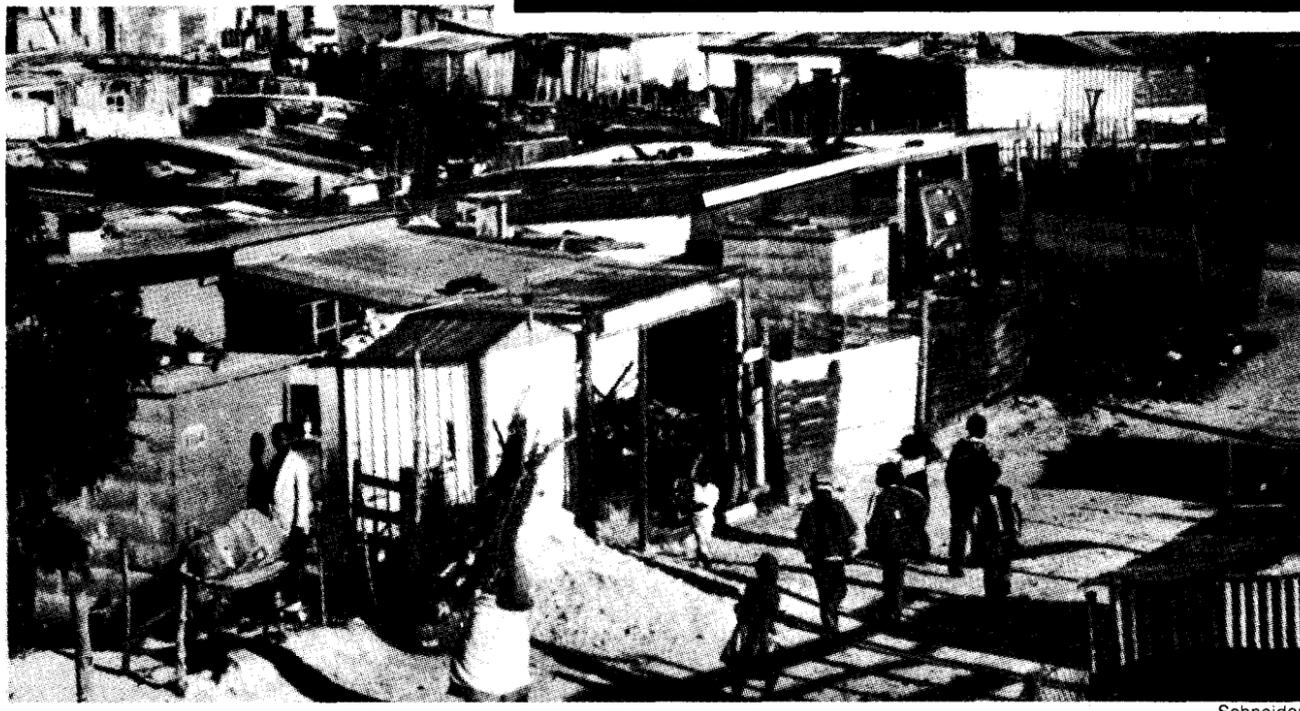
## Get Your Copy of CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES!

Issues featuring the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal:

- No. 10, April 1989, "Campaign Issue: Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"
  - No. 14, November 1990, "Worldwide Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal"
  - No. 15, Spring/Summer 1991, "Trial Record Exposé: The Framing of Mumia Abu-Jamal"
  - No. 20, Fall/Winter 1993-94, "New York City Rally Demands: Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"
- Each Issue \$1.00

For more information contact the PDC. Send your contributions for the campaign to the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. With your contribution of \$5 or more receive a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.





Schneider



Tillum/NY Times

# SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

Poverty and police terror will continue for black masses under ANC/De Klerk "power sharing" regime. Alexandra township outside Johannesburg (above); police raid Manenberg township in May (right).

(continued from page 1)

housing in the settlement they called "Kanana" (Canaan, the "land of milk and honey," in the Sotho language). The leader of the occupation declared, "In the new South Africa, we don't want to wait any longer until the politicians finally give us houses." But the white racists are still there, and they still have power. On the freezing winter morning of June 6, police ordered in by the all-white Johannesburg city council tore

## PART ONE

down the shacks of the squatter settlement Liefde en Vrede (Love and Peace). The response of the ANC provincial government was to decree a moratorium on land occupations.

The ANC's Reconstruction and Development (RCD) program piously proclaims: "We must not perpetuate the separation of our society into a 'first world' and 'third world'—another disguised way of preserving apartheid." A disguised way of preserving apartheid accurately describes the "government of national unity" between the erstwhile petty-bourgeois ANC—now a bourgeois-nationalist party—and F.W. De Klerk's National Party, the main party of the white ruling class and the cruel master of the apartheid police state for almost half a century.

The laws mandating racial segregation have been abolished, while the nationalist misleaders of the black liberation struggle have been co-opted into the capitalist government to serve alongside the same people who in the past killed, tortured and imprisoned them. This is called "power sharing." Additionally, the white ruling class is making a big push to

recruit blacks, especially those well-connected to the ANC, into the upper echelons of the corporate bureaucracy. "Black is beautiful in business this year," quipped the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail & Guardian*. Thus the wife of slain Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko, Mamphele Ramphele, is the second black director of the mining conglomerate Anglo American.

But while blacks will constitute a majority in government ministries and parliamentary committees and will be more visible in corporate boardrooms, the white ruling class has retained tight control over the real lever of political power—the military apparatus of the state. The generals, senior police officials and judges who enforced apartheid terror remain in place and cannot be touched. A week before the elections, Communist Party (SACP) leader Joe Slovo precisely spelled out the role of the ANC and his own closely allied party in the new political setup: "We will win the election, but we'll be in office, not in power. The structure of apartheid is still here, with a white police and army" (*London Independent*, 19 April).

But a situation in which the ANC/SACP holds governmental office but does not wield real power is highly unstable and inflammatory, for the aims and expectations of the white ruling class and the black toilers are fundamentally antagonistic. The fate of the "new" South Africa will be determined not by constitutional clauses and parliamentary maneuvers but by the struggles in the factories, mines and black townships. And "just six weeks into Mr. Mandela's term, there are the first mutterings from admirers that the leader is too nice, too attentive to vested interests," reports the *New York Times* (23 June).

