

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



WV Photo

L.A. Upheaval Shakes America



AFP



Ted Sequi

**Free the Victims of the Racist Roundups!
Cops, Troops, Migra Out of the Ghettos and Barrios!
For Labor/Minority Action Against Racist Cop Terror!**

MAY 11—The U.S. imperial president's 31-car motorcade swept into South-Central Los Angeles at dawn like Norman Schwarzkopf moving into Kuwait City. Federal agents and police were stationed on rooftops, armed with sniper rifles and automatic weapons. Soldiers flooded Slauson and Crenshaw Boulevards; Secret Service agents, cops and handlers with bomb-sniffing dogs streamed through the area. As the motorcade sped past the burned-out rubble from the Crenshaw district in South L.A. to the Salvadoran immigrant area of Pico-Union to Koreatown, the Bush brigade met with unmasked bitterness and seething hostility from Los Angeles' poor. "Go to hell, you hypocritical liar!" one man jeered. A 35-year-old father of three, laid off for nearly a year from his aircraft construction job at McDonnell Douglas, screamed out, "We need better education, more jobs, a stake in the community."

A week earlier, on April 29, the pent-

up anger of America's poor, minority and working people exploded against the armed enforcers of this racist capitalist state. Across the country, young blacks, Hispanics, Asians and whites have poured into the streets to protest the "not guilty" verdict acquitting the Los Angeles cops who savagely beat black motorist Rodney King, and to show solidarity with the L.A. upheaval. The match that lit up L.A. has burned a gaping hole in the New World Order that is widening with each passing day. From the White House to the California state house, America's rulers know they are *all* guilty, and they're nervous as hell. Bush dispatched an army of U.S. troops and federal agents, occupying Los

Angeles with a force larger than that used in the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic. And in the wake of the riots, from L.A. to SF to NYC there is an ominous escalation of police bonapartism, as the uniformed thugs act as a law unto themselves on the streets.

In San Francisco on Friday, May 8, some 575 protesters were busted in a police trap. Cops blocked the agreed-upon march route and then charged into the anti-racist demonstrators, arresting and photographing them, then loading them onto Muni buses for transport to Pier 38, where they were warehoused into the early hours of Saturday morning. This came a week after Mayor Frank Jor-

dan, SF's former chief of police, declared a state of emergency and curfew, giving police sweeping powers. Jordan rode to office on a racist backlash vote. His new police chief is former sheriff Richard Hongisto, a liberal darling who brags he is a card-carrying member of the ACLU as he busts demonstrators' heads. After thousands were arrested last week, including student protesters who sat down during rush hour on the Bay Bridge, Hongisto crowed that police departments around the country "will be sending people here to take lessons on how to do it right" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 May).

In New York, meanwhile, a racist scare-mongering campaign swept the city on April 30. As the rumors got wilder and wilder, big companies in midtown sent workers home early, small shopowners slammed down their shutters from Harlem to Bedford-Stuyvesant, night-shift workers were told not to

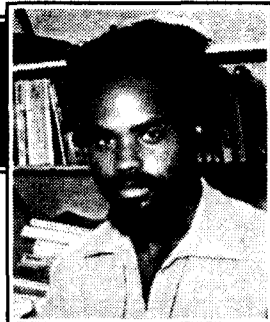
continued on page 11

**SPECIAL
SUPPLEMENT**

Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case

**SEE
PAGES
7-10**

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



The Ramona Africa Suit

Throughout the press in Pennsylvania, and perhaps throughout the U.S. press as well, the story of the Ramona Africa suit, or "the MOVE suit" as they often term it, has garnered banner headlines.

This civil suit, initiated by Ramona *pro se* (without a lawyer), is a *civil* claim of a violation of her *civil* constitutional rights, stemming from the police bombing of MOVE headquarters in West Philly, leaving at least eleven MOVE men, women and babies dead on May 13, 1985. The suit claims the state knowingly and intentionally used excessive and unlawful force against the occupants of 6612 Osage Avenue, and created a holocaust that night.

Among prisoners, the articles have stimulated comment, among them, the ever-present comment, "She gonna get paid." This comment never ceases to irk me, for, over and above the fact that Ramona could care less about money (as with all MOVE people), the fact remains that this is a *civil* suit, seeking *civil* damages, for an act that Ray Charles and Stevie Wonder both could clearly see was *criminal*.

Contrary to published opinion, as Ramona neatly points out, the May 13th bombing of MOVE by police was, not even!, an accident, not a technical blooper, nor, as former mayor Goode said, "a bad day."

No! May 13th, 1985 was the most premeditated

police raid and destroy mission in U.S. history; a day planned and prepared for, months, even years in advance by local, state and federal officials sworn to one unholy aim—the destruction of the MOVE organization.

Their "bad day" began when one determined, scarred, smouldering Black woman dodged a hellfire of cop bullets to escape the plans of government to incinerate her and her family alive, and survived.

For *this* she was dumped into Pennsylvania's hellish prisons, sentenced to seven years in a prison madhouse of loss, pain and alienation at Muncy's Women Prison—for daring to not die!

Well, Mona's back, y'all.

Fueled by the generating influence of *John Africa's* teaching, this MOVE soldier is marching back into battle, to point out how corrupt, how thoroughly decayed this system is, using their own so-called "law." *Long Live John Africa!*

Her dark, muscled arms are mottled, seared and scarred in some places, silent testament to the flames of Osage, but her eyes are clear and calm, her fine mind sharper than the hot shards of glass that littered the back yard of Osage, sharper than the pain that stabbed at her heart, when she looked back, and through the black clouds of smoke, saw her people,

her brothers and sisters, the children, shot back by a rain of death, back into the inferno of Osage, forced back by a steady deadly rain of automatic police weapons fire, forced back into eternity.

And they talkin' bouta *civil* suit—for damages!

To date *no* official, former D.A. Edward Rendell (who was himself recently declared immune from suit), former D.A. Ronald Castille, former U.S. Attorney Edw. Dennis, nor present D.A. Lynne Abraham, has ever called *any* action by police or any other official, "criminal"—not one charge. Not once. Nobody.

Just, maybe, a *civil* violation, here or there, and if "proven," will only mean you, the taxpaying public, will foot the bill, and pay hard-earned bucks for political incompetence.

As I look around this dungeon on Pennsylvania's Death Row, I see not one soul who dared premeditate mass murder like police and political officials did on May 13th, 1985, and until I do—don't tell me about a criminal justice system, 'cause there ain't no "justice" in it—it's just a criminal system.

1 April 1992

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

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

Black Freedom and Revolutionary Leadership



TROTSKY

The arrogant refusal of the two parties of capitalist exploitation to offer anything other than increased repression to the impoverished black masses of the urban ghettos in the wake of the Los Angeles upheaval underscores the crying need for revolutionary leadership. At the time of the 1964 Harlem upsurge, the first of a series of ghetto rebellions that rocked the 1960s, the Spartacist League intervened with the aim of bringing to bear the social power



LENIN

of the integrated workers movement in the struggle against cop terror and racist oppression. As we wrote then, the key to black liberation lies in the forging of a proletarian party committed to socialist revolution.

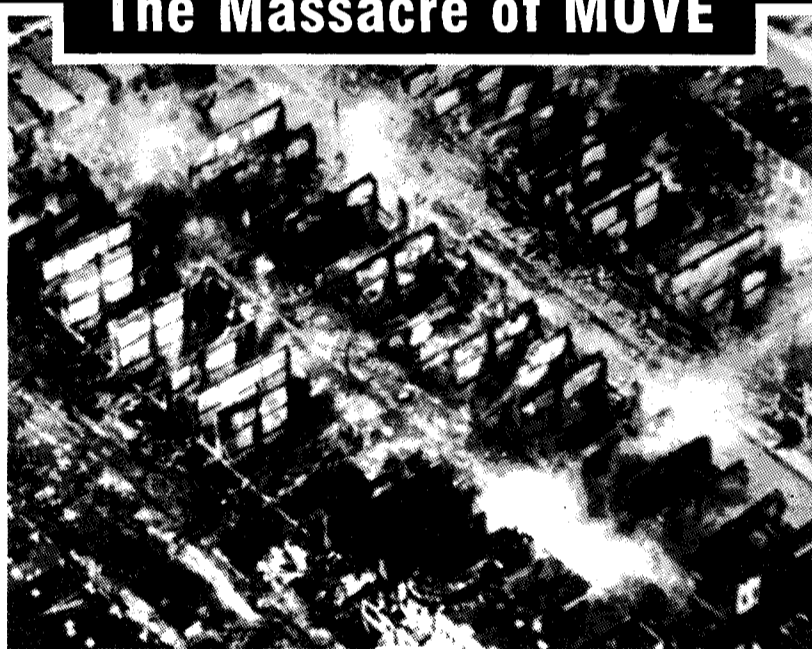
Revolutionaries in the Negro freedom movement need to pose *transitional* demands which, at each point, tend to bring the Negro masses to the recognition in struggle that fundamental solutions to their problems are not possible within the framework of the capitalist system, a system which incorporates in its very being inequality, racism, and mass destruction.

...the Democratic Party is merely the preferred political tool of the very classes responsible for oppression. The Democratic Party has been the most powerful political force in this country for three decades; the fact that it has done *nothing* of any substance to advance the position of the Negro people is because *it doesn't want to*: it is controlled by powerful financial interests who *benefit* from the oppression of Negroes.... The only alternative is the development of a mass Labor party based on an alliance of black and white workers committed to a socialist solution to the problems of the working class—unemployment, speedup, low wages, slums, and racism....

Out of the struggle for and implementation of such a program will come a new revolutionary organization capable of organizing the Negro masses and leading them in struggle. Such an organization, through fighting for the special needs of the Negro people, will form its link through the Revolutionary Party to broader struggles—ultimately the struggle for workers power and a socialist reorganization of society. The Negro people, the most exploited section of the working class, will, by virtue of their long experience in struggle for a better life, play a leading role in the emancipation of the entire American working class—and through them, of all humanity.

—"Harlem Riot and After" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965)

The Massacre of MOVE



UPI

As American cities explode in outrage over the racist acquittal of the cop beaters of Rodney King, it is appropriate to commemorate 13 May 1985, when eleven black people lost their lives and hundreds were burned out of their homes in the Philadelphia police bombing of MOVE. This May marks seven years since the Mother's Day siege of Osage Avenue. Black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode gave the order, the FBI supplied the C-4 explosives, and Philly cops dropped the bomb, then opened up with 10,000 rounds of machine-gun and rifle fire to drive back into the flames those who sought to escape.

Not one of the government officials guilty of ordering and carrying out this calculated mass murder was even penalized, much less jailed, for their monstrous crime. But Ramona Africa was imprisoned for seven years for the "crime" of surviving this massacre. She and other MOVE members have been denied parole for refusing to renounce their beliefs or their organization.

Now after "maxing out," serving every day of the maximum sentence, Ramona is scheduled to be released on May 13. So the spiteful authorities at Muncy prison have been trying to set her up, particularly in light of the civil suit she has launched against the state. And sinister police surveillance has been stepped up around the MOVE residence.

Reports have reached the Partisan Defense Committee that in late March prison officials closed the library, where Ramona worked, for two days and tore it apart in a search. They suspended her from her detail because she had been keeping legal papers there concerning her suit against Philadelphia officials. Meanwhile, city officials have started up their intimidation and provocation tactics, with unmarked vans shining a spotlight on the house and a police helicopter circling the house for hours.

Eleven black people, including five children, are dead, and many MOVE members are still in jail as part of the Philadelphia rulers' ongoing racist vendetta against these black radicals. We demand freedom for all the MOVE prisoners! Stop the surveillance and harassment! The American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs.

13 May 1985

WORKERS VANGUARD



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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

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

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

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

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

No. 551

15 May 1992

All Out to Stop NY Times Union-Busting!

MAY 11—"Turn 'em back! Turn 'em back!" pickets shouted as scabs drove tractor trailers belonging to the *New York Times* into the New Rochelle, NY wholesale outfit owned by Imperial Delivery Service. Workers, members of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union (NMDU) from all over New York, were there to defend the jobs of 220 fellow NMDU members who are being rail-roaded out by a union-busting operation carefully orchestrated by the *Times*. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the *New York Times* went undelivered this past weekend, as some trucks developed "mechanical failure" and one burst into flames.

Last year we warned, when the union tops caved in to *Daily News* owner Robert Maxwell's job-slashing contract, that "if this deal goes down, the labor-hating *New York Times* bosses, with a \$450-million ultra-modern printing facility at Edison, NJ ready to roll, are ready to sock it to the unions." Now the *Times* arrogantly proclaims it will impose "labor peace for the rest of the century" through a no-strike pledge, slashing wages, ripping up work rules and gutting the one union with the power to enforce a strike in the newspaper industry in New York. The demand to eliminate overtime pay alone will cut wages in half!

After years of submitting to arbitration decisions which hacked away at union gains, on May 6 the NMDU tops put up this giveback deal for a vote by the 2,900 drivers in the NYC area. It was rejected as 60 percent voted "no." Drivers know that the rest of the industry will quickly demand the same givebacks as the *Times*. As one worker declared, "if they want a war, that's what will happen."

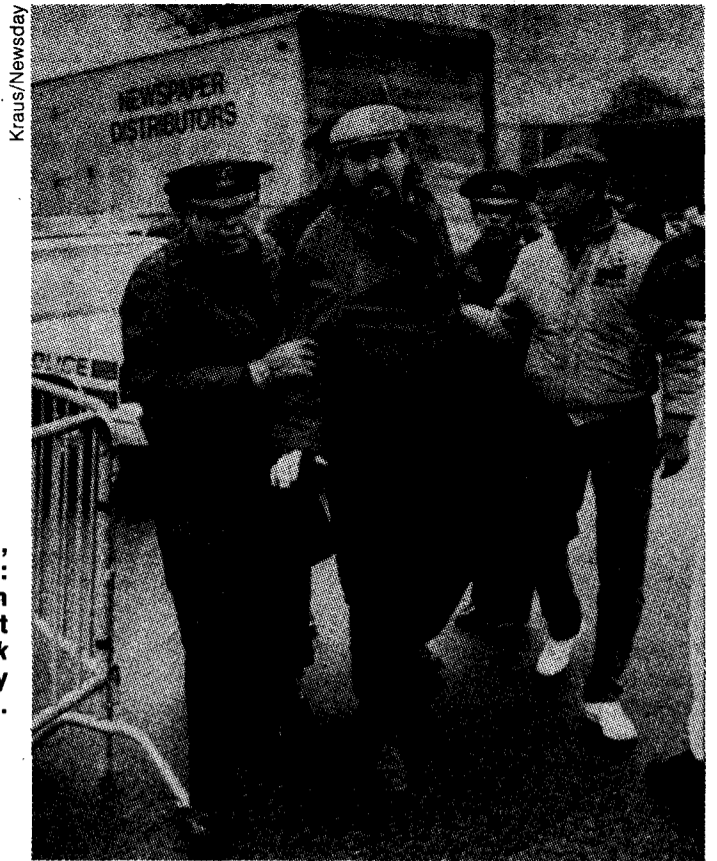
Times management moved quickly after the vote. Their front man in this union-busting campaign is one Arthur Imperatore, owner of Imperial and the huge APA Transport trucking company in Jersey. He is taking over newspaper wholesaling operations in Long Island and Westchester. In the words of a NMDU officer, "Imperatore owns half of Hoboken." He is trying to use his 350 acres of Jersey waterfront to build something called "Venice on the Hudson." In New Jersey??

Imperatore fired the 220 NMDU members, threatening to replace them with Teamsters from Local 917, who staff his trucking business. Teamsters headquarters in Washington warned Local 917 to observe NMDU picket lines, so Imperatore moved in scabs. The *Times* may claim that Imperatore is acting on his own, but as one driver told WV, "The *Times* is the head of the snake. They lease their trucks from him, they've been sleeping together for years."

