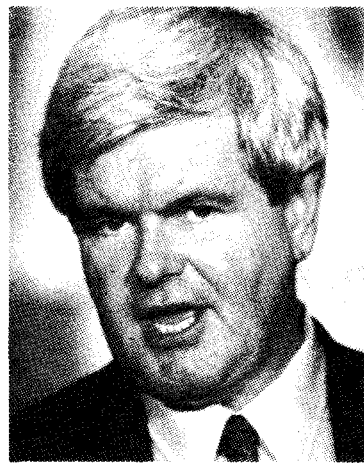


Capitalism's Racist Hitmen

Clinton, Gingrich Take Aim at Blacks, Immigrants



Palmer/U.S. News & World Report



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Last month *Time* magazine reported Washington, D.C. audiences' reaction to a play based on Charles Dickens' novel, *A Christmas Carol*, set amid the poverty of 19th century London. Scrooge's response to a request for alms for the poor—"Are there no prisons? No workhouses? No orphanages?"—brought gasps from crowds who were hearing identical words from the incoming Congress, which is about to throw millions of poor people off welfare and onto the streets.

Under legislation based on Republican leader Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America," two and a half million unwed mothers on welfare, two-thirds of whom are black, and five million children would lose their meager benefits. In the same spirit of gratuitous cruelty, another bill would abolish financial aid for over 800,000 children with debilitating diseases like cerebral palsy!

The "Contract With America" is a contract on black America. In the name of "personal responsibility" and "family reinforcement," it calls for ripping black kids out of their mothers' arms and putting them up for adoption or placing them in orphanages. Gingrich's obscene espousal of the merits of orphanages (now known as "congregate care facilities") is not really meant to fill their cruel hallways—after all, they cost on the order of \$50,000 per year per child. Rather the plan is to "discourage welfare dependence" by *letting children and their mothers starve*.

The right wing won the November elections on a racist backlash of anti-welfare, "anti-crime" demagogy, coupled with nativist frenzy that led to the passage of California's Prop. 187 barring "illegal" immigrants from health care and school-

Democrat Clinton joins forces with Republican Gingrich's contract on black America. "Welfare reform" means starvation for millions of single mothers and their children.

ing. Congressional Republicans now promise legislation excluding *legal* immigrants from unemployment insurance and supplementary Social Security benefits, while President Clinton has chimed in with a proposal for massive spending increases to police the Mexican border. Reflecting the hypocrisy of the

proposal called the "California Civil Rights Initiative," no less! On the federal level, the Supreme Court is expected to rule in favor of a "reverse discrimination" case challenging federal "set-asides" for minority businesses.

Until recently, no politician would have dared threaten Social Security—the

that the black poor get jobs that don't exist in industries that don't exist. Shortly after Gingrich took office as Speaker of the House, he and Clinton declared a "truce" and agreed to explore "common ground," including a constitutional amendment sanctifying prayer in public schools. Now "liberal" Health and Human Services secretary Donna Shalala tells Congress that poor mothers who don't work should "lose their welfare benefits, and the children could be taken away from the parents...and placed in foster care or group homes or put up for adoption."

Meanwhile, Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry, not too long ago the victim of a racist government vendetta, has joined the chorus condemning black single mothers, saying they should be forced to use the Norplant birth control device or get thrown off the rolls. Only a few years ago, calls for forced sterilization of black welfare mothers were universally condemned as the ravings of the fringe racist right!

Under the "workfare" scam passed by the Democratic Congress in 1988, many welfare recipients have to find work or lose their payments. Numerous state and city governments are already trying to force people off the welfare rolls and into jobs like highway maintenance and food service at minimum wage, as a way to bust government employees' unions. But at bottom, as we wrote in "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

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For a Revolutionary Workers Party That Champions the Cause of All the Oppressed!

anti-immigrant hysteria, the Republicans object to Clinton's call for increased inspection of factories where undocumented workers are employed at sub-minimum wages.