Grumbings began over the ANC leaders' acceptance of the massive and blatant vote fraud in KwaZulu-Natal, which gave a bogus majority in the provincial legislature to the apartheid collaborators of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha. When it came to light soon afterward that on the eve of the vote, De Klerk's government had signed over fully one-third of all the land in the province and former bantustan to Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, Mandela again acquiesced. Discontent surged when the new president decided *not* to declare the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto massacre a national holiday. For years June 16 has been observed by millions of blacks in massive stayaway strikes, but now the ANC leaders declared that in the interests of "stability" it would be a normal

workday, since too many had already been lost!

Black commentator Mondli waka Makhanya sharply criticized Mandela in the *Weekly Mail* (24 June) for "bowing to the demands of the white business sector" by ignoring the importance of Soweto Day, which was universally seen as the anti-apartheid holiday:

"A newly emancipated people need to feel they are free. Blacks need to have the sense that they are in power, while whites need to feel that a measure of political power has slipped from their hands.

"This is despite the fact that the pre-election South Africa is in essence unchanged; that whites hold sway in every sphere of life and make their control felt."

What his complaint boils down to is that, since blacks do not have real power, denying them the symbols of their decades-long struggle could fracture the whole fragile "power sharing" edifice. But ultimately it is not the symbolism but the brutal reality of continued black oppression that will light the match that blows apart the neo-apartheid fraud. There can be no "middle ground" in South Africa: with the explosive race and class contradictions, the alternatives are either workers revolution based on the power of the millions-strong black proletariat, or a crescendo of racial-ethnic strife with its genocidal logic.

## The "New" South Africa: A Powder Keg Waiting to Explode

A British academic, Christopher Cramer, who has covered South Africa for the *London Economist*—the house organ of international financiers—reports based on first-hand knowledge:

"The core of the National party leadership and its supporters, as well as the core of the largely white-run business sector, has vested its faith in the idea that nothing really will change. The good life of the 'sun drenched republic' will continue to be available. This faith has been sustained partly by the ANC's embrace of pragmatic politics and economics...."

—*Current History*, May 1994

However, South Africa's white rulers are not so naive as to place all their faith in the ability of Mandela & Co. to restrain the black masses. Johann Rupert, scion of the country's second-largest economic dynasty, states: "I have told Mr. Mbeki and Mr. Ramaphosa [ANC leaders] that their constituents will expect them to steal my constituents' assets—which is one reason we have taken steps to see that my constituents' assets cannot be nationalized." Last year South Africa experienced a capital flight of \$4.5 billion, largely wiping out the \$5.5 billion trade surplus,

thereby worsening the severe economic slump of the past few years. Thus, even before Mandela was elected president, the white ruling class has in effect been sabotaging the economy.

The Randlords' senior partners in North America, West Europe and Japan are not banking on the "new" South Africa either. Ford Motor Co., which pulled out of South Africa in 1988, is taking a wait-and-see attitude toward new investments there. Likewise, the Bank of Tokyo, which closed its Johannesburg office a few years ago, considers the political and economic situation still too unstable to reopen it. The companies that are going back to South Africa, often in "joint ventures" with black front men, are largely consumer-oriented, like Pepsi-Cola.

For all the official celebration of the "new" South Africa from Cape Town to London to Washington, everyone knows the Mandela government has a very short-term mandate to improve the conditions of the black masses or all hell is likely to break loose. Jay Naidoo, former secretary general of the main black labor federation, COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), and now a minister in the new government, understated the obvious: "If we aren't able to show visible delivery within the first year, we will have serious problems." However, the ANC leadership has guaranteed in advance that it will not deliver anything to the black toilers within one year or five.

The new constitution declares that "no deprivation of any rights in property shall be permitted" and any nationalizations will depend upon "payment of agreed compensation." Openly repudiating the populist promises of the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter, Mandela reassured the Johannesburg stock exchange that "there is not a single sentence about nationalization" in our program. The ANC's economic program promises that a million new houses will be built over the next five years and 30 percent of white-owned farmland will be redistributed to blacks at subsidized prices. Yet even this modest program will not be realized because it will not be financed. Mandela & Co. have pledged not to raise taxes sharply while at the same time preserving the jobs and pensions of the bloated, parasitic white civil service. And the white officer corps has also been assured there will be no serious cuts in the military budget.

The economic strongman in the new government is monetarist finance minister Derek Keys, who held the same job

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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# South Africa Powder Keg...

(continued from page 11)

in the last cabinet of the "old" South Africa. The U.S. *Business Week* (2 May) commented sharply that the Mandela government's "overall strategy looks more like contemporary Mexican-style austerity than a 1960s-style Third World welfare state." Precisely for this reason the Mandela/De Klerk regime is heading toward a confrontation with the powerful and combative black union movement. The *Washington Post* (8 May) rightly points out that "the black trade union movement forms the heart of the ANC's political base." Indeed, a list of the new cabinet ministers and parliamentary deputies reads like a list of yesterday's COSATU executive body.

From afar, the ANC is usually viewed as a unitary movement with Mandela its transcendent and unchallenged leader. In South Africa, people speak of the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance." This is a nationalist "popular front," in which the power of the black proletariat is held in check by chaining the workers to the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie. Two decades of militant, self-sacrificing and often heroic struggle against the apartheid state has created one of the strongest trade-union movements in the Third World. Today, the wages of unionized factory workers in South Africa are substantially higher than in some East Asian neocolonies of the U.S. and Japan. This achievement is all the more impressive given that half the black labor force is unemployed. Yet the solidarity of the black masses against



Berry/Magnum



Der Spiegel

**Racist internal passbooks and rigid segregation in transport and housing under the apartheid system were brought down through decades of heroic struggle by black masses. But superexploitation of black workers will continue until capitalist Randlords are swept away.**

stitution outlaws strikes for political purposes. And the Jo'burg stock exchange's main man in the government, Derek Keys, wants not merely to perpetuate but even intensify the exploitation of black labor. He complains that as a result of COSATU's activities: "We don't have low wages to offer.... How do you attract entrepreneurs if you can't offer them low wage costs?" (*New York Times*, 9 May).