The haughty *Times* publishers got a judge to issue a midnight restraining order to prohibit the union from interfering with delivery. Allied Printing Trades Council chief George McDonald capitulated even before they got the order, telling the *Times* that "other newspaper unions would be very unlikely to strike in defiance of a court order." But as a driver said, "When you go into war you don't carry a manual in your back pocket that says what you can and can't do." Already, 16 drivers have been arrested on the picket line.

What's needed is joint strike action by all the unions at the *Times* to shut the paper down now! Stop all deliveries, defy the capitalist courts' injunctions

East Farmingdale, Long Island, May 8: Drivers union picket arrested at scab *New York Times* delivery operation.



with mass pickets to stop the scabs! Drivers must demand that Teamsters, rail workers and longshoremen refuse to handle the newsprint. That's the kind of action that would have won the *Daily News* strike of 1990-91 hands down, instead of dragging it out for months.

As in the *Daily News* strike, the ruling class exploiters at the *Times* are playing the race card, going after the NMDU for discrimination against blacks and other minorities. But the exploiters on 43rd Street, the spokesmen for this racist ruling class, have a lot of nerve pretending to defend black rights! The drivers, who in fact are now one-third minority and women, must join with the pressmen and turn the tables on the *Times*—demanding special union-run recruitment and training programs at the capitalists' expense to create jobs.

At the *Daily News*, while driving out the Tribune Co. union-busters, the work-

ers were bled dry and saddled with a contract which sacrificed hundreds of jobs, especially among the drivers and pressmen who were the backbone of the strike. Well, Cap'n Bob went off the back of his yacht in the Canary Islands and now his sons are peddling the *News* to a crew of media moguls who will demand yet more givebacks.

The *New York Times* and the rest of the capitalist press are big business; you need hard class struggle to beat them. To counteract the press bosses' playing one union off against another, workers must forge a fighting industrial union of the newspaper industry, from the pressroom to the newsroom. By relying on the bosses' parties and bowing to the bosses' courts, the trade-union bureaucracy prepares the way for defeat. Newspaper workers in NYC need a class-struggle leadership that will fight for a workers party! Victory to the drivers strike! ■

TA, TWU Tops Impose Contract Vote Rip-Off

MAY 12—With voting on yet another mail ballot finishing today, NYC transit workers are being steamrolled by the Transit Authority and their own union misleaders into essentially the same sell-out contract they massively threw back only weeks ago. The regime of Transport Workers Union Local 100 president Sonny Hall constantly threatened the powerful, racially integrated 32,000 TWUers with dire consequences under the no-strike Taylor Law.

First, the exec board extended the contract for a year. When 1,500 angry transit workers marched over Brooklyn Bridge, Hall called in the police to keep them out of their own union hall! And when the contract was massively voted down, the TWU tops got together with the TA and Democratic governor Cuomo and cooked up a deal to automatically submit the contract to binding arbitration if workers nixed it again.

The current mail ballot was blatantly rigged. The choice on the ballot was either "yes" for their stinking contract, or "no...knowing that [it] will be resolved by binding arbitration in accordance with the requirements of New York State law"! Workers across the system were furious. As a militant in the Committee for a Fighting TWU told WV:

"Workers don't have to 'know' anything of the kind! We're fighting to smash the Taylor Law arbitration. Transit workers can vote this down again, and with a massive repudiation of the Hall gang, go on to fight for a leadership that will mobilize the union in a solid strike."



1,500 transit workers marched across Brooklyn Bridge to protest Sonny Hall's sellout contract, February 12.

The Committee fought for a mass meeting of the entire TWU Local 100 at Madison Square Garden, collecting over 1,000 petitions for a meeting to decide how to fight and win.

The bureaucratic "opposition," New Directions (ND), called for workers to write "none of the above" on their ballot, but never offered a program for struggle. On the contrary, they voted with Hall to extend the contract last year, and the closer it came to a showdown, the more loudly ND opposed a strike. Meanwhile

they sought to funnel transit workers' anger into pressuring the Democratic Party—like ND's "threat" to "disrupt" the Democratic convention...next July! Yet the rigged ballot deal came straight out of Cuomo's office.

This hasn't placated Hall, who has launched a witchhunt against ND officers in the union. In a transparent bureaucratic maneuver on behalf of the TA aimed at suppressing dissent, Hall has filed bogus union charges that his hacks were "kidnapped and held hos-

tage"! This was over the union meeting where hundreds of angry workers gave the labor traitors hell for selling them out! This witchhunt must be fought!

At every turn, New Directions and the reformists who champion them have sought to limit transit workers' struggle to what is "possible" in this racist, capitalist system. "Solidarity" tells workers, "Recessions may be unavoidable," only arguing over "who suffers the most." *Socialist Action* praises ND, cynically implying that it is for strike action and against the Democratic Party when everyone, including the *New York Times* bosses, knows the opposite is the case.

TWU Local 100, the most powerful municipal union in the country, is seething. The narrow Hall bureaucracy can only stay in office by witchhunting and blatant rigging. The last few weeks have made it crystal clear that transit workers must roll over this roadblock and sweep aside the "New Directions" fakers by forging a genuinely class-struggle leadership with the determination and program to fight to win. ■

Citation

The archival listing for the 1917 leaflet by Lenin and Trotsky, "To the German Soldiers!" printed in our last issue with the permission of the Zentrales Parteiarchiv in the Institut für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung (Berlin), is: ZPA, I 2/8/84.

The Murder of American Trotskyist Martha Phillips

International Campaign Puts Heat on Moscow Authorities

We Demand a Serious Investigation!

After ten weeks of stalling, smoke-screens and incompetence by the Moscow militia (police), in late April the International Communist League launched a worldwide campaign of publicity and protest to pressure the authorities to begin a *serious* investigation into the February 9 murder of our comrade Martha Phillips. Capping a series of demonstrations outside embassies and consulates of the Russian government around the world, on May 5 ICL spokesmen and a Soviet lawyer representing Martha Phillips' family held a press conference at the House of Journalists in Moscow which was attended by more than 40 representatives from the Soviet and international media.

Reporting on the international campaign and what necessitated it, ICL speaker Jon Branche stated:

"In the twelve weeks since Martha was found brutally strangled and stabbed on the morning of February 9, Moscow authorities show no progress in tracking down those guilty of this abominable crime. For weeks Phillips' comrades, friends and loved ones have cooperated in good faith with the militia investigation. But our urgent inquiries have met

Demonstrators in more than a dozen cities around the world demanded an energetic investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips. Above: London, April 30.



Workers Hammer

with incompetence, evasion of responsibility and constant delaying tactics."

Among the documents distributed to the press was a 21 April letter to the Moscow procurator's office by Yossi Schwartz, a Canadian lawyer retained by Martha Phillips' family. Protesting the handling of the investigation, Schwartz detailed the grievous shortcomings of the investigation. Criticizing the numerous omissions from the autopsy report, the failure to perform essential laboratory tests and

the stonewalling of those charged with pursuing the case, he concluded that it was impossible to know "whether it is a case of negligence or a conscious attempt to prevent a thorough investigation leading to the prosecution of the guilty party."

A 1 April article by Oleg Rubnikovich in the Soviet newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* pointed to the opaque and mysterious manner in which the police investigation has been pursued. As late as March 20, Moscow Morgue No. 5 said that "the preliminary diagnosis was sudden heart failure," the article reported. "Meanwhile by 11 February an autopsy showed that the death was violent, and why the spokesman of the morgue tried to deceive the reporter remains unclear."

Now more than two dozen leading papers around the world, ranging from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* and the *New York Times* in the U.S. to the *London Independent*, *Le Monde* (Paris), *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Japan Times*, have put the spotlight on the Moscow authorities. An article by Seamus Martin in the *Irish Times* (4 May) noted that the case "is currently raising a minor storm here in Moscow."

Remarking on the virtual press blackout which preceded this campaign, Astrit Dakli noted in the Italian *Il Manifesto* (3 May): "The violent death of an American citizen is an event that in other cases has raised a lot of noise in Moscow." Just how unusual this case is was underlined by Howard Witt in the *Chicago Tribune* (10 May): "The circumstances might have been lifted from the pages of a Cold War-era thriller. Phillips was, in fact, the first American murdered in Moscow in recent memory, according to U.S. embassy officials."

In what amounts to the first public response by the Yeltsin regime, the government-controlled ITAR-TASS news agency issued a tortuous justification for the lack of official progress in a 30 April dispatch, which scurrilously sought to put the blame on the victim. The dispatch retailed the Moscow procurator's office claim that "there are no reasons to suggest that the investigation is being conducted in secret." Yet the first brief account of the murder in the Soviet press, in *Vechernaya Moskva* (26 February), said flatly that the investigation was "being conducted in the strictest secrecy."

A 27 April Reuters dispatch from

Moscow by Anthony Barker broke ground in the international press. Barker interviewed Moscow case investigator Pavel Marchenko, who "said he could not yet disclose details of his inquiry." It also cited the dismissive response from a U.S. embassy spokesman: "The Moscow police have assured us that they are doing everything that they can."

Many of the articles emphasized the ICL's Trotskyist politics and opposition to Yeltsin counterrevolution. Barker, for example, wrote of Martha Phillips: "Her organisation was critical of the former ruling Soviet Communist Party, the present government of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which is introducing free market reforms, and the anti-Semitic Pamyat nationalist movement."

The *Il Manifesto* article, headlined "Moscow, the Strange Death of Martha Phillips, Trotskyist Militant," pointed out that "This is a case with many anomalies that aren't part of normal crime stories." Reporter Astrit Dakli noted how the doctors who first arrived at the scene of the murder "diagnosed 'sudden death of natural causes' in spite of the evidence of knife wounds and marks of strangulation. The functionaries of the militia did the same thing." She added, "The functionaries respond with annoyance to relevant questions (in other similar cases there was always an extraordinary mobilization, often with very rapid results)."

Judi Buehrer, writing in the English-language *Moscow Times* (30 April), encountered the same stonewalling from Moscow militia and U.S. embassy officials. Investigator Marchenko "declined to comment on any of the specifics of the case," while chief police investigator Andrei Vovyeikov "refused to comment about why the doctors didn't immediately suspect foul play" and "also declined to divulge other information about the case." The U.S. embassy, an official told her, had "done all it could."

An article "on the mysterious stabbing in Moscow of a Trotskyist" in the *London Independent on Sunday* (3 May) by Steve Crawshaw reported that an aide to Denver Democratic Congresswoman Pat Schroeder, who intervened in the case on behalf of Phillips' family, complained to him about the State Department's response: "First we were told that it was natural death—then a knife wound. We still haven't seen an autopsy report,

continued on page 14

World Press Coverage

Tod einer Trotzkinistin
Mysteriöser Mord in Moskau
Berlins (Dax) — Vor dem russischen Botschaften in aller Welt werden heute Demonstrationen abgehalten.

Outrage expressed on death in Russia
Protesters in several European countries in 11 world cities...

В МОСКВЕ УБИТ АМЕРИКАНСКИЙ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬ
Убийца не оставил никаких следов
Олег Рубникович

Mosca, la strana morte di Martha Phillips. Militante trotskista
Nella notte fra il 9 e il 10 febbraio di quest'anno, una donna di 43 anni, Martha Phillips, è stata trovata morta in un appartamento di Mosca.

A Paris
Appel à une manifestation après l'assassinat d'une trotskiste américaine à Moscou
Le 9 février dernier, Martha Phillips, une Américaine de quarante-trois ans, était l'appartenance d'un parti trotskiste russe.

Le Monde Paris
29 April 1992

Il Manifesto Italy
3 May 1992

Le Droit Ottawa-Hull
1 May 1992

San Francisco Chronicle
24 April 1992

The Japan Times Tokyo
1 May 1992

The Denver Post
6 May 1992

The Scotsman Edinburgh
28 April 1992

El Financiero Mexico City
30 April 1992

Trotskyist anger over murder
TROTSKYISTS said yesterday they plan protests at Russian missions around the world over the failure of Moscow police to find the murderer.

Left-Wingers to Protest Over Death in Moscow
Boy Area radical was found dead in February

Trotskyists demand murder probe
A small group of Trotskyists demanded on Thursday that the Russian government investigate the death of an American communist.

Brutal slaying of American in Moscow called political
The brutal slaying in Moscow of a Trotskyist American, Martha Phillips, is described as a political murder.

Siluetas
Martha Phillips
Martha Phillips, una luchadora socialista estadounidense de 43 años...

The Independent

3 May 1992

©1992 by The Independent. Reprinted by permission.

'Accidental' death of a Spartacist

ON 9 FEBRUARY this year, a woman was found strangled and stabbed in her apartment in Moscow. This was nothing special. In what was once an almost peaceful city violent crime has soared in recent years.

But this was no common-or-garden Moscow killing. The victim was an American left-wing political activist. And theft was not the motive. No valuables in the apartment — which included Western currency and a computer — were stolen. All that was taken was an address book, a watch made in the former Soviet Union, and a carving knife, which was, presumably, used for the murder.

Martha Phillips, 43, was an English teacher in Moscow and a member of a tiny ultra-left group called the Spartacist League. Her fellow Spartacists are now accusing the police of failing properly to investigate the murder.

The case has certainly appeared confused at best. One early police theory, for example, was that despite the knife wound and the bruises on her neck Phillips died of "natural causes."

This did not go down well with the Spartacists. In their world, conspiracy theories are two a penny. Their newspaper, *Workers' Vanguard*, is full of stories about plots hatched by Reagan, Bush, the Pope — and even Boris Yeltsin, who is perceived as a new oppressor of the working class.

But in the case of the death of Martha Phillips, there are reasons to be wary. Phillips was a Jew and had received threats from the Russian neo-fascist group, Pamyat, which has made no secret of its anti-Semitism. Pamyat has been widely blamed for a growing number of anti-Semitic attacks and killings carried out in St Petersburg and Moscow.

Yeltsin supporters talk of a "brown-red" coalition — between neo-fascist groups like Pamyat and hardline, old-style communists. The left-right alliance has been more explicit recently in that the nationalists have frequently shared a platform with hardline communists such as Viktor Alksnis.

The American embassy says that it is "continuing to follow the matter closely". But Victor Granovsky, a friend of Phillips, told the English-language *Moscow Times*: "This is an American citizen who was brutally killed; nothing has been done — the family and friends have received only a minimal response."

Patricia Schroeder, a congresswoman in Phillips's home town of Denver, Colorado, has been asked by the victim's family to pursue the case. An aide to Ms Schroeder complained yesterday of a "conflict" in the evidence with which they have been supplied so far.

"First we were told that it was natural death — then a knife wound. We still haven't seen an autopsy report, although we've asked for it," she said.

But a State Department spokeswoman said that there was

Steve Crawshaw on the mysterious stabbing in Moscow of a Trotskyist

an unwillingness to intervene for the moment: "The best stance is to wait for an official report. You can't say anything till you have a smoking gun." She added that the conclusion of a Moscow report on the death was understood to be "imminent".

In Moscow, the newspaper *Niezavisimaya Gazeta* — in a report last month — complained that a morgue spokesman had described the cause of death as "heart failure", when it was already clear that Phillips had been murdered. *Niezavisimaya* commented: "Why the spokesman tried to deceive the reporter remains unclear."

Yossi Schwartz, a Canadian lawyer, has complained that evidence has been destroyed. There are fears that, on past form, no one will ever be charged with Phillips's murder.

Phillips's political allegiances straddled a peculiar divide. The International Communist League



Martha Phillips: pro-Soviet

(Fourth International), as the Spartacists described themselves, declared loyalty to Lenin and Trotsky — but, unlike most Trotskyist groups, they were not anti-Soviet. Indeed, Phillips wanted to see a reconstitution of the old Soviet Union and was prepared to demonstrate alongside hardline communists in Moscow in their protests against the Yeltsin government.

Phillips's comrades talk of her attempts to "smash the Bush-Yeltsin counter-revolution", and even complain of "Stalinophobic anti-Sovietism".

But however unusual Phillips's own politics may have been, the apparent lack of enthusiasm to pursue the possible political or anti-Semitic aspects of her murder is striking.