Immigrants account for a tiny portion of welfare payments, while they pay a full share of taxes. But along with black welfare moms, they make a convenient scapegoat for those whose living standards have fallen drastically thanks to union-busting and deindustrialization by the capitalist ruling class.

Bipartisan War on the Poor

We noted at the time that Prop. 187 "is part of a broader racist offensive whose main and central target is the black ghetto poor" (WV No. 612, 9 December 1994). California governor Pete Wilson, who won re-election by pushing this immigrant-bashing initiative, has now called for dismantling affirmative action in education and business—through a

centerpiece of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal reforms (although to keep the allegiance of the Dixiecrats, FDR excluded black sharecroppers and domestic workers, who formed the large majority of Southern blacks at that time). Among so-called "entitlement" programs, Social Security—unlike welfare—accounts for a significant part of the federal budget. In fact, Social Security is a separate, self-financing program which consistently runs a *surplus*, which is then ripped off by the government for its budget expenditures. From the right-wing Cato Institute, which calls for "privatizing" Social Security, to a bipartisan commission last summer which proposed drastic cuts in benefits, Social Security has now become a target for budget slashers. The current attempt to deny benefits to immigrants and disabled children is a wedge against Social Security as a whole, but because it covers the entire employed population, any threat to the Social Security system



New Orleans Cop Death Squad

Recently New Orleans has been rocked by reports charging the city's police department (NOPD) with widespread corruption, drug dealing, protection rackets—and racist murder. The most explosive revelation involves the coldblooded execution of Kim Marie Groves, a young black mother of three children.

Kim Groves was shot through the head outside her home on October 13. Hours earlier, she had filed a brutality complaint against NOPD cops Len Davis and Sammie Williams after she saw them pistol-whipping a son's friend. A few minutes after Groves was killed, Davis called Williams on police radio with an "NAT"—necessary action taken.

Davis knew almost immediately that Groves had filed a supposedly confidential complaint against him with NOPD Internal Affairs. And the FBI, which had a wiretap on Davis as part of an undercover investigation of the NOPD, knew that the hit had been ordered—they just let it happen! Davis, who is black, had acquired a reputation around the Desire public housing development he patrolled as the "Desire Terrorist." Davis is now charged with ordering a contract for Groves' murder by "drug-dealing gangsters," and is facing drug charges along with eight other NOPD cops.

But this is not a matter of a handful of "rogue cops." The NOPD tops the country's police departments in "civil rights" brutality complaints. Asked about stemming the city's rising murder rate, even the head of the Metropolitan Crime Commission replied, "My smart answer is to fire more police officers."

The New Orleans police have a record of brutal racist murder and cover-up which goes back decades. In 1980, four people were gunned down execution-style in the black ghetto of Algiers after a cop was found dead, while scores of other blacks were dragged into police headquarters and beaten. In 1990, after another white cop had been killed, Adolph Archie, a black man, was hauled off to the dead cop's precinct. An autopsy showed that Archie had had every bone in his head broken.

The racist NOPD death squads put the lie to the black Democrats' vacuous talk of "empowerment." New Orleans has had a string of black mayors; indeed, the father of current mayor Marc Morial was in office during the 1980 Algiers slaughter. This impoverished, predominantly black city is surrounded by racist white enclaves which are notorious as a bastion of support for KKKer David Duke. A few years ago, the suburb of Metairie,