However, the black masses expect that the new ANC-led government will bring about an improvement, not a deterioration, in their living conditions. The weeks leading up to the elections, despite the intense pressure of Mandela & Co. for peace on the labor front, saw an organizing strike of nurses in the Transkei and a walkout by platinum miners on the Rand. On the eve of the inauguration, 10,000 gold miners struck the Kloof mine owned by the giant Gold Fields conglomerate, which had provocatively fired a union official. And on

head of the struggle against the national oppression of the black African peoples as well as the coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians, a struggle culminating in a black-centered workers government. This is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution. The alternative to this is not some kind of mythical harmonious bourgeois "democracy." Although in its social composition South Africa is in many respects unique among the states produced by European colonialism, experience throughout Asia and Africa demonstrates that the frustration of the oppressed masses' aspirations for social liberation will necessarily lead to escalating racial and ethnic-tribal feuding. First among the targets will doubtless be intermediate layers such as the coloureds and Indians, while the black majority polarizes between Xhosas (predominant in Mandela's ANC) and Zulus.

Despite the ANC leaders' sugary talk of a "non-racial society," the prospects facing blacks under racist South African capitalism are truly ominous. This was put in sharp relief when former ANC guerrilla leader Tokyo Sexwale, now a regional premier, visited the black townships of Thokoza and Katlehong. Sexwale appealed for an end to the fratricidal killings, in which brother killed brother because they were blinded by blood: "We are here today to wash the blood out of their eyes so that they can see and live together in peace and harmony." But despite his plea, a township resident complained of the hostel dwellers, "Buthelezi should take all his people back where they come from. They were all brought in from Zululand.... In this location we're going to kill them all." The East Rand, where more than 1,500 people were killed in political violence last year, could become killing fields on a vast scale.

Over the last several years, the violence, largely instigated by the apartheid regime through its Inkatha puppets, took on a tribal vengeance of its own. Throughout the industrial and mining region of the Witwatersrand, township "self-defense units" (SDUs) were formed by supporters of the Xhosa-dominated ANC to fight back against Inkatha *impis* (squads) organized out of the hostels housing Zulu migrant workers. With more than 2,000 members on the East Rand, the SDUs are a force to be reckoned with. But they are not beholden to the ANC. An SDU commander in Thokoza said, "We don't trust them now they are in government." Township leaders demanded that the hostels be replaced by family units, that the hostel dwellers "must be with their families because they must see if they kill us the same will happen to their families" (*Weekly Mail*, 3 June).

As we go to press, gunfire echoes through Thokoza's streets as the self-defense units have declared that they are at war with the hostels and hostel dwellers. ANC leader Sexwale "will not come out of here alive" if he dares to show up, they said, adding that they voted for the ANC hoping it would destroy the hostels but now he wants to improve

them. "How can you improve dwellings of people who kill us?" (Reuters dispatch, 4 July). While Sexwale and Mandela wish to impose "peace" in the interests of the Randlords, the burning desire of the township dwellers for revenge for the reign of Inkatha and cop terror they have been subjected to threatens to set off a bloody cycle of tribal violence. Hard class struggle is the only way to cut through these poisonous ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters.

The perspective of permanent revolution demands the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party built in sharp political combat against the nationalist ANC. In opposition to the "government of national unity," a revolutionary workers party must fight for a genuinely democratic government of the oppressed and exploited masses—for a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote; for the expropriation of the white agribusinesses and the vast tracts of farmland seized from blacks, and the establishment of cooperative and state farms for black agricultural laborers and the toilers who were evicted to the desolate bantustans; for union-based workers militias, linking the factory to the townships and made up of class-conscious workers, including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groups, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress right-wing white terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist terror; and for the nationalization of the mines and factories under a black-centered workers government. A truly new South Africa will emerge only when those who labor will rule.

## A Unique Society Produced by European Colonialism

Western liberals, social democrats and leftists long regarded the apartheid system, that nightmarish world of racist oppression, as the ultimate contemporary political evil. But for Marxists it is necessary to understand South African society, its historical development and internal contradictions, in order to carry out a revolution that will sweep this system of hideous race and class oppression from the face of the earth. Like many states throughout the world, South Africa was created by the colonial expansion of European capitalism from the 16th through the 19th centuries. However, on the southern tip of the African continent, European colonialism led to a society quite unlike any other on the face of the planet.

One type of society produced by colonialism is represented by the United States, Canada, Australia, and also Argentina, Uruguay and Chile in the southern part of South America. In these countries a large, permanent European settler population, constantly reinforced by immigration, killed off the indigenous native peoples or drove them into remote, inhospitable areas. Thus in North America, Australia and the Southern Cone of South America, the over-



ANC

**Black workers demonstrate for equal rights and against racist repression in 1930s. Even before apartheid was instituted in 1948, South African capitalism was based on white supremacy.**

the white ruling class is so intense that strikes by COSATU unions are not broken by widespread scabbing as is all too common in the U.S.

Another index of the strength of the black union movement is that it is beginning to attract even highly privileged white workers, who because of the severe economic slump are facing the prospect of layoffs for the first time in decades. Earlier this year more than a thousand white transport workers, reportedly including supporters of the ultrarightist Conservative Party, joined the COSATU-affiliated South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU). A white flight attendant for South African Airways explained: "We have joined SARHWU for job security, not for its politics."

But if some white workers are now looking to COSATU for job security, for the white ruling class a major aim of the "power sharing" deal with the ANC is to weaken the power and authority of the black union movement (in part by coopting its leaders). Thus, the new con-

June 10, miners at Gold Fields' West Driefontein mine walked out over a racist remark. "The workers think it's pay-back time," observed one industry analyst.