Joyce Simson, a campaigner for Jewish rights, notes that Jews in Russia are increasingly accused of responsibility for all the country's failings. "They blame the Jews for communism — or for capitalism. Whichever."

San Francisco Examiner

3 May 1992

©1992 by the San Francisco Examiner. Reprinted by permission.

Oakland woman's murder in Moscow draws protests

Probe urged in mystery death of 'revolutionary hero'

By Elizabeth Fernandez
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

She was strident and dogmatic, she fought an unpopular cause.

She was also a woman of passionate commitment and fervid belief in the power of the common people, so willing to put her principles on the line that last May, at the age of 43, Martha Phillips uprooted herself from her Oakland home and moved to the Soviet Union.

In early February, the radical activist and one-time candidate for the Oakland City Council was found brutally and mysteriously murdered in a Moscow apartment.

After months of what they consider inept and inadequate police investigation, supporters demonstrated last week outside the Russian Consulate in San Francisco and in a dozen other cities from London to Tokyo to Sydney to demand that the slaying of the "fallen revolutionary hero" be thoroughly investigated.

"We don't know why Martha was killed," said Jim Robertson, head of the Spartacist League, a pro-Bolshevik organization that opposes the Boris Yeltsin regime. "We're not claiming that there has been a (coverup). But the investigation has lagged, it's been incompetent. We want a clear, robust police investigation."

Andrei Rogov, the San Francisco consulate's press attache, said a criminal investigation is being conducted by the Procurator General's Office of the Russian Federation. "But so far, despite the measures taken, the criminals have not been located," Rogov said. "It's a complex matter, it's not easy."

He declined further comment. Known in Bay Area political circles for her radical militancy, Phillips had lived in Oakland for about 20 years, friends say. In 1983 she



Martha Phillips, murdered in Moscow on Feb. 9, shown here as candidate for Oakland City Council in 1983.

unsuccessfully ran for the City Council.

Employed as a typesetter, Phillips was 39 when she decided to study Russian as a prelude to moving to the Soviet Union. She studied at City College of San Francisco.

"She had always wanted to live in the Soviet Union. She saw it as the home of the first successful workers' revolution," said longtime friend Diana Coleman of Oakland.

She is also a member of the Spartacist League, which follows the tenets of radical communist Leon Trotsky, slain in exile after a power struggle with Joseph Stalin. The group says it has several hundred members in the United States.

They carry the mantle of Trotsky who, in bitter opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy, founded a movement to fight for the rights of the working class.

"It's a pretty unusual person who in their late 30s decides to learn Russian in their spare time," Coleman says. "It was very much

in keeping with her."

Phillips' move last spring to Moscow was a "culmination of her life's work," Coleman said.

Landing a job as an English instructor at the Russian American University, Phillips during her months abroad was a visible, vocal proponent of the Trotsky ideals. She was also publicly critical of the free-market government of Yeltsin, and spoke in July at the Moscow Workers Congress.

On March 9, friends found her lying in bed, seemingly asleep. An autopsy later revealed that she had been stabbed, then strangled, sustaining several broken bones in her throat.

Phillips' son and her parents live in Colorado.

"She had one of the strongest characters of anyone I've ever known," said Al Nelson, an Alameda resident and longtime friend of Phillips. "Martha was a young woman still. Not knowing who or why makes it so unfinished and it makes grieving so much harder to deal with."

The New York Times

5 May 1992

©1992 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Oakland Journal

Seeking Moscow Inquiry Into a Killing

By KATHERINE BISHOP
Special to The New York Times

OAKLAND, Calif., May 4 — In miles, it is a long way from Scarsdale High School in suburban Westchester County outside New York City to this city on the east side of San Francisco Bay.

But to one 1965 graduate, Martha Phillips, who once wrote of "hating and despising bourgeois society," this racially diverse city of auto and shipyard workers and neighborhoods fighting the devastation of crack and urban gangs felt more like home.

A fixture in radical political circles here for nearly 20 years, Ms. Phillips organized labor demonstrations, ran unsuccessfully for the City Council, worked as a typesetter and dreamed of going to the birthplace of the October 1917 revolution. Last May, that dream came true. After studying Russian in night school for years, she was off to Moscow to teach and to defend "the fractured apparatus of the workers' state."

On Feb. 9, a few hours before she was scheduled to attend a rally as a senior leader of the International Communist League protesting the reformist policies of President Boris Yeltsin, Ms. Phillips was found stabbed and strangled to death in her apartment.

Back here, Ms. Phillips's friends and comrades in the Spartacist

League, the small group of radical followers of the teachings of Leon Trotsky to which she belonged, have a new political fight on their hands: forcing the Russian authorities to find out who killed her.

When most people think about radical leftist political organizing, of days spend picketing and handing out leaflets and nights consumed by arguing theory, they frequently think of this city's northern neighbor, Berkeley, where students have fanned the flames of civil rights and anti-Vietnam war sentiments for decades.

But to spend a lifetime dedicated to the certainty of the ultimate victory of the workers' revolution, one must live and work side by side not with the intellectual elite, but with the working class. Thus it is this city, where so many people go off to work wearing hard hats, that has always drawn staunch revolutionists from around the country.

Like Ms. Phillips, many began their political activism opposing the Vietnam War. Be they Leninists, Stalinists or Maoists, it is here that they come, believing that the city's working people have a lot to gain and not much more to lose and that is therefore an ideal place to launch the workers' state.

On April 30, people picketed Russian consulates in 11 cities around the

world, including the nearest one in San Francisco, demanding a full investigation of Ms. Phillips's death.

Ms. Phillips's sister, Elizabeth Greenberg, a lawyer in Denver, said that from the information she had received, only a list of names of the political people with whom she had been working was stolen from her sister's apartment when she was killed.

A statement issued by the Spartacist League here said that members discovered Ms. Phillips's body in bed on Feb. 9. It said the authorities initially declared the death to be a result of natural causes, later reversing this finding and saying they had discovered a stab wound in her chest and broken bones in her throat.

The league's statement said Ms. Phillips, who was Jewish, had been assaulted by members of Pamyat, a nationalist group with overtones of anti-Semitism, at a public demonstration near the Kremlin three weeks before.

Yossi Schwartz, a lawyer in Toronto, has travelled to Moscow and hired private investigators in an effort to learn more. And while the Spartacists have not taken an official position connecting her political work and her death, some friends and family members believe the two are linked.

"She lived her life for her politics," Ms. Greenberg said. "And I think she was killed because of them."

Young Spartacus

Black Students Under Siege in Atlanta

Cops Off Campus!

The news of the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King pierced Atlanta University Center like a siren. People poured out of classrooms and dormitories and into the streets in protest. And just in case students didn't get the message from the videotape that it's open season on black people for the racist enforcers of law and order, it was beaten into their heads by the army of police and GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation) agents who rampaged against the students' protest of police brutality.

It looked like television clips of Birmingham in 1963 when Police Chief Bull Connor unleashed savage cop violence against young black demonstrators. Except this time it wasn't white cracker racists leading the charge against black youth—it was black Democratic Party mayor Maynard Jackson and the black chief of police, Eldrin Bell.

On Friday May 1, the Atlanta University complex was sealed off by a thick blue line of cops. Students who attempted to march downtown in protest of the verdict were denied a permit to do so by the mayor. Then an *on-campus* march and rally was surrounded by police who clubbed and gassed demonstrators and bystanders, and hauled away anyone they could grab. Students were beaten into buildings, under orders that no one was to be in the open, then police fired tear gas canisters inside crowded dormitories! Overhead, military helicopters bombed the campus with tear gas. When a number of police were themselves overcome by the fumes, the authorities equipped dozens of state troopers with stun guns. A curfew was slapped on. Police forcibly dispersed any groups larger than two (!) on campus. Women at Spelman College were locked down in their rooms like prisoners.

The Spartacus Youth Club fired off a telegram to Mayor Maynard Jackson:

"The maelstrom of police violence at Atlanta University against black stu-



Michael Harrelson

Atlanta University students take to the streets on April 30 in protest of racist L.A. verdict. The next day, the cops seized campus to clamp down on student unrest.

dents is a national outrage.... Scores are injured and many languish in jail. We demand: Drop the charges against the Atlanta protesters! Cops off campus—Now!"

Waving their civil rights credentials in one hand, the city fathers lectured the students on "nonviolence," and with the other hand they ordered a violent cop siege of the campus. Having long ago sold their souls to the Democratic Party, these miserable "leaders" played their appointed role as the black overseers on George Herbert Walker Bush's plantation.

The *Atlanta Constitution* moaned that students no longer heed "the voices of the civil rights establishment," but are tuned into rap music with its "uncompromising eye on social, economic and political injustices." Maynard Jackson lamented that this generation of youth are not steeped in "King's philosophy of nonviolence." It could not be clearer that what this politically bankrupt layer of elected officials mean by "nonviolence" is *submission*.

Thirty years ago, establishment politicians and the media demonized

Malcolm X for speaking out for black self-defense in counterposition to Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism. Against charges of "inciting violence," Malcolm wrote in his *Autobiography*:

"It takes no one to stir up the sociological dynamite that stems from the unemployment, bad housing, and inferior education already in the ghettos. This explosively criminal condition has existed for so long, it needs no fuse; it fuses itself; it spontaneously combusts from within itself....

"I believe it's a crime for anyone who is being brutalized to continue to accept that brutality without doing something to defend himself. If that's how 'Christian' philosophy is interpreted, if that's what Gandhian philosophy teaches, well then, I will call them criminal philosophies."

While many Atlanta students have rejected the "criminal philosophies" shoved down their throats by the city fathers, there are still plenty of illusions in petty-bourgeois black nationalism, the utopian belief that establishing a separate black economic community can take the racism out of capitalism. In the after-

math of the cop siege, a group called "Students for African American Empowerment" designed an insignia for "black-owned businesses" so you could know at a glance which stores to patronize, boycott or trash.

Justified anger against police violence and the whole racist system is being misdirected by the would-be "talented tenth" into schemes for "black capitalism" and base bigotry, especially against Asian merchants. Atlanta is already the citadel of "black empowerment" in racist America. What that means under capitalism is that a small layer of self-satisfied black businessmen and political hustlers lord it over the masses of black people who suffer under desperate economic conditions.

Real power will come when we link up with the power of the organized, integrated working class in an uncompromising fight against the capitalist system that keeps black people forcibly segregated at the bottom of the economy and subjected to all forms of racial oppression. *Black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 2

On the Civil Rights Movement

VOTE NOV 8

Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Black History and the Class Struggle

No. 2 \$0.75 (32 pages)
No. 8 \$1 (48 pages)

Issues 1-8 available:
\$6.50/set

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

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 8

South Africa and Permanent Revolution

July 1991

Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing minorities and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist capitalist oppression. The LBLs are fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, and are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

For more information write

ATLANTA
Labor Black League
for Social Defense
Box 16921
Atlanta, GA 30321

NEW YORK
Labor Black League
for Social Defense
Box 3238, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008

CHICAGO
Labor Black
Struggle League
Box 6938
Chicago, IL 60680

OAKLAND
Labor Black League
for Social Defense
Box 751
Oakland, CA 94604

Workers, Blacks, Latinos, Asians— Organize to Sweep Away this Rotten Racist System!

Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case

MAY 3—Even as the first flames leapt into the sky over Los Angeles, accumulated seething anger erupted in cities across the country as word of the racist verdict spread. As L.A. burned, turmoil spread coast to coast. While paramilitary cops, National Guard and U.S. troops occupied South Central L.A., a state of emergency was clamped on San Francisco and Atlanta, the National Guard was called in to Las Vegas, and curfews were imposed in half a dozen cities from Berkeley to Atlanta. In every city which erupted in indignation over this verdict, bitter memories were stirred of the many other victims of rampaging cop terror.

The searing image of a lynch mob in blue uniforms sadistically, methodically, repetitively torturing a black man lying helpless on the ground became the symbol of racist police brutality in America. Now the verdict broadcast to the world what black people already know well: there is no justice in the racist capitalist courts. "They've been killing us, stomping us, slapping us for years," bitterly remarked a street gang member in L.A. "And when we get 'em on tape, they get found not guilty in a system that doesn't count for us," added another.

"This says it's open season on black people," said Jody Earl, a black Angeleno, 33. Ron Boyle, 40, added, "The justice system doesn't work in America" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 May). This conspicuously interracial



Chinn/SF Examiner
As outrage swept the West Coast after the verdict in the Rodney King case, a San Francisco protester is seized by the cops.

outburst against the oppressive cops and courts spread so dramatically because of years of grinding poverty and social conditions oppressing Latinos and many

whites as well as blacks. Polls show an overwhelming majority of the population disagreed with the verdict absolving the cops who beat Rodney King. One

reported that even 47 percent of whites think the rioting is "understandable."

The racist media, while playing over and over pictures of the vicious beating of a white truck driver, hesitated in vilifying the desperate crowds that took to the streets. They whine that "there are better ways" to protest, but it's obvious that the wave of unrest has at least focused world attention on the grievances of black America. As demonstrators from Berlin to New Delhi solidarized with the explosion of rage in Los Angeles, and racist rulers from Japan to South Africa scoffed at Washington's pretensions to world "leadership," Bush & Co. worry that their "New World Order" could go up in smoke. *America's rulers know they are guilty, and they're nervous as hell—as well they should be.*

The malicious California governor Pete Wilson—who wants to starve welfare mothers and just ordered the first execution in the state in 25 years—called out the National Guard, at the behest of black Democratic mayor Bradley. And the haughty imperial president George Bush got on TV with a "get tough" speech announcing that U.S. troops were being deployed. Armored personnel carriers rolled into South Central. It was the Seventh Infantry from Fort Ord, which carried out the invasion of Panama, Marines from the Gulf War, SWAT kill squads made up of FBI, federal
continued on page 8

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

L.A. Racist Cops Walk

The following is adapted from a statement by the Partisan Defense Committee issued on April 30.

The videotape of Los Angeles cops viciously pummeling black motorist Rodney King sparked a wave of outrage in L.A. and across the country. The amateur video caught the cops in their routine practice of terrorizing blacks and other minorities. Now the despicable verdict by a no-blacks-allowed Simi Valley jury acquitting the would-be killers is a green light for racist terror—from skinheads and KKKers to big-city and small-town cops across the country.

Moving the trial out of L.A. to virtually all-white Simi Valley—where active cops and their families outnumber the black population—was a sure way the racist capitalist state could come up with a not-guilty verdict. The jury watched

the same videotape the whole world saw—they saw over and over again how Rodney King was stunned by Tasers, repeatedly beaten and kicked as he lay helpless on the ground. But it didn't matter. The judge instructed the jury to see the videotape "through the cops' eyes" and that's what they did.

Now the rage and explosion over this hideous injustice will be used to justify more repression and more cop violence in the name of white racist "law and order." Already the National Guard has been placed in readiness to impose martial law. A state of emergency has been declared and a dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed. We say: cops and National Guard, army of occupation—out of the ghettos and barrios!

This racist verdict was a provocation
continued on page 9



Dykes/L.A. Times
Mass arrests of suspected looters: Free all the victims of the racist dragnet! Stop the *migra* raids!

Cops, Troops, Migra Out of the Ghettos and Barrios!

Outrage...

(continued from page 7)

marshals and Border Patrol. Now this army of occupation of 30,000 heavily armed troops aims its bayonets at blacks, Latinos and Asians at home.

In the face of the police-state occupation of black and Latino L.A. it is necessary to mobilize the power of the integrated union movement. Hours after the cops moved in, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a leaflet (see page 1) demanding that the major unions including longshore, aerospace and city workers must organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the ghettos and barrios now literally under the gun. We demand: *Cops, troops out of the ghettos and barrios!*

After three days in L.A., the death toll exceeded that of the 1965 Watts riots and even that of Detroit in 1967: it currently stands at 49 dead, of whom at least 17 are black, 15 are Hispanic, 8 white, and 2 Asian. The police and press are covering up the numbers of victims of the cops. As CNN reporter Charles Zewe reported from the scene, of the dead "most of those who died were black, most of those who died were shot in confrontations with police." There were 1,765 reported injuries and 6,345 arrests.