Significant class struggle can blow the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance"—and the whole country—apart. But black workers cannot defend or further their interests simply through struggles at the trade-union level, however militant. In the first instance, the impoverished black masses will be repressed by the "new" South African National Defence Force (SANDF), which is the old, hated SADF with the addition of a handful of "generals" from the ANC's former armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), with MK commander Joe Modise sitting in the defense minister's chair. It is necessary to call on the workers to oppose the fraud of "power sharing" with the Randlords and break from the black front men of the ANC to form a revolutionary workers party.

The proletariat must place itself at the

whelming majority of *all social classes* is European-derived.

A partial exception is the United States, where a large black population was brought from Africa originally as slaves for Southern plantation agriculture. After the Civil War, blacks became an oppressed race-color caste concentrated at the bottom of American society. Especially since the 1950s, it has been commonplace for American blacks and white liberals to see racial oppression in South Africa as similar to that in the U.S. The apartheid system is compared to the legally enforced "Jim Crow" racial segregation of the pre-1960s South, and the anti-apartheid struggle to the civil rights movement.

An especially simple-minded version of this view was recently stated by a British academic, Barry Buzan, who predicts "democratic South Africa will resemble the U.S." (London *Independent*, 21 April). And he tells us that: "The American and South African populations, as well as being similarly composed, also relate to their landscapes in parallel ways.... Their cities are largely modern, and are arranged into highly differentiated, often ethnically defined ghettos."

In reality, the American and South African populations are not at all similarly composed. Blacks make up only 13 percent of the U.S. population, the same as whites in South Africa. When blacks gained the democratic right to vote in the South in the 1960s (a right which millions of blacks in the North had always had), this in no way threatened the political dominance of the white ruling class, much less their ownership of the country's wealth. Three decades after the "victory" of the civil rights movement, not one of the 50 U.S. states has a black governor and the possibility of a black president in Washington is nil. But in South Africa, a government based on "one person, one vote" and representing the democratic will of the black majority would immediately and directly threaten the social and economic dominance of the white ruling class. Unlike its American counterpart, the white South African bourgeoisie *could not survive* under any semblance of bourgeois democracy.

While blacks are on the bottom of American society, whites as a whole are not on top. In U.S. factories, warehouses, airports, department stores, etc., whites work alongside blacks and earn more or less the same pay. (The racial income gap reflects the concentration of blacks in low-pay sectors, and the vastly higher unemployment among ghetto minorities.) In major labor strikes, like the recent Teamster strike, the police routinely attack and arrest white workers as well as their black and Hispanic union brothers. Millions of white women and their children are on welfare. All of these things would be inconceivable in South Africa.

Whites in the U.S. do not in general benefit from the exploitation and degradation of the black population. Quite the contrary! The deep racial divide in the American working class is the main obstacle to effective labor struggle against capital. As a result, over the past generation the unions have been smashed and gutted, while the living standard of working people has on average fallen by 20 percent.

But if South Africa is fundamentally different than the U.S., despite the centrality of the black/white divide in the two societies, it is also fundamentally different than the rest of sub-Saharan Africa and all other Third World countries. British colonialists in Kenya and India, the French in West Africa and Vietnam, the Belgians in the Congo, the Dutch in the East Indies, were a thin stratum of military officers and civilian administrators, traders, plantation and mine owners who exploited the native toilers. These Europeans remained a tiny fraction of the population and retained

close ties to their "mother" countries. When the European imperialists were forced to grant independence to their African and Asian colonies after World War II, the overwhelming majority of Europeans living there repatriated. They were manifestly *not* Africans, Indians or Vietnamese. Even in Algeria, where the proportion of French colonists to the native population approached that of South Africa, with independence the Europeans got out.

The various elements of European colonialism combined in South Africa to produce a unique mix. On the one hand, there was a large, permanent European immigration coming in two waves. In the 17th century Dutch Calvinist and French Huguenot settlers created a farming and livestock economy. Geographically isolated, this European settler community cohered into a distinct people, the Afrikaners, who consider themselves "Africa's white tribe." When in the late 19th century gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, large numbers of English



Berry/Magnum

**Gold miners in Driefontein (left), part of powerful black proletariat. Black freedom requires socialist revolution—those who labor must rule!**

speakers of all social classes poured into South Africa. The white settler population did not displace the indigenous African peoples but rather exploited them ever more extensively and systematically over time.

Unlike parts of Latin America, there was no significant intermarriage between the Europeans and native peoples. Originally, Dutch/Huguenot men did father children by Khoi and San women and later by women slaves from the East Indies. These children of mixed race were Christianized, taught Afrikaans as their language and raised in European cultural traditions. Their descendants were called coloureds and are concentrated in the Western and Northern Cape provinces.

However, after the initial period of colonization, a rigid sexual-racial segregation was established and maintained. There was effectively no intermarriage between Afrikaners and Bantu-speaking Zulus and Xhosas, the main body of the black African population. Indeed, there has been relatively little intermarriage between the Afrikaners and English, who don't much like one another and fought a savage war against each other at the turn of the century.

The large size, social diversity and permanent character of the European settler population in South Africa enabled the exploitation of the non-white toilers on a far broader scale and more intensively than, for example, in British India or French Morocco. Thus throughout modern South African history, the wages of blacks have been a small fraction of those of whites. By the early years of this century, the whites had seized *all of the arable farmland*, restricting blacks

under the 1913 Land Act to the most barren 13 percent of the country. Thus, contrary to liberal myth, the desolate "homelands" did not originate with the apartheid schemes promoted after the Afrikaners took office in 1948; earlier, under British domination, they were known as "tribal reserves." The women and children were forced to live on the bantustans, while the men—separated from their families for most of their adult lives—were forced to work in slave-like conditions in the white-owned farms, mines and factories.

White foremen, engineers, technicians, skilled workers and, not least, a police apparatus were part of a totalitarian system for the brutal regimentation of black labor. Over half a million black miners—many contracted from outside the borders of South Africa—were forced to live in single-sex hostels surrounded by high walls and rolls of razor wire; these compounds were patrolled by mounted company goons, armored vehicles and guard dogs.



Work in Progress

The superexploitation of black labor, combined with a white ruling caste which had mastered modern technology, has enabled South Africa to become the one relatively industrialized country on the African continent. Nonetheless, like many Third World countries the South African economy is based on the exploitation of raw materials—gold, diamonds, platinum. Agricultural products and minerals make up almost two-thirds of South Africa's exports, gold alone accounting for 30 percent. Thus, much of the country's extensive manufacturing sector depends on the revenue generated in Rand gold mines. The Mercedes auto plant in East London, for example, does not produce cars for export but rather for affluent whites whose incomes derive, directly or indirectly, from the mining sector.

The development of South Africa has produced a near-complete overlap between race and class. Practically the entire industrial proletariat now consists of black Africans, with some coloureds in the Western Cape. In the past there existed a sizable if privileged white working class, while many Afrikaner farmers were relatively poor by the standards of white South Africa. However, a major aim of Hendrik Verwoerd's Nationalist Party government in 1948 was to intensify the superexploitation of the blacks in order to transform Afrikaner workers and poorer farmers into a petty bourgeoisie concentrated in the state bureaucracy. Today, one-third of the white labor force (and *half* the Afrikaner workforce) is employed in the government sector, mainly as useless paper-pushers. An American academic, Jeffrey Herbst, pointed out that "apartheid was

in many ways the most comprehensive program of racial entitlements ever to exist" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1994). And it still is.

*In South Africa the struggle of labor against capital is integrally bound up with the struggle of the oppressed black African people against white domination. The proletarian revolution is at once the supreme act of national liberation.*

The relationship between the social and national transformation of South Africa was spelled out by Leon Trotsky in the 1930s, when the country was still a British colony and had a sizable, if privileged and generally racist, white working class. When the Stalinists came out with the slogan of a "black republic," some South African Trotskyists condemned the slogan as equally harmful to the revolutionary cause as the demand for "South Africa for the whites." Trotsky criticized this kind of color-blind workerism on the part of his followers in South Africa, pointing out the latter slogan means "supporting complete

oppression," while the demand for a "black republic" means "taking the first steps toward liberation." More generally, Trotsky explained:

"Three-quarters of the population of South Africa (almost six million of the almost eight million total) is composed of non-Europeans. A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses. In its turn, that will give them what they are so lacking today—confidence in their strength, a heightened personal consciousness, a cultural growth.

"Under these conditions, the South African republic will emerge first of all as a 'black' republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites or brotherly relations between the two races—depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.

"Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change the relation not only between the classes but also between the races and will assure to the blacks that place in the state that corresponds to their numbers, thus far will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character." [emphasis in original]

—"On the South African Theses" (April 1935)

We have sought to encapsulate the Trotskyist program for South Africa in the slogan of a "black-centered workers government." Today, the social power and combativity of the black African proletariat is manifest for all to see. However, for the black working class to lead the struggle for national liberation it is necessary to break with the nationalist misleaders of the African National Congress, who now openly act as the junior partners of the Randlords.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

# Capitalist "Law and Order" Targets Black Youth

## Oakland: Racist Cop Riot at Lake Merritt



Virgil Waldon

Video footage shows cops spraying pepper gas at black teenagers at Lake Merritt, June 5.

OAKLAND—Suddenly and without warning, on June 5 some 200 cops swept down upon hundreds of black people enjoying the late Sunday afternoon following an annual festival at Lake Merritt, a park near the city center. Attacking with billy clubs, mace and pepper gas, racing police motorcycles and vans, the uniformed thugs injured dozens of people and arrested up to a hundred, some on serious felony charges.

Cops beat black photographer Scott Andre Patterson to the ground for trying to record the attack, seizing and destroying his camera and film. One witness described a scene like something out of Soweto: "I saw women running, trying to get away and dragging their kids then turning around and getting a face full of Mace" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 June). The California Highway Patrol blocked off nearby freeway exits. It was a calculated assault designed to terrorize black youth away from downtown. We demand: Release all prisoners and drop all charges now!

The cops' own spokesman, Captain Michael Meyers, undermined the official cover story that they were merely "responding" to a "full-scale riot," admitting to the *Chronicle* (6 June) that there was no serious trouble until *after* the cops charged in and "tried to make an arrest in the closely packed crowd," claiming they "heard what sounded like gunshots." But no one was shot—the cops couldn't even produce a gun. In fact, the cops had been harassing black youth at the festival all weekend long. KTVU Channel 2 reporter Randy Shandobil noted that the station's tapes show the cops massing fully *two hours* before they went on a rampage. They were *looking* for an "incident" to start a crackdown.

### Black Oakland Under Siege

The Oakland police have been on an ongoing racist killing spree: Nathan Cosby, a black 32-year-old public school custodian and member of AFSCME Local 257, gunned down by racist storm-troopers last January 6; Luke Grinage and his 62-year-old wheelchair-bound

father, Raphael Grinage, shot to death just before Christmas for the "crime" of refusing to surrender the family dog; 19-year-old Baraka Patrick Hull, killed with a bullet in the back because he looked "suspicious"; black teenager Jerrold Hall, shot dead in the back of the head by a BART transit cop.

In 43-percent-black Oakland, the city government and big business are trying to promote capitalist investment by creating an image of a downtown "safe" for white yuppies and businessmen. And this means *driving out the black youth from the center of their own city and penning them into the ghetto*. A year ago the city

Democratic mayor Elihu Harris floated the idea of a 10 p.m. curfew for all youth under 18. City attorneys also unsuccessfully pressed for an ominous, precedent-setting restraining order to prevent 18 black alleged "gang members" from congregating within 1,000 yards of a nine-block area of black East Oakland and, if they live there, make them carry apartheid-style internal passport IDs.

jail or on probation.

In their drive to maximize their profits while "downsizing" their workforce, the racist capitalist rulers of the U.S. have written off a big section of the black population as "surplus." The current drive for "welfare reform," from Congress and Clinton to Republican governor Pete Wilson and the Sacramento Democrats, aimed especially at young mothers and their kids, means that layers of ghetto poor and minority people will *die*, because the decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them. In order to enforce this genocidal campaign, increasingly naked police terror is being unleashed against the ghettos and barrios.