L.A. is "seething with a kind of rage I've never seen," said Zewe. A 52-year-

cop to hang for ordering a 1988 massacre of eleven black people, but the death penalty has been suspended there.

The rage of the inner city intersects widespread frustration and disgust extending throughout the population. Particularly in this election year, it is self-evident that both capitalist parties are bankrupt. Meanwhile, the abject betrayal by the UAW tops of even the mainly white, middle-aged Midwest Caterpillar strikers has driven home the need to sweep out the racist, bought-and-paid-for AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

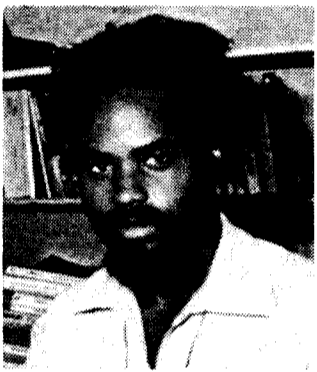
The Rodney King verdict has illuminated the whole system of American capitalism, built on a bedrock of racist oppression. It cannot be reformed, it must be smashed. The question is how. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the oppressed in a struggle for state power that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for genuine emancipation for all.

King Verdict Lit the Match

Day after day, black L.A. watched on TV the "trial" of four of the more than a dozen racist cops involved in beating Rodney King. Once the case had been moved out of L.A. to lily-white Simi Valley, a bedroom suburb for cops and home of the "Ronald Reagan Memorial Library," it was all over. In Simi Valley they love L.A. police chief Daryl Gates, the Sultan of SWAT, who earned his spurs as an LAPD commander in Watts in '65 and defended his killer cops by "explaining" that blacks just die more often than "normal people" from the choke hold. For anyone trying to get a conviction of the cops (which the prosecution wasn't), this was "the jury from hell," as one commentator put it. As his aunt, Angela King, said on TV: "Rodney King is out there on that ground begging for his life, and I'm sure those jurors saw that videotape 1,000 times and felt no remorse."

In contrast to Simi Valley, South Central is 95 percent non-white, equally black and Latino, "a flat plain of poverty and high unemployment" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 May). A decade ago, ten of the twelve largest non-aerospace factories in the area were shut down, decimating the unionized black workforce. Between 1973 and 1986, the average yearly income of black high school graduates in Los Angeles declined by 44 percent, while Latino earnings fell 35 percent. This is the tinderbox in which the racist verdict in the "Rodney King trial" lit the match. One effect of the rioting was to bring together the warring black and Latino street gangs against the cops. Graffiti on one wall read, "Crips Bloods Mexicans together forever tonite 4/30/92."

The ghetto explosion exacerbated tensions between black residents and Korean merchants (as well as the community of Koreatown just north of South Central). When Jewish shopowners left after the '65 Watts riots, the Koreans moved in—and became a lightning rod



Philadelphia Magazine

Mumia Abu-Jamal is on Death Row in Pennsylvania because this crusading black radio journalist, known as the "voice of the voiceless," earned the enmity of Philadelphia rulers and cops for his outspoken defense of black radicals against racist repression. The fight to save Jamal has become a rallying cry for death penalty abolitionists around the world.

old black man remarked, "Martin Luther King was a waste. His methods have changed nothing." Black people are being pushed beyond the limit, terrorized by cops and courts, driven out of the industrial workforce, denied decent education and housing. U.S. capitalism has no use for a whole generation of black ghetto youth who were once kept on the bench as a "reserve army of labor." Now all that awaits them is death—slow death from epidemics of disease, malnutrition and drugs, or fast, in the gas chamber or gunned down on the streets. On points, the U.S. is now worse than South Africa, where they just sentenced a white

DRED SCOTT, 1857
RODNEY KING, 1992

Labor Must Call Out It's Ranks!

The L.A.P.D. brutally beat Rodney King to the point of near death. The court system has now exonerated the L.A.P.D. racist torture squad.

These same courts outlaw our strike weapons, and unleash the police to beat and arrest striking workers.

We are not helpless and impotent!

Organized labor's voice must be heard! It's power and organization must be wielded to stop police terror against black and minority communities!

The decent folk of this country are in shock, and outraged.

THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW!

We, the undersigned, demand the unions protest this racist injustice.

This petition is being circulated in the Bay Area by a militant black socialist.

for plebeian resentments. This was crystallized by the killing of black teenager Latasha Harlins last March, shot in the back of the head by a Korean store owner. Now, caught in a vise, Korean merchants responded to the looting with murderous gunfire, while thousands of Koreans then marched with desperate appeals for "peace and justice." The racist hostility against Koreans, whipped up by black nationalist demagogues and aspiring black businessmen who want to exploit "their" market, is a poisonous diversion from the real enemy of the black masses. Most West Coast Asians are among the most miserably exploited people around.

While the bourgeoisie fumed about the "criminality" of looters trucking away goods from broken store windows, by all indications this was a thoroughly integrated affair of downtrodden and impoverished people. This is indeed understandable, but won't do anything to eliminate the entrenched poverty of America's inner cities. As we wrote at the time of the 1960s ghetto explosions:

"For the last three summers ghettos across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations. In no case have they been genuine race riots. The risings have usually been provoked by the police, in the course of 'normal' brutalities (Watts 1965) or in an effort to crush a movement which is exceeding the bounds set for it by bourgeois society (Harlem 1964). As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts political direction."

—"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* Supplement, May-June 1967

The point is not to seize articles of consumption but to expropriate the means of production. And that takes a leap in consciousness and organization to do away with the capitalist order.

Riots are an expression of despair, often including ugly incidents of indiscriminate attacks on individuals who happen to find themselves at the wrong place. In the '60s, ghetto uprisings were the product of the failure of the civil rights movement to make a dent in the racist conditions in the urban centers of the North. To do so meant going up directly against the Democratic Party—to which the liberal preachers like Martin Luther King Jr. were beholden—and attacking the capitalist economic underpinnings of black superexploitation and discrimination. While avowed revolutionary nationalists like the Black Panther Party were active in the ghettos at that time, today what is most striking is the utter vacuum of black leadership.

There's a sense among many blacks

that they won't get anything until they burn the place down. But as many have pointed out, after the '67 riots that devastated black Detroit, it was never built up again. But the deeper truth is that Detroit turned into a ghost town because the auto bosses looted the industry and closed down plant after plant. It's the capitalists who have destroyed the wealth of this country built up by the sweat of the workers. It's not who's in the White House but the inexorable workings of an irrational system.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

A program for black emancipation must start with the knowledge that the whole system of racist capitalist oppression has got to be brought down. In the '60s this was taken as a given by militant radical leaders, like Malcolm X and the Panthers, but many were gunned down by the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO or thrown behind bars, while more opportunist elements joined the Democratic Party. But even the best of these militant fighters failed to understand that the only social force that could eliminate this racist system is the integrated working class.

To change the consciousness of frustrated black youth, in the first instance what is required is a powerful struggle for jobs. This is not a matter of going hat in hand to lobby (beg) Congress, but of mobilizing the organized labor movement in militant struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for union hiring halls with union-run job training and skills upgrading programs to enroll minority youth. In sweatshop havens like L.A., organizing the unorganized can greatly reduce the rampant poverty.

The power of labor, breaking with the tame trade-union bureaucrats, must be brought to bear in the fight for black emancipation, acting as a champion of all the oppressed. For mass organized labor/black defense against racist terror—gun control kills blacks! And the working people must be mobilized politically to defend their class interests. As Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander said at a May 2 Bay Area SL educational conference, "From black Democratic Party mayor Tom Bradley to Jesse Jackson and Bill Clinton and Willie Brown and Ron Dellums, the capitalist ruling class and their political representatives are united in defense of white racist 'law and order' and in suppressing with cops and troops the burning rage of the masses." "Workers revolution... that's when we'll get our justice!"

This generation has grown up without seeing mass social struggle, so many don't see where the power will come from to accomplish this. There is a basis for multiracial unity in this country, but it can never be on the basis of "reforming" a status quo which forcibly keeps one race on the bottom. Not empty appeals for "brotherhood" but the fight to smash capitalist exploitation and oppression can bring the working people of all races together. The key factor in that struggle is the building of a multiracial workers party on a revolutionary program. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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

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

New Renewal

International rates:

\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

\$2/4 issues of *Spartacist* (edición en español)

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

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

American Trotskyist Murdered in Moscow

Worldwide Protests Demand Serious Investigation

Protest pickets were held in a dozen cities around the world on April 29 and 30 demanding a serious and energetic investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips, an American Trotskyist murdered in Moscow. Phillips, 43, was the leading spokesman in the Soviet Union of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). She was found brutally strangled and stabbed on the morning of February 9, just hours before a major demonstration against the starvation policies of the Russian regime of Boris Yeltsin. Yet 12 weeks later, Moscow authorities show no progress in tracking down those guilty of this abominable crime.

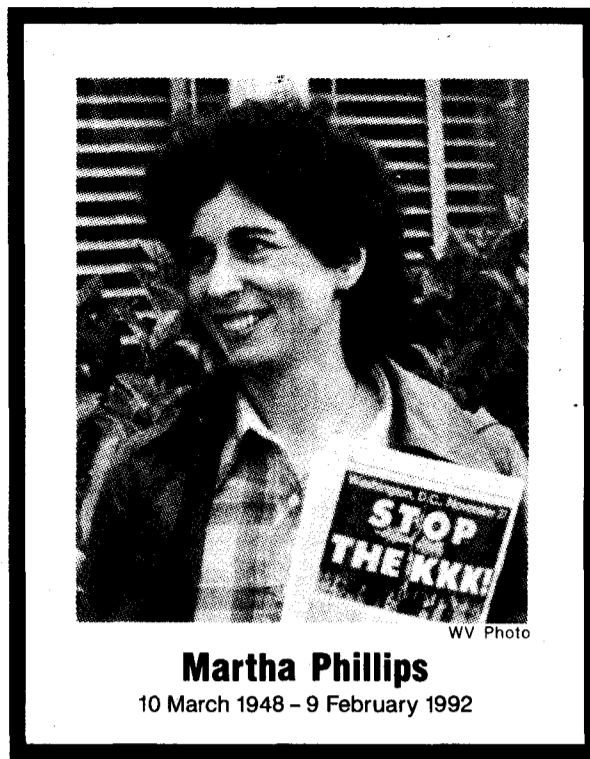
The demonstrations were called in response to an appeal by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of the ICL. Held on the eve of May Day, the international workers holiday, they also denounced the drive to impose capitalism on the Soviet peoples. Seventy protesters outside the Russian consulate in New York City chanted, "Yeltsin is tool of Wall Street rule!" and "Free market misery, we say *nyet*—Power to workers soviets!" Signs in Russian and English demanded, "No more stalling! Full investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips!"

Martha Phillips lived and worked in the S.F. Bay Area for nearly 20 years, where she was actively involved in the antiwar, civil rights and labor movements. In 1983, she ran as Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council on the program "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats—For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan." She was a founder of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, which grew out of her election campaign.

Pickets were also held in Washington, D.C., Ottawa, Sydney, Warsaw, Rome, Milan, Berlin, Hamburg, Paris and London. In Tokyo, despite a ban on demonstrations and a heavy presence of riot police, the Spartacist Group Japan delivered a statement to the

Russian embassy. Earlier in the week, when a representative of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia brought a packet of information to the Russian consulate in Milan, he was given a seemingly concerned hearing until he mentioned that Martha Phillips was Jewish, whereupon the vice consul launched a stream of anti-Semitic abuse. Our comrade indignantly walked out.

The week of protests began with a press conference at the Leon Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán (Mexico City) on April 27, the house where the Bolshevik leader was slain by a Stalinist assassin in 1940. Esteban Volkov, Trotsky's grandson, declared: "We wish to add the name of Martha Phillips to the long list of fallen revolutionary heroes, a list that is headed by the great revolutionary and Marxist Leon Trotsky, who initiated this struggle in 1923 when the whole process began of betrayal and moving away from the October Revolution which today is reaching its final stage, that of the return to capitalism." Volkov added: "We still cannot say clearly the circumstances in which she was murdered, but there are many elements which suggest that it was a political crime of reprisal against the Spartacist group. And the actions of the Russian militia leave a lot to be desired and raise many doubts."



Martha Phillips

10 March 1948 - 9 February 1992

At the New York demonstration, a spokesman for the SL/U.S. noted that "Talking of 'freedom' and 'democracy,' the imperialists want to impose a society where vicious cops can brutally beat a black man bloody and then get off free, as just occurred in Los Angeles. We are doing everything in our power to prevent that. We dip our red flags in honor of Martha Phillips, and we raise the red banner of revolution in continuing her fight."

Paul O'Dwyer: "This Heinous Murder Must Be Solved"

The following statement was received from former New York City Council president Paul O'Dwyer.

An American Trotskyist has been murdered in Moscow. This fact alone demands a serious and energetic investigation by the Moscow authorities. Martha Phillips was a woman who devoted her life to fighting injustice wherever it appeared. A proud member of the union movement, she fought the encroachments of industry against the interests of labor. A Jewish

woman and socialist, she organized on behalf of all minority groups and all oppressed people against the Nazis and Klan. In the last year of her life, in a country not her own, she struggled on behalf of the working people of the Soviet Union in a time of terrible crisis. I add my voice and support to those rallying worldwide in memory of Martha Phillips. This heinous murder must be solved.

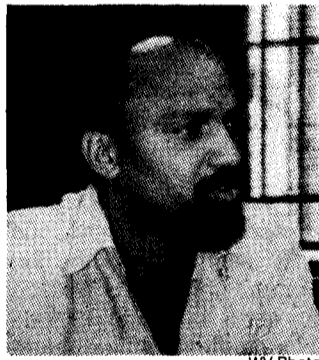
April 30, 1992

No Justice...

(continued from page 7)

guaranteed to generate desperate outrage by the city's besieged minority population. The point is not to seize articles of consumption but to expropriate the means of production. That's a big leap, representing the shift in consciousness from that of outraged poor people to that of conscious and organized working people.

This country today "leads" the world in the percentage of its population incarcerated by its "justice" system, exceeding even apartheid South Africa. Unable to provide jobs and homes to millions of people, this country's rulers are willing to spend ever greater sums of money to lock up those the system has no use for, as well as those who want to fight for something better. The only "growth industry" in America today is construction of new prisons, where the number of blacks and Latinos behind



WV Photo

Geronimo (ji Jaga) Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner, has spent over 20 years in the prison hellholes of San Quentin and Folsom for a crime the government knows he didn't commit, because their own phone taps showed he was in Oakland when it happened. A former leader of the L.A. Black Panthers, he survived a 1969 LAPD/SWAT machine-gun raid on Panther headquarters, only to be framed for murder as part of the FBI's infamous "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" radical black leaders. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!

bars is vastly disproportionate to their weight in the population.

This is life in the "New World Order." The beating of Rodney King took place just days after the U.S. mass murder mission in Iraq, prompting Bush to declare, "The kind of moral force and national will that freed Kuwait City from abuse can free America's cities from crime." Rodney King knows well the immoral force of the Los Angeles police, as does former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) who has spent over 20 years in prison framed by the LAPD and FBI, and the families of the 28 victims killed over the past 25 years by the Special Investigations Section (LAPD's secret hit squad). This is what black Democratic mayor Thomas Bradley calls "the finest large-city department in the nation."

The cops and courts are instruments of racist class oppression. This is how the thugs in blue "serve and protect" their capitalist masters, not just in L.A. but in the inner cities across the country. When not terrorizing the ghettos and barrios they are out busting picket lines, like the 1990 cop riot against striking Los Angeles janitors. Wednesday's verdict is a grotesque reaffirmation of Supreme Court Justice Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case 135 years ago that blacks "had no rights which the white

man was bound to respect." The message written in blood and bruises upon the body of Rodney King, and now buttressed with all the pomp of "due process," is that the racist cops can do anything they want to anybody they want anytime they want.

Black people in Los Angeles are increasingly vulnerable—shoved out of the labor force, they are pushed back and forced to survive on the shrinking margins of the dangerous inner cities. The working class must not allow the black population to be isolated—the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community as the LAPD looks to spill more blood to "celebrate" their racist victory over Rodney King. It is a measure of the craven prostration of the pro-capitalist union "leaders" in the face of this racist crime that instead of organizing powerful actions against the cops who torture and kill black people, who arrest strikers and protect scabs, they are busy whipping up anti-Japanese protectionism and turning out working-class votes for the Democratic politicians.

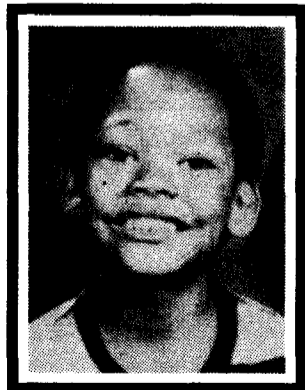
There is no justice in this racist capitalist country for Rodney King, for Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black

child shot and killed inside his own apartment by a trigger-happy Orange County cop, for the countless victims of cop terror nationwide. Justice will come when the killer cops are tried by tribunals of their intended victims—when the power of the capitalist class and of their racist hirelings in blue is smashed by a thoroughgoing revolution so that those who labor will rule.

Over a century ago this country promised freedom to its black citizens, 200,000 of whom fought in the Union Army to smash the slaveholders' rule in the South. But that promise was betrayed by victorious Northern capitalism. It will take a third American Revolution, a revolution by the working people and all the oppressed, to win black liberation—in a socialist America.

* * *

For more information about the Partisan Defense Committee and our program of class-struggle defense contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. ■



L.A. Times

Remember Patrick Mason. The five-year-old black child was blown away in his own home in 1983 by an Orange County cop who kicked in the door and shot the little boy with a .357 magnum from a distance of 3 feet.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

¡No hay justicia en los tribunales capitalistas!

Publicamos a continuación una versión adaptada de la declaración emitida por el Partisan Defense Committee (Comité de Defensa Clasista) el 30 de abril.

El video de los policías de Los Angeles apaleando salvajemente al automovilista negro Rodney King detonó una oleada de indignación en esa ciudad y en todo el país. La imagen filmada por un vecino muestra a los policías en su práctica rutinaria de terrorizar a los negros y otras minorías. Ahora, el veredicto infame emitido en Simi Valley por un jurado del cual se excluyó a todo ciudadano negro, al absolver a esos matones criminales le da luz verde al terror racista, desde los cabezas rapadas y el Ku Klux Klan hasta la policía de las grandes ciudades y los pueblos del país.

Trasladar el juicio de Los Angeles a Simi Valley—donde casi todo el mundo es blanco, y los policías activos y sus familias son más numerosos que la población negra—era asegurar que el estado capitalista racista obtuviera un veredicto de no culpabilidad. El jurado observó el mismo video que vio todo el mundo—vieron cómo una y otra vez Rodney King era aturdido con picanas eléctricas, era golpeado y pateado repetidamente mientras yacía indefenso en el suelo. Pero nada de ello importó. El juez ordenó al jurado que observara el video “a través de los ojos de los policías” y así lo hizo.

Ahora el estallido de indignación por esta horrenda injusticia va a ser utilizada para justificar más represión y más violencia policíaca en nombre de “la ley y el orden” racistas. Ya se ha puesto en estado de alerta a la Guardia Nacional para imponer la ley marcial. Se ha declarado un estado de emergencia y se ha impuesto el toque de queda de atardecer a amanecer. Nosotros decimos: ¡Policía, Guardia Nacional, ejército de ocupación—fuera de los ghettos y los barrios!

Este veredicto racista fue una provocación que no pudo sino desatar la indignación desesperada de la acosada población minoritaria de la ciudad. De lo que se trata no es de apoderarse de artículos de consumo sino de expropiar los medios de producción; lo cual representaría un cambio de conciencia substancial: de la de desposeídos indignados a la de trabajadores organizados y conscientes.

Este país es hoy día el número uno en el mundo en cuanto al porcentaje de su población encarcelada por su sistema de “justicia”, superando incluso a la Sudáfrica del apartheid. Incapaces de ofrecer empleos y techo a millones de personas, los gobernantes de este país están dis-

puestos a gastar sumas cada vez mayores de dinero para encarcelar a todos aquellos que el sistema considera superfluos, y a quienes desean luchar por algo mejor. La única “industria en aumento” actualmente en EE.UU. es la construcción de cárceles nuevas, donde el número de negros y latinos tras las rejas supera enormemente a su porcentaje en la población.

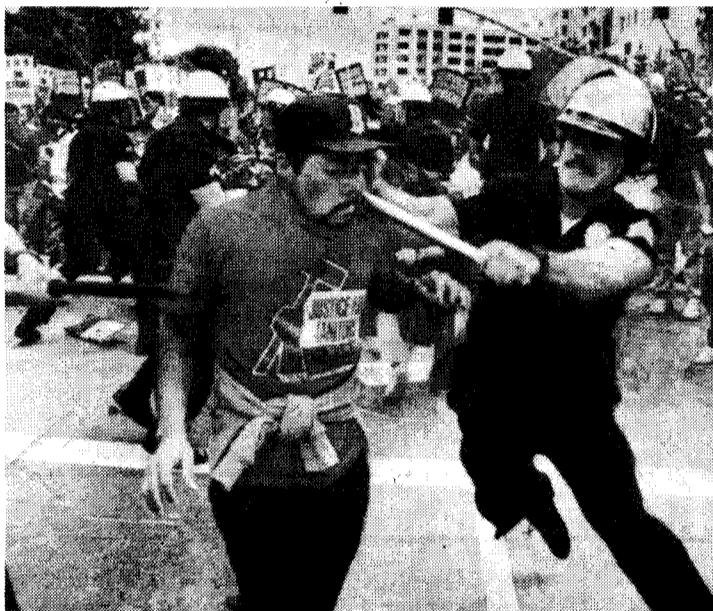
Así es la vida bajo el “Nuevo Orden

“sirven y protegen” a sus amos capitalistas no solamente en Los Angeles sino en todas las ciudades del país. Cuando no andan aterrizando los ghettos y los barrios, están atacando piquetes de huelgas, como el asalto contra los janitors (conserjes) en huelga en Los Angeles en 1990. El veredicto del miércoles es una reafirmación grotesca de la decisión del juez Taney de la Corte Suprema en el caso de Dred Scott hace 135 años, según

postración abyecta de los líderes sindicales procapitalistas ante este crimen racista es el hecho de que en lugar de organizar poderosas acciones contra la policía que tortura y asesina negros, que arresta a huelguistas y protege a los esquirols, se dedican a azucar el proteccionismo antijaponés y acarrear votos de los trabajadores para los políticos demócratas.

No hay justicia en este país capitalista

Obreros, negros, latinos, asiáticos: ¡Organicémonos para barrer este podrido sistema racista!



Alps/Santa Monica Outlook



Foto WV

¡Movilizar al movimiento sindical en defensa de los negros, latinos y asiáticos! Combativos janitors se enfrentaron a policías, ganaron reconocimiento de su sindicato, junio de 1990 (izquierda). Almacenistas del ILWU protestan contra eliminación de sus puestos, febrero de 1992 (derecha).

Mundial”. La golpiza a Rodney King ocurrió pocos días después de la masacre que EE.UU. perpetró en Irak, motivando la declaración de Bush de que: “La clase de fuerza moral y voluntad nacional que liberó del abuso a Ciudad Kuwait puede liberar a las ciudades norteamericanas del crimen.” Rodney King conoce bien la fuerza inmoral de la policía de Los Angeles, como la conoce el antiguo líder de los Panteras Negras, Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt), quien ha pasado más de 20 años en prisión bajo falsas acusaciones de la LAPD y el FBI, como también la conocen las familias de las 28 víctimas asesinadas durante los últimos 25 años por la Sección de Investigaciones Especiales (el escuadrón de la muerte secreto de la policía de Los Angeles). A éste se refiere el alcalde demócrata negro Thomas Bradley como “el mejor departamento de policía de una ciudad grande en la nación.”

La policía y los tribunales son instrumentos de la opresión racista de clase. Así es como los matones en azul

el cual los negros “no tenían derechos que el hombre blanco estuviera obligado a respetar.” El mensaje escrito con moretones y sangre sobre el cuerpo de Rodney King, y ahora reforzado con toda la pompa del “proceso legal”, es que la policía racista puede hacer lo que le da la gana, a quien le da la gana y cuando le da la gana.

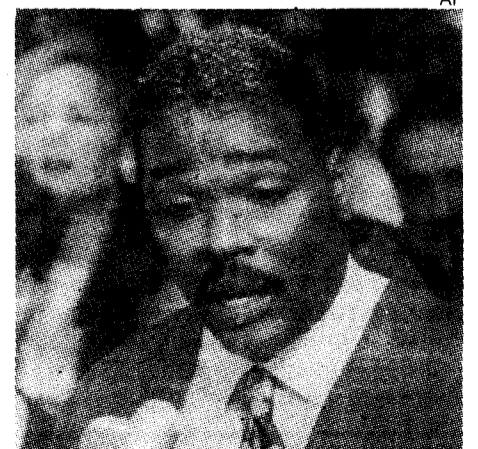
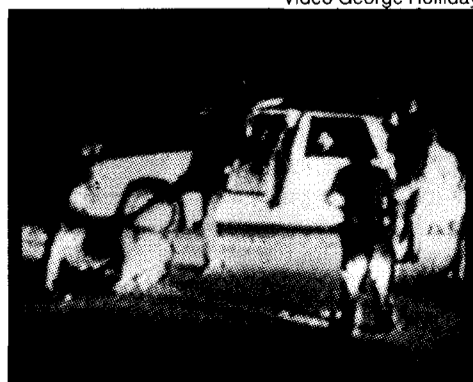
La población negra de Los Angeles es cada vez más vulnerable—marginada de la fuerza laboral, echada atrás y obligada a sobrevivir en los márgenes cada vez más miserables de los peligrosos ghettos en las grandes ciudades. La clase obrera no debe permitir que la población negra se quede aislada—los poderosos sindicatos de Los Angeles como el de los estibadores, el de la industria aeroespacial y los trabajadores municipales deben organizar paros laborales y movilizaciones masivas para solidarizarse con la comunidad negra y defenderla ahora cuando la LAPD busca derramar más sangre para “celebrar” su victoria racista sobre Rodney King. Una medida de la

Video George Holliday

racista para Rodney King, ni para Patrick Mason—el niño negro de cinco años matado a balazos dentro de su propia casa por un policía de Orange County sediento de sangre—ni para las incontables víctimas del terror policíaco en toda la nación. Habrá justicia cuando los policías asesinos sean juzgados por tribunales de los que serían victimizados—cuando el poder de la clase capitalista y de sus matones a sueldo uniformados sea aplastado por una profunda revolución, para que los que trabajan sean los que manden.

Hace más de un siglo este país prometió libertad a sus ciudadanos negros, 200.000 de los cuales pelearon en el ejército de la Unión para aplastar el dominio de los esclavistas en el sur. Pero esa promesa fue traicionada por los capitalistas norteamericanos victoriosos. Se necesitará una tercera revolución en este país, una revolución por los obreros y los oprimidos, para lograr la liberación de los negros—en una Norteamérica socialista. ■

AP



El video que asustó al mundo: una docena de policías racistas golpean a Rodney King (derecha, hablando a la prensa después del veredicto).



Demonstrations from coast to coast expressed outrage over acquittal of racist cops who beat Rodney King. Left: Parker Center in downtown L.A. the night the verdict was announced. Right: Times Square, New York City, May 1.

WV Photos

L.A. Upheaval...

(continued from page 1)

come in. With the pictures of L.A. burning fresh in their minds, white property owners were worried that blacks were rising up to demand justice, and convinced that "they're coming to get us." As protesters gathered in Times Square that afternoon, they were surrounded by hundreds of riot cops, who provocatively and repetitively broke into their line of march as demonstrators headed downtown. It was later reported that on the Police Citywide-One radio band, for a period of minutes a voice repeated: "Shoot them. This is a direct order. Shoot them" (*Newsday*, 6 May).

And in L.A., driving through downtown when a demonstration is anticipated is like being in Guatemala City, with armored vehicles and M-16-toting cops and troops everywhere. On Saturday, May 9 a small group of leftist protesters was surrounded by an army of police. The day before, cops charged into Korean students protesting the racist verdict and demanding aid to rebuild burned-out stores.

The Los Angeles riot was the largest in the U.S. in this century, and state repression was the bloodiest. At press time, the death toll was 58, injuries 2,383, arrests 16,291. Little reported is the fact that hundreds of Border Patrol cops and Immigration and Naturalization Service agents have been brought in to round up undocumented workers for deportation. The dreaded sea-green vans of *la migra* are cruising the Mexican and Central American neighborhoods. Between a third and a half of those arrested were Latinos, and more than 2,000 "illegals" have been rounded up, mostly in curfew sweeps and raids. In the past, L.A. has ordered its police not to cooperate with the INS, but now a reported

500 of those arrested have already been turned over for deportation back to El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico.

Meanwhile, police in Los Angeles are going on house-to-house and apartment-to-apartment searches looking for booty and those suspected of looting it. Cops kick in the doors and begin hauling out TV sets, clothes, etc. If residents don't protest, this supposedly "proves" the items were looted! As for the well over 1,000 people still being held behind bars, on May 5 Governor Pete Wilson signed into law an emergency measure extending the period during which suspects can be held without charge from 48 hours to a week. If some Third World country ordered such a draconian police-state measure they would immediately be cited by Amnesty International. But this passed the California legislature without a single dissenting vote. Moreover, it is being illegally used on people already arrested.

Now the Bush administration has announced the formation of a joint federal-state law enforcement task force to prosecute those involved in the riot. This unit is reviewing videotapes to identify suspects. Among those targeted are members of leftist organizations, with the L.A. county sheriff trying to pin the riots on the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in particular. The White House has ordered the "Justice Department" to charge any rioters they can under federal laws, no matter how obscure, in addition to state prosecution. And in order to pursue the witch-hunt against leftists, they're going to dust off old L.A. Red Squad records. A few years ago, the cops were directed to destroy the tens of thousands of pages of their witchhunting surveillance. But instead, they just took them home. One stash was found in a cop's garage after he moved.

The press is filled with squabbling in the ruling class about the response, or lack thereof, by the LAPD during the first hours after the verdict came down. As angry demonstrators descended on Parker Center police headquarters, Chief Daryl Gates headed out to a fund-raising dinner to oppose the timid police-reform measure Proposition F. Fires blazed as firefighters waited for escorts, while scores of cops were standing around the South Los Angeles command post. At the corner of Normandie and Florence Avenues, the first flash point of the unrest, the cops were ordered out. It was here that for over an hour a TV helicopter broadcast the scene of white motorists being pulled from their cars, of lumpy black toughs viciously kicking and beating white truck driver Reginald Denny as he lay in a pool of blood. Denny was finally rescued by local residents who took the profusely bleeding man to a hospital unit.

The conclusion is inescapable that Gates and the police command wanted the riot to explode, deliberately letting the fires spread and refusing to intervene, while the cameras rolled. Their aim was to build up a mood of popular hysteria among whites, in order to justify murderous repression in the name of "restoring law and order." Now Bush intends to use the image of that gruesome incident of Reginald Denny being brutalized as the Willie Horton TV campaign ad of 1992, as he runs for re-election against the L.A. riots. However, as the *Washington Post* (11 May) noted, most of those who died were blacks, killed in black neighborhoods; many blacks were killed by cops, but not one cop killed by blacks; no one died in interracial violence in Koreatown, nor were any Koreans killed by blacks. "And: The video images of white people being savaged by mobs had little to do with the way people actually died."