### Racist Police State U.S.A.

The police rampage at Lake Merritt came barely a month after the LAPD staged a riot against Latinos celebrating Cinco de Mayo in Los Angeles. From the prison-building boom to the racist "three strikes you're out" laws, the ruling class is systematically strengthening its machinery of repression. California—and the rest of the country—is looking more and more like a giant "democratic" racist police state.

The racist capitalist class has launched a hysterical anti-immigrant campaign aimed at setting the oppressed at each other's throats. Wilson is joined by Democratic Senators Feinstein and Boxer in pushing for acts of murderous cruelty against "illegal" immigrants—kicking their kids out of schools, preventing medical treatment. To enforce this racist brutality would require a huge internal ID system akin to internal passports. We say anyone who made it here should be allowed to stay. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Twenty-five years ago the Black Panther Party was arrested, shot up and murdered by what was then literally a "white power structure" in Oakland. But a year ago the white police chief was replaced by a black chief, Joseph Samuels; the mayor is black (as was his predecessor) and 25 percent of the cops are black. Samuels promotes "community policing," a bankrupt scheme in which blacks are supposed to feel more at ease with "sensitive" black cops patrolling their neighborhoods. This "liberal" black Democratic Party administration is currently running for re-election, lying through their teeth about all the good things they will do, while their black and white police force carries out brutal sweeps against black youth.

The fact is, the government in this society is not run by the electorate but by the capitalist class which owns the economy. The Democratic Party is just as much a tool of the capitalist class as the Republicans—only the Republicans generally prefer to rule with the naked fist of state repression while the Democrats lie about it and do the same thing.

The core of capitalist power is their "special bodies of armed men," as Friedrich Engels put it—the cops and the army. Well aware that they are not answerable to the masses, within the

January 21:  
Spartacist  
League and  
Labor Black  
League join in  
protesting  
Oakland police  
killing of black  
AFSCME member  
Nathan Cosby.



had the cops seal off the Lake Merritt area from blacks by blockading 17 intersections on the basis of "anti-cruising" laws. Whites "had no problem getting through the checkpoints," one witness noted (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 June 1993). More recently, Oakland's black

Black youth from Oakland have already been swept away from Telegraph Avenue by the Berkeley cops and rad-lib racist administration, and literally driven from the beaches in Alameda. The Alameda "city fathers" even considered making a bridge into the island town one-way (out) to block "cruising" blacks from Oakland. Black youth had no place left to go but the Lake Merritt area—and now Oakland's killer cops are trying to make even this little piece of green off limits!

Oakland's poor black neighborhoods constitute one of the infant mortality capitals of the country. Nationally black babies die at a rate two and a half times that of whites—and *it's rising*. Life expectancy among blacks dropped to 69 years in 1990, compared to 76 for whites. Five years ago Oakland schools fired nearly 150 teachers and cut music, physical education, auto shop and industrial arts classes, and still ran a \$20 million deficit. Today, Mayor Harris is slashing city services and going after the living standards of city workers.

While money has been systematically *taken away* from public schools and hospitals serving blacks in places like Oakland, the state is pouring money into prisons overflowing with blacks and Latinos. In East Oakland some 60 percent of youths aged 16-19 are not in school and have no job; even minimum-wage jobs are scarce. Nationally, *one in five* black youth are in

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# Anti-Immigrant Frenzy...

(continued from page 16)

independent truckers who shut down the port here for ten days last fall. Other groups of unionists, including Machinists in their union colors, were scattered through the crowd. The labor presence of the *troqueros*, *drywaleros*, *costureras* (seamstresses), janitors and others points to the potential for mobilizing L.A.'s multiracial proletariat in a class-struggle fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, to stop the deportations and organize the unorganized.

The capitalist state's ongoing racist repression and criminalization of immigrants is all about maintaining a pool of superexploited and unorganized workers, in constant fear of deportation, to slave at subminimum wages in the sweatshops, fields and factories. The anti-immigrant frenzy along with oppression of blacks and other minorities also serves to divide workers along racial lines to destroy the capacity of the entire working class to fight the bourgeoisie's rule.

Today the capitalists who have devastated U.S. industry are looking to scapegoat "illegals" and immigrants for the economic crisis that has struck California particularly hard. Trade war with the United States' imperialist rival Japan further feeds the anti-immigrant campaign, with anti-Asian jingoism directed in particular against Korean and Filipino workers and shopkeepers.

In California's depression elections, Democrats and Republicans are trying to outdo each other in immigrant-bashing. Governor Pete Wilson, who was burnt in effigy at the demonstration, is so widely hated by Latinos and many others that when he attempted to give a speech before a World Cup soccer match at the Rose Bowl he was drowned out by a chorus of boos from the crowd of 90,000. Wilson has made "SOS" and closing the border the centerpiece of his campaign, and has sued the federal government based on the racist lie that immigrants "cost the taxpayer" billions of dollars. (In fact, immigrant workers—particularly "illegals"—pay many billions of dollars more in sales, income and Social Security taxes than they receive in benefits.) Wilson's notorious TV campaign ads feature scenes of threatening hordes swarming down the hills of Tijuana into California.

While Republican Wilson was the particular target of the marchers' ire, his Democratic opponent, Kathleen Brown, is pushing for apartheid-style national ID cards. Meanwhile, California Democratic Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein call for militarizing the border by deploying the National Guard and/or beefing up the murderous Border Patrol (financed by charging tolls at the border). This is a program for more racist

murder. Recently an El Paso Border Patrol agent on trial for shooting a fleeing immigrant in the back was acquitted of all charges. And on the morning of the rally, an immigrant in Border Patrol custody near San Diego was shot in the chest at pointblank range.

Nationally, Democrat Clinton is sending Haitian refugees back to torture and death at the hands of the military regime, while vowing to "hold down health care costs" by excluding "illegals"! And with thousands of Angelenos, many of them immigrants, left homeless and living in public parks in the wake of the January 17 earthquake, the Clinton administration directed the INS to run random checks on quake-aid applicants.