In the aftermath, Los Angeles' mayor Bradley attacked police chief Gates from the "law and order" right, for letting the protests get out of hand. After 17 years of the administration of black Democratic mayor Tom Bradley, ghetto poor have little more regard for him than for Gates, the personification of racist cop terror. George Bush denounced this uprising of the black and Latino poor as "the brutality of mob, pure and simple." His spokesman Marlin Fitzwater blamed the L.A. conflagration on the "liberal programs of the '60s and '70s." The Democrats blamed it on 12 years of "neglect" by the Reagan/Bush White House. But black and Latino youth of South-Central understood in their own way they were up against the whole rotten, racist system.

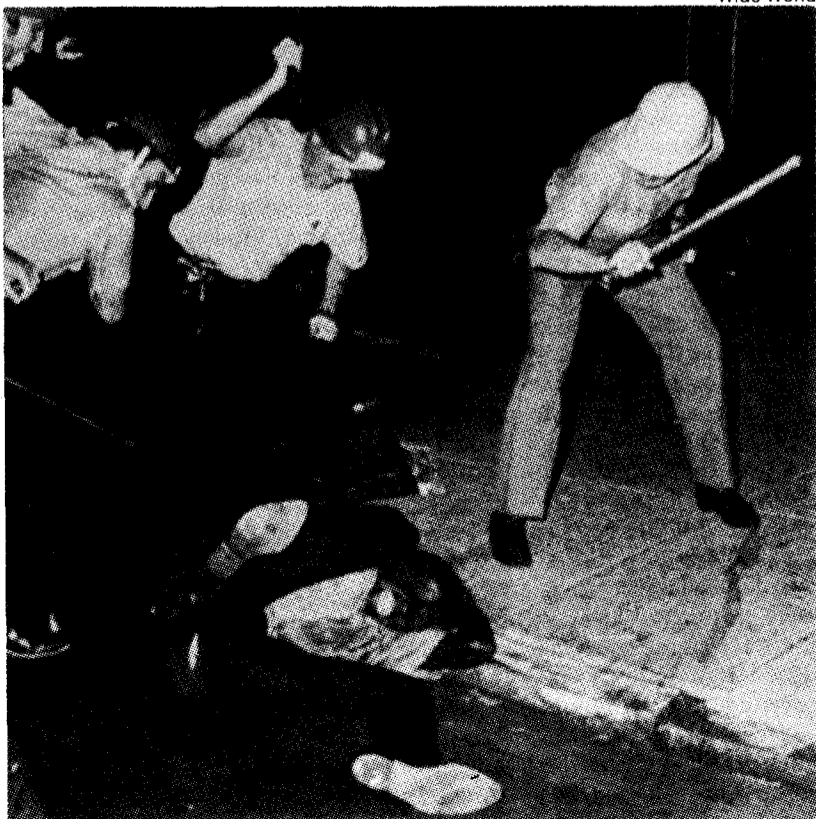
Yet the impoverished residents of the ghettos and barrios lack the class consciousness and social power to move from protest to the struggle for state power. To bring down this racist system requires the leadership of a fighting, multiracial workers movement that truly champions the cause of the oppressed, rather than acting as job-trusting bureaucrats and labor cops for the capitalists, holding down and dividing up the ranks as the sellout labor officialdom does today.

"Just as Much About Class as About Race"

There have been several waves of urban riots in the U.S. during this century, all at times of great social tensions but with different political characters. The post-World War I race riots in East St. Louis and Chicago were a result of the return of white troops who pushed black labor back out of industry. The 1964-68 ghetto upheavals came in the context of the civil rights movement, as Northern blacks wanted to fight for equality but found no road to struggle under the liberal leadership. The recent eruption in L.A. comes after more than two decades in which the working class and minority poor have been ground down while the rulers revel in their wealth and flaunt their racism. In an elemental way, the explosion of rage over the Rodney King verdict became a backlash against the "greed decade" of the '80s. *Business Week* (18 May) quoted a black businessman: "These riots have been as much about class as about race."

Reporters on the street during the first night were at first incredulous and then finally said it over the air: the "rioters" were not just young blacks but also Hispanics and even white street kids. The *Wall Street Journal* (1 May) labeled it "a multiracial free-for-all." While TV anchors at first called the looters "thugs," it soon became apparent that this was a popular, community affair involving whole families. "A lot of people feel it's reparations; it's what already belongs to us," a self-described former gang member said of the looting. Last

continued on page 12

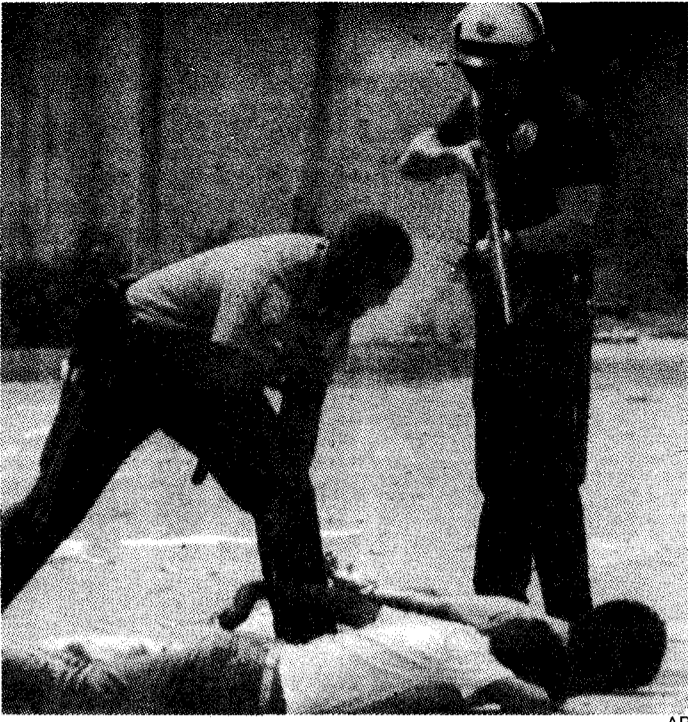


Wide World



Muhammad Speaks

Rodney King beating followed decades of racist cop brutality. Left: Philadelphia police brutalize rebellious black youth, 1964. Above: Martin Luther King preached turn-the-other-cheek pacifism, supported federal troops to suppress 1965 unrest in Watts.



AP



Kennedy/L.A. Times

LAPD's murderous suppression of uprising in South-Central L.A. (left) is lauded by imperial president George Bush. After Gulf War, Bush praised L.A. police chief Gates, vowed to bring "New World Order" to American cities.

L.A. Upheaval...

(continued from page 11)

week the poor of South-Central moved to get theirs. "Looting? What about the S&L ripoff?" everybody asked. But the savings and loan scams garnered hundreds of billions. For working people and the ghetto poor to get their hands on the real wealth and power we have to expropriate the means of production and reclaim the product of our labor.

It was a new generation of black youth who erupted in L.A., disturbing the order of Bush's America. They have little reason to be moved by the celebration of Martin Luther King Day or impressed by the legal gains of the civil rights movement. Joe Hicks, local head of the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), the historic organization of Martin Luther King, noted: "There is an incredible lack of respect for black elected officials. They are considered symbols of the white power system. They are impotent and unable to deliver the goods for blacks. They get absolutely no respect." There was more than a little hostility on the streets toward black yuppies living in upscale enclaves like Ladera Heights. And the words "black-owned" scrawled on store windows didn't save a lot of businesses from going up in smoke.

If the symbols of South-Central are the book of food stamps, the crack house and the prison cell, Simi Valley—the site of the trial—is symbolized by the American Express gold card, the backyard swimming pool and the country club golf course. Separated from L.A. by the Santa Susana Mountains, it's the quintessential "white flight" suburb. Here racist prejudice is the flip side of economic privilege. The manager of a local McDonald's boasted: "It's one of few communities left where you can go shopping and not get hit up by people wanting money." One resident exclaimed between hitting golf balls, "I'm happy to live away from that kind of atmosphere...gangs, homeless people who don't work and don't have money because they don't work."

This is cop heaven: out of the 8,300 members of the LAPD, fully 2,000 live in Simi Valley, report Marc Cooper and Greg Goldin in the *Los Angeles Reader* (8 May). Simply to be able to afford to live there shows that they have become a highly paid praetorian guard. The homeowners of Ventura County look to the police to seal off their world from those without jobs and without money in the hellish ghettos and barrios—and if the cops have to break some black heads to instill respect for the rights and privileges of property, so be it. This is the mindset that bought the racist cops' defense that they were protecting "society" from "the likes of Rodney King." Actually, millions saw on TV that Rodney King was a thoroughly decent person, and the real question is who is going to protect him and all of us from the cops.

Outrage over the acquittal of the killer

cops who beat Rodney King extended far beyond the black community. For the first time ever, Latino gangs joined with the Crips and Bloods in going after the police in South-Central. Moreover, many white youth have been so ground down in recent years that they joined with the black and Latino poor in seizing an opportunity to break into the consumer society. In Seattle, a young white looter shouted into TV cameras: "It's not black vs. white. It's rich vs. poor. And we're poor."

The white youth who joined blacks, Hispanics and Asians in protests across the country were not just the children of middle-class liberals, who reminisce about how they once marched in the civil rights demonstrations of the 1960s. In Seattle, San Francisco and elsewhere there is a layer of white street kids who, like blacks and Hispanics, cannot find jobs at a living wage. The issue of *Business Week* (27 April) which came out shortly before Los Angeles went up in flames put it bluntly: "Let there be no mistake: The current job outlook is bleak." The cop acquittal and L.A. conflagration became a lightning rod for the anger of a broad range of people who feel oppressed, exploited, degraded and deprived by this racist, capitalist system.

Cops Are the Armed Thugs of the Capitalist Class

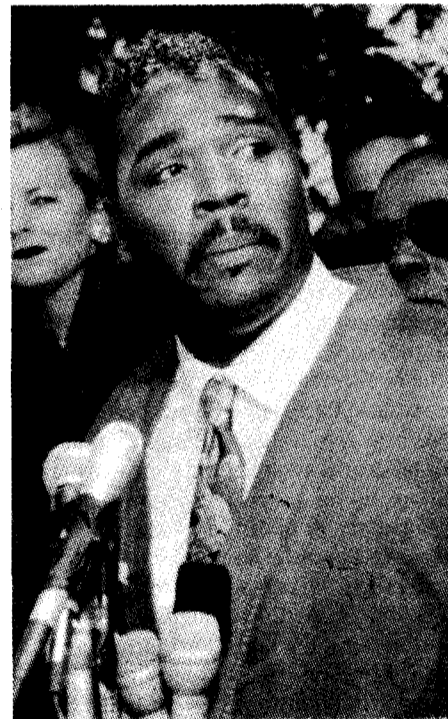
Just as the videotaped beating showed the everyday reality of racist cop brutality in the U.S., the "trial" showed the routine workings of the capitalist courts. The cops, courts and D.A. offices protect their own: that is the highest law in the American system of racist "justice." It's notorious that until recently not one Salvadoran military or police official was ever jailed for violating human rights, but when has a police officer anywhere in this country ever been convicted of criminal charges in beating or killing a black man? Every cop regards his badge as a license to brutalize and terrorize dark-skinned people.

Nowhere is that license used with such abandon as in Southern California. The list of victims is huge: five-year-old *Patrick Mason*, shot to death while watching TV; pregnant *Delois Young*, shot in the stomach, killing her near-term fetus; Cal. State Long Beach football star *Ron Settle*, stopped for speeding and brutally beaten like Rodney King, found dead in jail; *Eulia Love*, shot down on her front lawn over a \$22 gas bill; *Arturo Jiménez*, shot as cops drove by the Ramona Gardens project in East L.A.

The rulers of this country unleash the cops to commit such racist atrocities, and then protect them from the ensuing demands for justice, because the police are the guard dogs to "serve and protect" their capitalist masters. Of course, the owners of the Fortune 500 and their kept politicians have contempt for blacks and Latinos and see them as a threat. The basic role of the police in this and every capitalist state is to defend the interests of property against the working class,

the "wage slaves," as Karl Marx put it. Police attacks on picket lines and scabherding—abetted by the cowardice and treachery of the sellout labor bureaucracy—have been key to defeating every major strike in this country over the past decade—PATCO, Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern. Recall the leaders of the air controllers union being hauled to prison in chains, like black slaves in the Old South.

The coincidence of racist and anti-labor cop terror was graphically demonstrated in Los Angeles two years ago when predominantly Latino janitors sought to organize Century City, a glitzy complex of skyscrapers and high finance. A union march was attacked by the LAPD, who clubbed strikers even as they sat on the ground completely defenseless.



AP

Rodney King

Needless to say, no charges were brought against the rioting cops. Nonetheless, the janitors won union recognition, a demonstration of labor's potential power. On Friday, May 8, SEIU Local 399 representing the janitors held a march of 200-300 from their union hall around the Pico-Union area to take back the streets. Chanting "Gates must go!" they protested the police and media branding "illegal aliens" as criminals.

The paramilitary L.A. cops—with their armored personnel carriers, tanks with battering rams, Blue Thunder helicopters, their SWAT teams and choke holds—think they can get away with murder, and do, because they have never been on the receiving end of workers power. L.A. has been an "open shop," anti-union city ever since 1910 when two labor organizers, the McNamara brothers, were railroaded after the Los Angeles Times building was damaged by an explosion. But in recent years union organization has spread.

It is long overdue for the multi-racial labor movement in Los Angeles to give the LAPD a well-deserved lesson in justice. The April 30 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee

(printed in this issue) declared: "the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community." Within hours after the racist acquittal, the labor movement should have pulled out its ranks throughout the area. This is not "pie in the sky." The longshoremen of the ILWU have brought together allied unions in the Harbor Coalition, which on more than one occasion in recent years has shut down the vital L.A.-area ports, including, in October 1990, to protest cops invading the union hall.

In the time-honored style of Stalinist and social-democratic ILWU chiefs before him, the new International president David Arian issued a statement denouncing the racist verdict and the "corporate-controlled government," only to end up calling on *George Bush's "Justice Department"* to prosecute the cops on civil rights charges! Our call for labor action against racist cop terror was well received among workers, youth and minorities (over 27,000 copies of the special *WV* supplement have been distributed to date in the Bay Area and L.A.). The bright flames in the night sky over L.A. make it clear as day that the pro-capitalist union tops must be swept away in order to bring out the power of the working class in defense of the oppressed.

Against White Liberal and Black Nationalist Despair

The L.A. upheaval and its sympathetic echoes throughout the country give the lie to the preachers of both white liberal and black nationalist despair. In recent years a school of academic liberalism, best represented by Andrew Hacker, has put forward a pessimistic view of black/white relations in this country. The conditions of most blacks are terrible and getting worse, they acknowledge, but nothing can be done about it because of the deeply ingrained racist prejudice and narrow economic self-interest of the majority of whites. This view is mirrored by nationalistic black intellectuals like Spike Lee. In fact, Hacker's latest book is titled *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile and Unequal* (Scribner's, 1992).

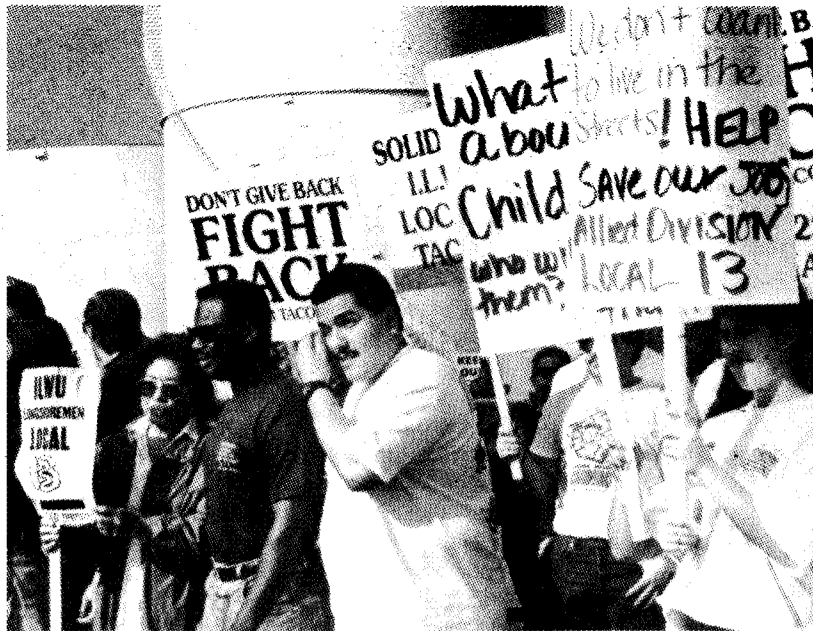
Hacker shows that in 1990 the median income of white families was \$37,000, more than 70 percent greater than black families. But that median income is a statistical fiction embracing Wall Street yuppies and unemployed Midwest industrial workers, well-heeled doctors and rural store clerks. What do the country-club types in Simi Valley have in common with the Caterpillar workers in Peoria, Illinois, who just waged a desperate five-month strike to preserve their livelihood only to be knifed in the back by their union bureaucracy? It has become practically a cliché for older white workers, like those at Caterpillar, to declare that "the American dream is dead." They've seen their own living standards cut sharply over the last two decades and expect that their children will have it even worse.

A sophisticated social scholar like Hacker is, of course, well aware of the economic and class divisions within the white population. However, like most liberals, he believes that the more affluent whites are, the less likely they are to be racist, to feel threatened by the claims of the so-called black "underclass." Thus he maintains: "The term 'liberal' tends to be associated with men and women who are at least minimally middle class." The white working class is here presumed to all share the bigoted outlook and social values of an Archie Bunker.

It is true that the economic resentments of lower-class whites can be channeled by racist demagogues against the black poor. Witness Klansman David Duke's campaign for Louisiana governor last year. But the widespread outrage over the King verdict and the L.A. upheaval show that American society can also be polarized along different



Multiracial Los Angeles labor movement must act against racist cop terror. Left: Heavily Latino janitors organize Century City complex, 1990. Right: Longshoremen protest Southern Pacific's union-busting last February.



WV Photos

lines. An overwhelming majority of the population disagreed with the acquittal. And, significantly, the black nationalists had little to say to the conspicuously *multiracial* protests following the verdict. A New York Times/CBS poll shows that 61 percent nationwide said the U.S. was spending too little on improving the conditions of blacks, and 78 percent said what's needed is more jobs rather than more cops (*New York Times*, 11 May).

Hacker explains the decline of the Democratic Party and seemingly permanent hold of the Republicans on the White House in terms of white racism: "The increased visibility of black men and women in its [the Democratic Party's] councils has some bearing on the fact that none of its presidential candidates has won a majority of the white electorate since Lyndon Johnson's victory in 1964." Similarly, two moderately liberal publicists, Mary D. and Thomas Byrne Edsall, argue that the Republican hold on the White House stems in good part from "fear that a Democratic president will raise taxes on the largely white lower-middle and middle classes in order to direct benefits towards the disproportionately black and Hispanic poor" (*Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* [Norton, 1991]).

The Democrats cannot counter the Republicans' racist demagoguery because, as a partner party of the capitalist system, they share the responsibility for the declining living standards of the multiracial working class. In Los Angeles, Atlanta, New York and virtually every big city, it is black Democratic Party administrations who are today busting heads and calling for more cops to crush the masses outraged by the racist verdict in L.A. In the last four presidential elections the Democrats' candidates—Carter, Mondale, Dukakis and now Clinton—all deliberately distanced themselves from black causes and presented themselves as more efficient managers of the American capitalist enterprise.

Right-wing ideologues charge that liberals want to improve the lot of blacks by taking things away from lower- and middle-class whites. Such an idea presupposes that all white Americans share some fundamental, common interest. But poor black and Latino youths in South-Central L.A. and older white Caterpillar workers in Peoria, Illinois are victims of the same basic economic forces—an exploitative economic system, whose destructive effects are compounded by the decay of American capitalism as its rulers become ever more violence-crazed and rapacious. It is necessary to *polarize this society on the basis of class struggle*. It's almost commonplace today to say that what's needed are jobs, decent medical care for all, quality housing and education. But the only way to get this is to smash capitalism and build a socialist economy, based on production for human need not profit.

Ghetto Wastelands and Decaying American Capitalism

Before World War II the majority of blacks lived in the rural South as a deeply impoverished American peas-

antry. In the early '40s, millions were drawn into the Northern cities to work in the shipyards, munitions factories and other booming war industries. Until the mid-1960s the U.S. economy was expanding enough to employ most blacks who migrated to the cities. During this period the black industrial proletariat formed the core of the Northern black communities, and gained increasing weight in the local trade unions, especially in the Midwest. As a result the relative incomes of black working-class men increased from 45 percent of those of white workers in 1939 to almost 70 percent in 1969, and the relative income of black women increased even more substantially.

However, in the late '60s, as U.S. imperialism suffered a stunning defeat in Vietnam, American capitalism ceased growing fast enough to absorb the chil-



Black Panther militants in chains after their headquarters were shot up in SWAT team attack, Los Angeles, 1969.

dren of black workers into industry. After the 1974-75 world downturn, the owners of capital increasingly shifted their manufacturing operations to low-wage countries abroad while increasing the rate of exploitation at home. The threat of plant closures or moving offshore was used to force through union givebacks, two-tier wage systems and speedup. Under Democrat Carter, the UAW gave back billions to Chrysler and GM, while the bosses were dismantling plants like Dodge Main. Soon after, Reagan's breaking of the PATCO air controllers strike in 1981 signaled the beginning of a massive union-busting offensive.

As a result, the average weekly income for production workers has fallen by 20 percent from 1973 to 1991. And with the manufacturing sector shrinking drastically, young unskilled workers coming into the labor market had been forced to accept poverty-level wages in fast-food restaurants, supermarkets, car washes and the like. From 1973 to 1990, the income of working parents under the age of 30 was driven down by 32 percent, and of young black families by a phenomenal 48 percent. The effects of this have been devastating, both for the individuals and for the communities where they live.

As the fat cats and junk bond artists wallowed in their schemes for looting industry of productive investment, two million manufacturing jobs have disappeared in this country over the past decade. The number of steel workers in northern Indiana—a union-

ized, relatively well-paid and racially integrated workforce—has been cut in half. Over 1,200 textile and apparel plants in North Carolina—the main industry in the upper South—have been closed down. The *Oakland Tribune* (1 May) described the impact of the deindustrialization of America on the Los Angeles black community:

"Famous manufacturers, like General Motors, Firestone, Goodyear, and Bethlehem Steel, all used to provide South Central residents the chance for a living wage and upward mobility—including those without education.

"By the 1980s, most such jobs vanished, a result of declining U.S. competitiveness. In the ashes, residents were forced into a lower-wage economy of light industry, welding shops, furniture makers, garment factories, fast food restaurants and other employers."

At the same time, the so-called social "safety net" was slashed to ribbons. Bush

is blaming the L.A. riots on Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" programs of the '60s, which supposedly habituated blacks to accept joblessness and dependence on welfare. What hypocrisy! Over the past 20 years funds for Aid to Families with Dependent Children—the main welfare program—has been cut by 42 percent in real terms (adjusted for inflation).

In response to Bush's attacks, many liberals are now glorifying the LBJ "war on poverty." Even Spike Lee, interviewed on his way to the Cannes Film Festival, declared, "The Democratic administration tried to help the poor, but Reagan and Bush are not concerned" (*Libération*, 5 May). In fact, the "Great Society" was never intended to eliminate poverty. Its main aim was to co-opt a layer of black activists in order to re-establish control over the rebellious ghettos. Already in 1967, we wrote that the millions of dollars being poured into various programs "have succeeded in confusing or buying off a large number of potential youth leaders in Harlem through a combination of money and pseudo-radical nationalistic rhetoric. The so-called 'anti-poverty' projects have also served to foster a certain amount of illusions among the ghetto masses" ("Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* supplement, May-June 1967).

Once the turmoil in the black communities was damped down, in the early '70s these poverty programs were massively cut. By 1980, the last year of the Democratic Carter administration, poor

mothers were getting 25 percent less in federal and state funds to support their children than ten years earlier under Nixon. When Reagan came in, he deliberately manufactured a budget crisis by cutting taxes for the rich in order to take an ax to what remained of social welfare programs in this country. But while the black poor were being ravaged, a layer of black yuppies emerged, moving out of the ghettos. Currently, the top 20 percent of black families account for almost half of all black income—a degree of inequality greater than among whites.

Despite the Bush administration's attacks on the "liberal social policies of the 1960s" and the liberal Democrats' counterattacks on "Reaganomics," the two capitalist parties have put forward different variants of the same policy—to promote a dependent black petty bourgeoisie—and both have carried out the devastating cuts in the inner cities. Today Bush's housing and "urban development" secretary Jack Kemp, Democratic front-runner Bill Clinton and black nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan are all promoting black-owned businesses as the "solution" to ghetto poverty. They even use the same "empowerment" rhetoric, mocking the radical 1960s "black power" movement.

Yet compared to the situation in 1965, at the time of the L.A. Watts riot, conditions in the ghettos have been getting worse, *much worse*. Black urban poverty is up, non-white unemployment is up sharply, and among non-white teenagers today only one in four has any job at all, usually at minimum wage. The *New York Times* (7 May) editorialized: "The fires of Los Angeles cast harsh new light on the way America writes off places.... Even worse, America writes off people—another generation of young black men." We put it even more starkly a few years ago, writing of the bogus "workfare" reforms in our article "Genocide U.S.A." (WV No. 463, 21 October 1988):

"This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because *there are no jobs to get*. The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them."

But we have also insisted that the desperate condition and increasing numbers of the black ghetto poor must not obscure the fundamental fact that *black workers still play a strategic role in the American economy and even more so in the organized labor movement*. Twenty-five percent of all black workers are unionized compared to 17 percent for whites and Hispanics. Older black workers have enough seniority to remain a strong presence in shrinking but still basic industries like auto and steel. And blacks of all ages are disproportionately represented in those basic jobs which keep American society functioning—bus drivers, subway motormen, longshoremen, garbage collectors, postal workers, nurses and other hospital workers.

These black proletarians can serve as a bridge between the ghetto poor and the organized labor movement. Conditions are overripe for a massive social explosion in this country extending from the

continued on page 14

Ravenswood Steelworkers...

(continued from page 16)

in trailers on plant grounds while the Vance thugs patrolled barbed-wire fences surrounding "Fort RAC," as it was called by the locked-out strikers. Boyle arrived daily via helicopter, touching down on a specially built landing pad atop the plant.

In contrast to the UAW tops who betrayed the Caterpillar strike, the Ravenswood unionists did not fold when the company threatened to run the aluminum foundry with scabs. During the entire lockout, less than 20 workers scabbed. And Boyle and RAC could not find scabs in the Valley, because of the strong pro-union local traditions bred by years of class battles by the United Mine Workers of America.

This was a highly visible battle in the heart of union territory, and the USWA International poured in money to keep the RAC fighters afloat as food and medical bills and mortgage payments stacked up. But fearing class-struggle methods like the plague, the Pittsburgh USWA bureaucracy played softball, with a "corporate campaign" strategy that centered on vilifying Marc Rich as a "rogue" capitalist. And the USWA tops pushed a weak consumer boycott of brewers that used Ravenswood aluminum, while caving in to injunctions from the bosses' courts.

Now an NLRB administrative judge has obliged the company by withholding a decision which may force it to cough up back pay until June '1. And while negotiations have resumed, scabs are still in the plant. Many strikers are suspicious, and rightly so, that even with Boyle gone RAC will try to stick it to them. Ravenswood workers: *you've got Rich on the run, now drive his scabs and gun thugs out for good!*

Ravenswood workers could have won

Ravenswood workers vow they won't return until every last scab is out of the plant.

Gary Truman



a decisive victory—and many months ago—if the thousands of miners, auto workers and other supporters throughout the region had marched on Fort RAC, torn down the barricades, smashed the company goons and shut down the plant. Such a militant labor action would have had broad support in coal country and would have electrified the labor movement.

That's the kind of solidarity *in action* that's needed from the rest of the labor movement—including workers refusing to bring in the aluminum ore on barges or to handle the aluminum in the can plants and breweries. One USWA member told WV, "I wish they had done that. But every step we would take there was a law passed that you can't do this stuff."

The union bureaucracy is tied hand and foot to the bosses and their government, subordinating the workers movement to the class enemy. The AFL-CIO's campaign for a law to ban permanent "striker replacements" is an appeal to the Democrats in Congress. Senator Ted Kennedy argues the bill will lead to the "containment of labor-management disputes" and prevent the "bitter disputes

that preceded enactment of the NLRA." In other words, it is designed to *prevent* strikes.

So RAC and the USWA are talking, but there is a joint union-company black-out about what is transpiring. At RAC,

Free Bob Buck!

Robert Buck, 27 years old, and a popular member of Steelworkers Local 5668 at Ravenswood, has been in prison since last January, railroaded by the federal government for defending his union and his job from the scabs and thugs brought in by Marc Rich and RAC.

Buck was convicted of two charges of possessing an explosive device, after the feds alleged that he and another USWA member threw a small homemade black powder charge outside the home of a scab on 4 March 1991.

The feds' "evidence" consisted of the testimony of the scab, Edward Piggett, and a turncoat named Gerald Church.

workers have vowed that they will not go back if even one scab remains. *Every* striker must be guaranteed their job back—and that includes USWA member Bob Buck, who was railroaded on federal charges and is imprisoned for three years on bogus charges.

During the fight at Ravenswood, there was tremendous solidarity from the miners. At two "road tolls" (bucket collections on highways) in southern West Virginia RAC workers collected over \$20,000. And USWA Local 5668 members intend to return the miners' support: one worker said that they would aid miners in their upcoming battle to defend the health and benefit trusts and the industry contract: "We're trying to get everybody together and take them on as one."

But to take on the bosses "as one," a class-struggle opposition must sweep out the bureaucrats who have knifed the labor movement in the back, fighting to forge a revolutionary workers party that will take the mines, foundries and factories out of the hands of the capitalists. ■

L.A. Upheaval...

(continued from page 13)

ghettos and Hispanic barrios to white skilled workers, many of them one paycheck away from bankruptcy and eviction. The eruption of integrated protests following the acquittal of the racist cops in the Rodney King case signals the potential for just such a new wave of militant social struggle.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The revealed widespread hatred for racist cop brutality, the desire for brotherhood among the diverse peoples of this country, the demand to eliminate poverty must be directed toward a program of socialist revolution, not a revival of the Democratic Party "coalition." It will be a *defeat* for the working class and the black and Hispanic poor if the struggles are diverted into a phony New Deal, a new "rainbow coalition," a new liberal agenda. For then nothing fundamental will change.

Yet much of the left is pushing for

just such a "popular front" with the Democratic Party, and even sowing illusions that George Bush can be pressured into serving the interests of black people. Thus, for example, the reformist Communist Party, which seems to have become mentally unhinged since the fall of the Kremlin bureaucracy last August, "demanded," no less, "that President Bush speak out and order the Justice Department to act to end police brutality"! Bush spoke out, all right, and ordered the National Guard and U.S. Army, Marines, Marshals, Border Patrol et al. to abet the LAPD's racist brutality.

The self-styled "socialist-feminists" of the Freedom Socialist Party likewise called on Bush's Justice Department to take action, and for the White House to "make billions of dollars available to the cities." Other leftists echoed the liberals' pleas for civilian review boards and other face-saving reforms for the system...at the precise moment that millions of people are drawing the lesson that "the system doesn't work."

The mobilization of massive firepower to put down the L.A. upheaval and the wave of cop rampaging across

the U.S. in its wake mark a considerable escalation of police bonapartism and a sinister contraction of the right of expression at the base. The American ruling class was given a fright and they're bringing in a whole army to banish it. With its economy declining, the bourgeoisie feels its power slipping away. Meanwhile there is a widespread disgruntlement with the traditional political establishment, a discontent that is capitalized on by such types as the fascist David Duke, ultrarightist Pat Buchanan, Democratic populist maverick Jerry Brown and now Texas billionaire Ross Perot, who is running as an "outsider" against the "politicians" at whose trough he fed for many years.