Locally, most Latino Democratic polls boycotted the May 28 rally, not want-



Latino "Justice for Janitors" strikers were attacked and beaten by LAPD cops in June 1990 as they fought to win union recognition. WV Photo

ing to be caught between angry immigrant workers and their own party's anti-immigrant campaign. Although *La Opinión* (29 May) reported that the rally showed the "categorical response by the Latino population of Los Angeles against the anti-immigrant campaign carried out by important politicians like Republican governor Wilson and Democratic California Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein," the liberal organizers seek to divert the masses' outrage into the dead end of voting for the bosses' Democratic Party.

Rally organizer Juan Gutiérrez of One Stop Immigration declared that "What ultimately counts is the ballot box." This is doubly grotesque when it is directed at the immigrant population, much of which (legal residents as well as "illegals") lacks even the right to vote in the bourgeoisie's shell-game elections. Thus the *Los Angeles Times* (31 May) reported that in a statewide opinion survey, while both Latinos and blacks oppose the "SOS" proposition, this anti-immigrant initiative is supported by 59 percent of

registered voters.

According to official figures, in 1990 Latinos were the largest ethnic group in Los Angeles, with 40 percent of the population, ahead of non-Hispanic whites (37 percent), blacks (13 percent) and Asians (9 percent). Taking into account the at least 1.3 million additional undocumented immigrants in the state, Los Angeles is likely already a majority Latino city. Many immigrant workers travel back and forth over the border depending on the availability of work. In addition to Mexicans (who make up three-quarters of L.A.'s Hispanic population), Los Angeles County is home to almost 400,000 Salvadorans as well as other Central Americans. Many of these workers have brought with them experience in sharp class struggle in their countries of origin and form a militant sector

of L.A. labor.

The black population of Los Angeles has been living under racist police-state conditions that have only intensified since 1992 when L.A. exploded in a multiracial upheaval after the cops who beat Rodney King were acquitted. That explosion temporarily cut across divisions between minorities and oppressed groups facing a common enemy, the LAPD. While cops and army terrorized the ghettos and barrios, immigrant workers faced INS roundups and mass deportations, with Latinos taking the majority of arrests. The bourgeoisie's scapegoating of immigrants has served to once again increase tensions between blacks and Latinos as conditions get worse and the job pool shrinks.

Nationalist outfits like the Brotherhood Crusade have led groups of blacks to construction sites where they demand that blacks be hired and Latinos fired. Former Communist Party supporter Deacon Alexander has been active in this poisonous campaign. Meanwhile, black county supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite

Burke, responding to complaints from the black upscale area of Ladera Heights, cast the swing vote that banned immigrant Latino day laborers from gathering on street corners in unincorporated areas of L.A. County. Meanwhile, organizers of the immigrants' rights rally directed their appeal almost exclusively to Spanish-speakers. This plays right into the hands of the racist rulers.

The bourgeoisie's criminalization of immigrants goes hand in hand with stepped-up terror against blacks, who remain the number one target of the racist state and the fascists in this country. Immigrant-bashing from the White House and the State House translates into vicious attacks and repression on the streets. The LAPD tags black and Latino youth as "gang members," setting them up for routine harassment, beatings and street executions. At this year's Cinco de Mayo festival in downtown L.A., cops rioted against the mostly young Latino audience, firing rubber bullets into the crowd, arresting 14 and sending 12 to the hospital. And north of San Diego, where racist vigilantes have terrorized migrant worker camps, county authorities bulldozed a camp that was home to 600.

For years the labor misleaders have pushed chauvinist protectionism targeting Mexican and Japanese workers and inciting racist terror against immigrants and minorities here at home. But the potential for a class struggle that unites white, black, Latino and Asian workers in a common fight against capitalism is real. The recent H.E.R.E. Local 11 union victory at L.A.'s Wilshire Hotel was won when Korean restaurant workers stood with the largely Latino hotel workers against management. When Chicano students at UCLA started mass protests for Chicano studies, the demonstrations quickly became multiracial with black, white, Latino and Asian students coming out to protest administration attacks and anti-immigrant racism.

It is the working class that has the power to defend all the oppressed and smash the bourgeoisie's war on immigrants in overthrowing this racist, capitalist system. But that requires a sharp battle to oust the present pro-capitalist misleaders of labor. Immigrant workers in the U.S. form a powerful living link to class struggle in their countries of origin. Los Angeles is already feeling the tremors from the social volcano of Mexico, which in the wake of the Chiapas rebellion against NAFTA is beginning to erupt. What's needed is a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party, internationalist to the core, that can lead a united working class on both sides of the border.

The Spartacist League/U.S., the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada, as part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fight for socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán. ■

ghettos and barrios the cops think and act as an occupying army, suspending civil liberties at whim, riding roughshod over the black and Hispanic residents. Internationally the U.S. imperialists, emboldened by the destruction of the world's first workers state in the Soviet Union, are trying to rule the world in a similarly arrogant way, issuing strangling economic "sanctions" against countries like Cuba, or bombing 100,000 Iraqis to death to assert control over the world's oil supplies. Lately this is done under the fig leaf of the "United Nations"; if there were a "UN" in George Washington's time, the British would have used it to send Hessian troops against the "criminal" American colonists.

## Labor Must Raise Its Fist!

What's needed is to mobilize the organized working class in sharp and uncompromising class struggle. In cities where the capitalist cops have been con-

fronted and defeated by a labor upsurge, as they were in the 1946 Oakland General Strike, they tend to stay pushed back for a long time. The notoriously brutal and racist Richmond cops, including the Confederate-flag-sporting "Richmond cowboys," stood by quietly when 700 heavily black union longshoremen took over the street and shut down the scab Levin terminal there in 1983.

At an angry community meeting last February called by the family of Nathan Cosby and attended by Mayor Harris and his cronies, Hursey Bush of the Labor Black League for Social Defense spoke forcefully:

"The truth is these hired guns of the capitalist state cannot be reformed. Civilian review boards have never stopped police brutality... Having a black mayor or police chief doesn't change any of this. Their role is to obscure these truths and to give people the illusion that somehow the system is made for them....

"We've got a big integrated labor move-

ment right here in Oakland and the Bay Area. It would be a powerful step forward and a real display of social power if all those unions mobilized to lead a labor/black and Latino protest to push the police back."