The mass eruption in Los Angeles rep-

resents a dramatic breakdown of capitalist "law and order." Thus on the one hand it poses the danger of a much harsher bonapartist regime marked especially by the police-state suppression of any black unrest. At the same time, it can open the road to revolutionary social struggle uniting the working class, whose conditions have been driven down over the past two decades, and the desperate minority poor in the ghettos and barrios. Decisive in the outcome will be the construction of a multiracial communist vanguard party such as Lenin and the Bolsheviks built in tsarist Russia's "prison house of nations," which led the multinational working class in a successful insurrection against the capitalist order. ■

International Campaign...

(continued from page 4)

although we've asked for it." Crawshaw elicited a blunt admission from the State Department of "an unwillingness to intervene for the moment." One can hardly imagine the same posture being taken if the victim were a Reaganite businessman rather than a Jewish Trotskyist woman.

Crawshaw, whose own wife was nearly murdered two years ago in an attack on their Moscow apartment by what were presumed to be Pamyat thugs, noted Phillips' Jewish background and the possibility of fascist implication in the murder: "Pamyat has been widely blamed for a growing number of anti-Semitic attacks and killings." Crawshaw explained that the ICL "wanted to see a reconstitution of the old Soviet Union"

and "unlike most Trotskyist groups, they were not anti-Soviet." He concluded, "however unusual Phillips' own politics may have been, the apparent lack of enthusiasm to pursue the possible political or anti-Semitic aspects of her murder is striking."

Martha Phillips was not a nameless, faceless victim. The attention by the international press to this suspicious murder has thrown a sharp light on the case. We have served notice on the Moscow authorities that we will not allow the tracks of the murderer to be covered over by bureaucratic indifference or worse. To date, no further progress has been reported in the murder of our comrade. As ICL spokesman Victor Granovsky told the *Moscow Times*: "We can't allow the case to be forgotten. Martha never backed down, she would never let anyone else down, and we can't let her down." *We demand a serious investigation into the murder of Martha Phillips!* ■

Spartacist  Forum

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

L.A. Upheaval Shakes America

Speaker: Brian Manning, Spartacist League

Wednesday, May 20, 7:00 p.m.

For more information: (202) 872-8240

Blackburn Center, Room 150
Howard University

Washington, D.C.

Sinister Government Witchhunt Targets Leftists Student Protest Rocks Australia

Hands Off the ISO! Drop All the Charges!

Militant student protests are sweeping Australia against cutbacks in funding for education by the ruling Australian Labor Party (ALP) government of Prime Minister Paul Keating. When the ALP announced in March its plan to slash "Austudy" (the paltry financial aid doled out to some full-time college students), youth in Melbourne stormed the Victoria State Parliament and marched on the Labor Party headquarters in Sydney. In retaliation the government launched a sinister red hunt, including dawn raids and arrests of members of the International Socialist Organisation. We reprint below excerpts of a leaflet issued by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia.

At dawn on 14 April Victorian cops staged Gestapo-style raids on the homes of seven students including supporters of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). The cops seized computer files, address books and notes and charged five ISO supporters with offences ranging from "unlawful assembly" to "rescuing prisoners from lawful custody." A 16 April protest statement, sent to the Victorian Attorney-General by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defence Committee, described this attack as an unmistakable threat to clamp down on all opposition to Labor government union-busting and capitalist austerity. An injury to one is an injury to all! *Drop all the charges against the student activists! Hands off the ISO and all left and working-class organisations!*

These arrests were planned as retribution for the nationwide student demonstrations on 26 March when thousands of students marched to protest the Keating government's plans to further slash student Austudy allowances. In Melbourne 3,000 students marched to the ruling class' "seat of democracy" Parliament House and took over the entrance before being flailed by mounted cops. But the cops got a rude shock when students defended themselves against attack and secured the release of four arrestees, leaving [Victoria State] Labor premier Joan Kirner cowering in her office.

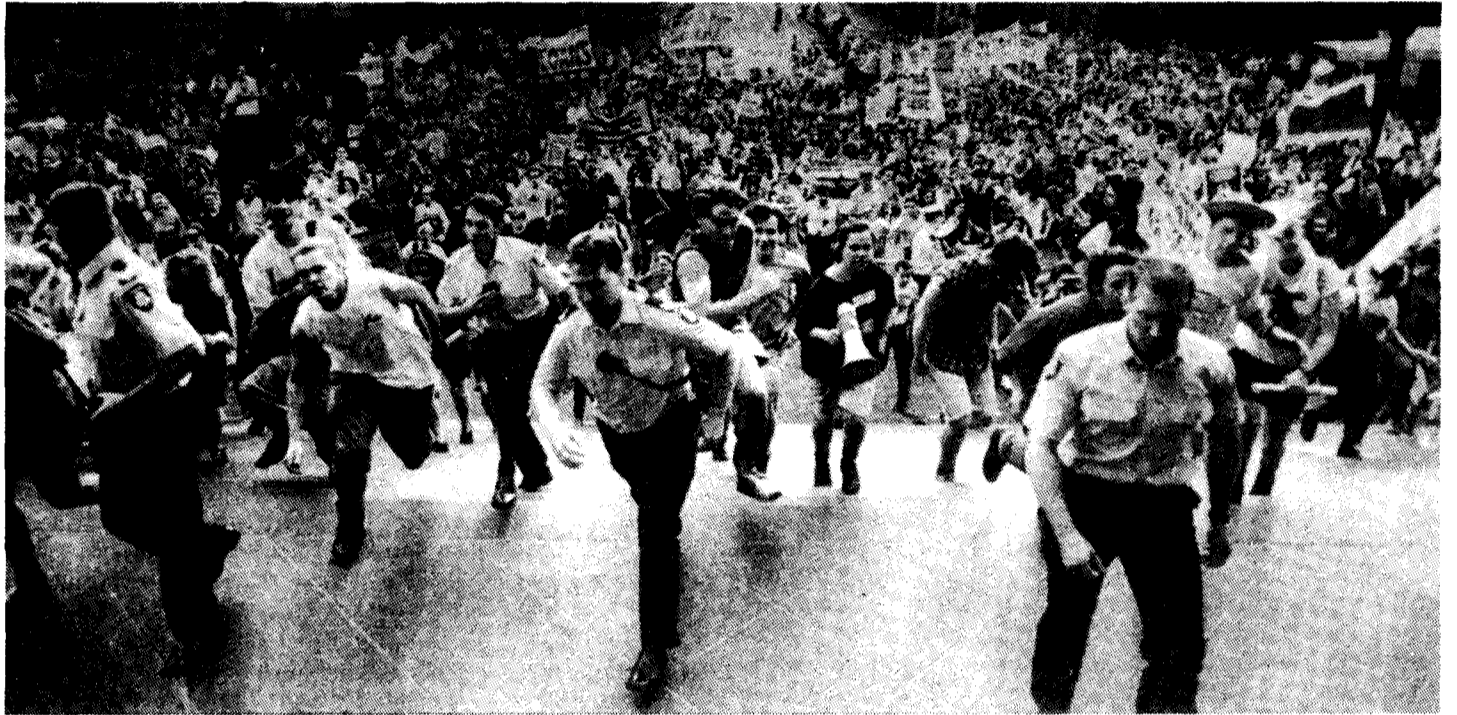
The demonstrations highlighted the wretched state of education services in this country after years of Labor government rule. The pitiful Austudy allowance, barely 60 percent of the poverty line, is available to only 40 percent of full-time students. The Keating government is considering replacing Austudy with a loans scheme—a form of indentured servitude, reinforcing the vicious class bias of Australia's education system. We demand *free education—open admissions to all tertiary institutions! For a real living stipend for all!*

The bourgeois press, fearful that student protests may signal wider social struggle against the rotting capitalist system, immediately howled for "action" against students who dared to challenge the bosses' "authority." The Melbourne Age (27 March) headlined its front page "Students' City Brawl." With the assistance of self-proclaimed student leaders like National Union of Students (NUS) president Tony White and anti-communist nerd Brendan Darcy, they blamed "violence" on leftists who attended and solidarised with the demonstration including the Spartacist

League, ISO and Left Alliance. We noted that the Age misspelt our name as "Sparticist" which has been invariably connected with the attentions of the capitalist political police.

This is an undisguised attempt to intimidate all those who would stand up for their rights against the union-

moves to establish a strong state apparatus, are the fruition of a near-decade of vicious union-busting Labor government rule that has implemented massive attacks on workers, students and all the oppressed. Yet the ISO has been Labor's loyal supporters in every election. They cheered on and back Yeltsin and Bush's



Castle/The Age

Cops scramble as Australian students storm Victoria State Parliament in mass protest march, March 26.

busting racist government. Smearing leftist organisations as "violent agitators" is the codeword for unleashing the real violence of cop provocation and attacks. The next day cops announced the establishment of a "special investigation unit aimed at cracking the violent socialist organisations" (*Herald-Sun*, 29 March) and threatened that in future demonstrations they would be equipped with riot gear. Rupert Murdoch's *Herald-Sun* (28 March) chimed in with calls to deport "foreign" ISO members. What is urgently needed is the broadest union, student and minority action to oppose these frame-ups and attacks! *Down with this dangerous anti-communist witchhunt!*

Today the Keating and Kirner Labor governments celebrate the "death of Communism," and proclaim the triumph of imperialist chief George Bush's "New World Order" which was heralded by the bloody massacre of over 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians. Sinking ever deeper into recession and squeezed by increasing economic rivalry and tension between Japan and the U.S., the Australian ruling class is deeply fearful that mounting working-class anger could shatter the Keating Labor government's brittle "social consensus." Such uncertainty fuels its desire for a strong state and a cohesive and obedient population.

Youth are amongst the hardest hit. Youth unemployment stands at a staggering 32.7 percent and the government plans to further slash youth wages. At the same time, as part of the drive to instill social conformity in the service of reaction, youth are bombarded with moralist propaganda on the "evils" of drugs and sex along with new laws and police to keep them off the street.

Today's government attacks against the left and labour movement, alongside

counterrevolutionary drive in the USSR and have lined up behind the Labor government in fulsome support of every imperialist provocation against the Soviet deformed workers state throughout Cold War II. This includes support for the reactionary Islamic mujahedin in Afghanistan who have fought a 12-year civil war to deny women the right to read and write. In sharp class counterposition, revolutionaries stand for Soviet workers struggle to *smash Yeltsin's counterrevolution!* Our comrades in the USSR fight to build a revolutionary

is currently administering the attacks.

Revolutionaries fight to bring the enormous social power of the working class to bear as the only force capable of smashing the government and bosses' attacks. This struggle requires a revolutionary program which starts from an understanding that the partnership of labour and capital is a lie and that imperialism in its death agony is driven inexorably toward war. The only way out is worldwide proletarian revolution. For hard class opposition to the ALP, party of war, racism and depression! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

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

Chicago

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

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 781-7500

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Los Angeles

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

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

New York

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

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

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

San Francisco

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

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

Montréal

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

Vancouver

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

Edmonton

PSSE P.O. Box 9605
Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3

WORKERS VANGUARD



Spartacist Canada



Blake/Reuters

Demonstrators protesting cop terror from Los Angeles to Toronto are met at City Hall by mounted police.

Toronto: 3,000 Take to the Streets Against Racist Cop Terror

On May 4, probably the largest ever anti-racist demonstration in Toronto took place, with close to 3,000 at the peak, two-thirds black, and many whites, Asians and Near Eastern protesters as well. After rallying outside the U.S. consulate, outraged demonstrators surged through the streets of Toronto, past Metro police headquarters to City Hall. They stopped traffic throughout rush hour and into the evening as the protest continued until a phalanx of cops and mounted cossacks repeatedly charged into the march on Bay Street.

Chanting "From L.A. to T.O., racist cops have got to go!" protesters were outraged over the Rodney King verdict in the U.S. and police terror at home. Only three days after the Los Angeles cops walked free, 22-year-old Jamaican immigrant Raymond Lawrence was shot to death by an undercover cop in Toronto's west end. Lawrence is the eighth

Toronto-area black to be gunned down by police in less than four years.

Other black, Latino and Native Indian men have been murdered by cops in Winnipeg, Ottawa and Montreal. Each and every time, the gun-toting cops have been acquitted of all charges, if they were even charged at all. Like its senior partners to the south, Canada's contemptible junior-league imperialism—which so readily joined with Washington in the Gulf War massacre of 150,000 Iraqis—has declared war on dark-skinned minorities.

At the rally outside the U.S. consulate, a spokesman for the Trotskyist League of Canada addressed protesters, receiving strong applause. "We cannot rely on the capitalist courts, we cannot rely on the capitalist government," he said. "The only thing we can rely on is struggle by the multiracial working class to smash this capitalist state and replace

it with a working-class state."

The march was sparked when half a dozen "white power" fascists showed up across the street. Hundreds of demonstrators clobbered them before the cops led the Nazis into a bank. Later, windows were broken and a few stores looted as black, white and Asian youths marched back through the downtown shopping district. At least 30 anti-racist protesters were arrested in the course of the evening. Drop all the charges!

As the bosses' press whipped up scare stories about "mob violence" and hundreds of riot cops were marshaled to harass and arrest black youth on the following evenings, the demonstration organizers in the Black Action Defence Committee called another rally outside the provincial government buildings for May 7. This time, the anger was co-opted as a succession of speakers, including Ontario New Democratic Party premier

Bob Rae, droned on about "tolerance" and "unity."

Rae was heckled by large sections of the crowd; only days before he had come to the defense of Toronto police chief William McCormack and his thugs-in-blue against charges of racism. And three months ago the social-democratic NDP, which now rules Ontario for the Bay Street bosses, railroaded three postal unionists to jail for defending picket lines during last year's postal strike.

Canada's working class is increasingly integrated as hundreds of thousands of immigrants arrive from the Caribbean, Asia, Africa and Latin America. As the Partisan Defense Committee leaflet distributed at the rally underlined: "Mobilizing labor in defense of the oppressed requires a break with the pro-capitalist social democrats and sharp political struggle against the pro-NDP union misleaders." ■

Steelworkers Hang Tough in 18-Month Lockout

Ravenswood Union-Busting Boss Sacked

Holding out for a year and a half, the 1,700 workers at the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation (RAC) managed to outlast the vicious company executive who ordered the workers locked out in an attempt to break the United Steelworkers (USWA). Local 5668 rallied thousands of unionists from Cleveland to New York in a battle widely viewed as a test of labor's ability to defend itself against a determined scabherding boss. On April 21, the company retreated, announcing the departure of chairman Emmett Boyle and asking for new negotiations.

The mouthpiece for the American ruling class, the *New York Times*, currently engaged in its own union-busting campaign against the newspaper drivers union, marked the significance of the USWA's stand at RAC, noting the decline of major strikes from hundreds per year before the smashing of PATCO in 1981 to just 40 last year.

In 1989, the West Virginia plant was

bought out, in a leveraged buyout from Kaiser Aluminum, by an outfit headed by notorious billionaire metals merchant, arms dealer and international fugitive Marc Rich. Now, by ousting Boyle, Rich is apparently trying to make a deal with the Justice Department for his return to the U.S.

When the union contract expired in November 1990, the USWA rejected RAC's "final offer" which eliminated the cost-of-living adjustment and a bonus system which accounted for 10 percent of take-home pay. Boyle and Rich immediately implemented their master plan for mass firings of Local 5668 members, who have an average seniority of 27 years in the plant.

A menacing goon squad from Vance Security—the same outfit that Pittston and A.T. Massey strikers faced—which is staffed by mercenaries from the CIA's contra war against Nicaragua, was brought in by RAC. Scabs were housed

continued on page 14



Gary Truman

Ravenswood rallies have mobilized thousands of miners, auto workers and other unionists to fight union-busting.