A labor movement worth its salt would fight to organize the unemployed, demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to spread the work around, union-run minority hiring and upgrading programs, a massive public works program at union wages, welfare payments at a living rate—for a start. The working class created all the wealth of this country. To put it to use for the benefit of the majority of society requires breaking the power of the capitalist class, seizing the means of production and establishing a workers state.

The key is revolutionary leadership. The racist trade-union bureaucracy systematically sabotages any serious struggle by the unions and must be swept

aside. At the same time there is a profound vacuum of black leadership. Pro-capitalist black misleaders from Jesse Jackson to nationalist anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan to Elihu Harris are enemies of black freedom. Black workers, heavily concentrated in unions, are a critical link between the increasingly impoverished ghetto population and the social power of the working class. The task is to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight as a tribune of all the oppressed and successfully lead the workers to power through socialist revolution. ■

## Correction

In our article "The Rwanda Horror" (WV No. 601, 27 May), an editing error garbled the name of the recently assassinated president of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira.

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Mobilize Midwest Labor to Win CAT Strike!

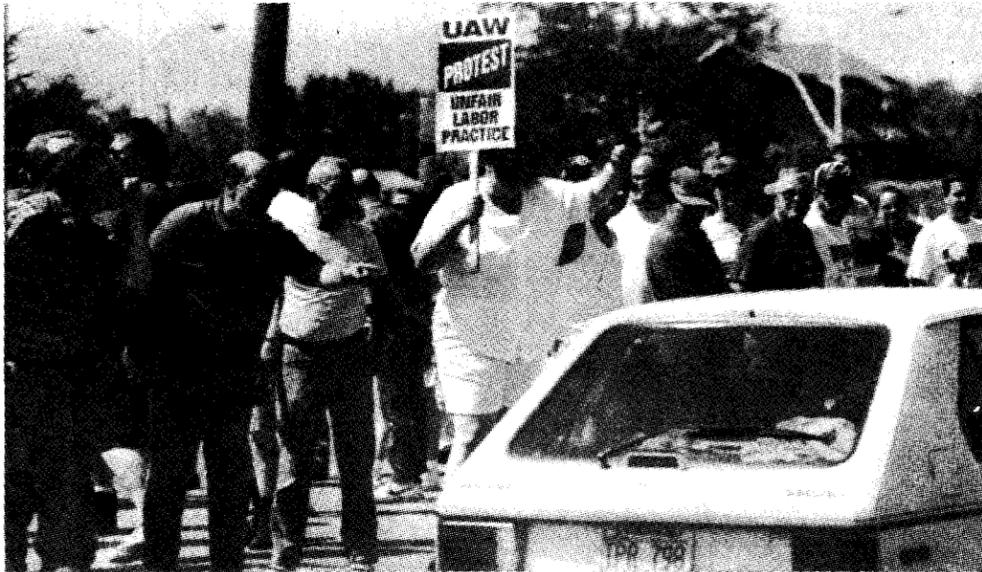
### Don't Beg Congress—Organize Mass Pickets!

Smoldering rage against Caterpillar Inc.'s anti-union tyranny flared into a national strike June 21, when more than 14,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) hit the bricks. Many workers couldn't wait to down their tools and hoist picket signs: in Mapleton, Illinois, at least 150 workers set up picket lines a day before the strike deadline when an arrogant boss told them they couldn't talk about union business on "company time"! One worker said, "This is not from Detroit, we're

doing this on our own."

The strike affects several CAT plants in Illinois as well as facilities in Pennsylvania and Colorado. Over 700 workers in Morton, Illinois and Memphis, Tennessee have been ordered to stay at work by the UAW tops, who are bowing to a "no-strike" contract clause. Although nearly three years have passed since CAT workers have had a union contract, UAW leaders Bieber and Casstevens insist on playing by the company rules. Even

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UAW strikers picket Aurora, Illinois, Caterpillar plant, June 21.

Thompson/Chicago Tribune

## Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in California Elections

LOS ANGELES—On May 28, over 12,000 predominantly Latino workers marched on City Hall behind a banner proclaiming "Stop Racist Attacks Against Immigrants." The mass demonstration was called by the California Latino Civil Rights Network, a coalition of over 30 groups that includes several immigrant defense organizations such as One Stop Immigration, the Central American Refugee Center, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the AFL-CIO's Immigrant Workers Association, as well as a number of unions.

The demonstration took place as the bipartisan war on immigrants is reaching a fever pitch in the California gubernatorial race. An immigrant-bashing "Save Our State," or SOS, initiative appears to be headed for the state ballot this fall. This racist referendum would deny all basic social services, including public schooling and all but emergency health care, to undocumented immigrants and their children. All state agencies, from social workers to cops, would also be required to turn over suspected undocumented workers to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the hated *migra*.

The thousands of immigrants and non-immigrants who packed Broadway are the workers who make this city run. This was the largest

Latino rally in recent L.A. history and it included a significant core from key unions. A contingent from SEIU Local 399 Justice for Janitors marched. These unionists were brutally attacked by the LAPD in 1990 in their fight to organize building workers in Century City. They were also the only union to march in protest against the racist police and National Guard sweeps in the wake of the racist 1992 acquittal of the cops who assaulted Rodney King.

Prominent in the crowd were placards of the ILGWU, which is seeking to organize the sweatshops in L.A.'s large garment district. There were agricultural workers from the UFW. Also present were militants from the drywallers, construction workers who waged a months-long strike that was one of the few recent instances of new union organization. These viciously exploited, mostly Mexican immigrant workers employed flying pickets to shut down residential construction from San Diego to Ventura and faced attacks by the sheriffs and INS roundups and deportations. Now members of Carpenters Local 2361 in Orange, they are still targets of harassment by the Border Patrol.

A flatbed rig carried a contingent from the Latin American Truckers Association, the

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## Los Angeles: Thousands March for Immigrant Rights



Ciro Cesar/La Opinión

Mass demonstration marched to City Hall on May 28 demanding "Stop Racist Attacks Against Immigrants!"

## Full Citizenship Rights—Stop the Deportations!