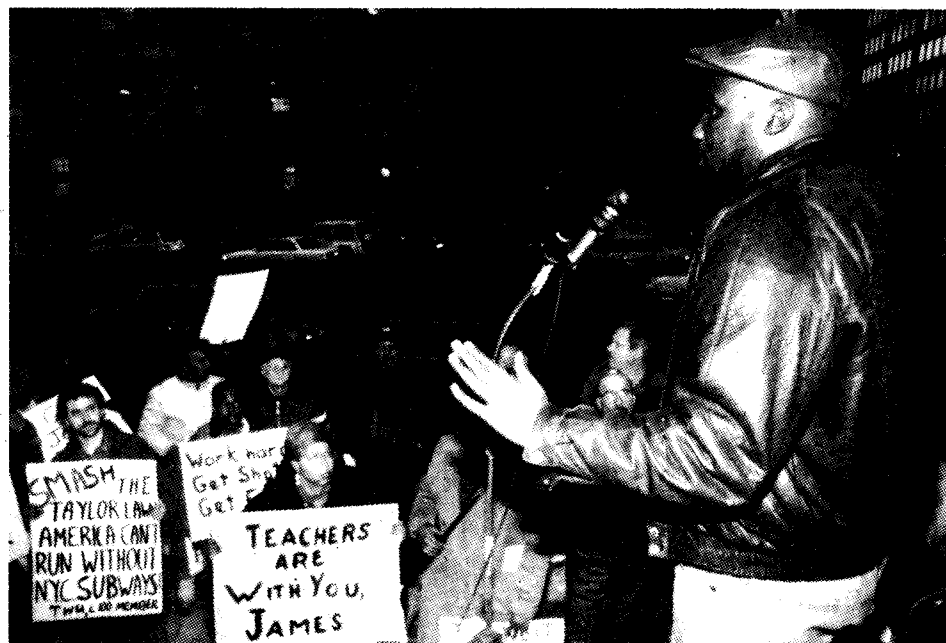
which helped boost Duke into the state legislature in the 1980s, even erected a wall aimed at keeping neighboring black people out.

In the wake of Kim Groves' murder and the latest exposures of the NOPD, the FBI is being portrayed as a protector of black rights. Meanwhile, liberals like the ACLU call for a "Police Accountability Task Force." Any talk of "reforming" the NOPD is dangerously misguided. The cops are the repressive apparatus of the capitalist ruling class, and they are especially needed by the

rulers to keep black and working people down in a local economy which, except for tourism, has all but collapsed with the decline of the port of New Orleans and plummeting oil prices. And contrary to the myth pushed in the movie *Mississippi Burning*, the feds are enemies of black rights who have a history of setting up civil rights activists for murder, from Viola Liuzzo in Alabama in 1965 to the Greensboro massacre in 1979.

The social power to stop racist cop terror rests with the integrated ranks of New Orleans teachers, transit and southern Louisiana oil workers. It will take socialist revolution to sweep away the racist rulers and their hired guns, who are responsible for the killing of Kim Groves and countless other victims of cop death squads. ■

All Out to Defend James Frazier!



James Frazier addresses transit workers and other supporters at March 1994 rally outside Transit Authority headquarters.



TROTSKY

Capitalism, Fascism and the Holocaust

This month marks the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Red Army's liberation of the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz, where two million Jews, as well as Gypsies, Slavs and Communists, were exterminated. When the Nazi death camps were revealed to the world in the last months of World War II, the U.S. ruling class and its propagandists hypocritically denounced the unspeakable atrocities of Hitler's Germany in order to bolster support for "democratic" American imperialism.

At the time, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party explained that fascist barbarism was a product of decaying capitalism which could only be eradicated through international workers revolution.

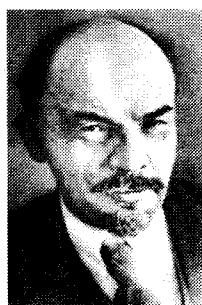
The Lublin death camp murders are simply part of the general Nazi pattern of systematic extermination of "inferior races," primarily Jews. Less publicized, but even more "effective," are extermination centers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Oswiecim where three and a half million Jews have reportedly been put to death.

These hideous crimes reveal the true face of fascism. Fascism is organized mass murder to save the ruling class. Spawned and financially supported by the German capitalists, the Nazis took power to prevent a proletarian revolution and to prepare for the next imperialist war. The rich still own Germany. The Nazi party is simply the tool of the bosses. The complete destruction of the workers' organizations and parties and the imposition of a more terrible oppression, taught the German working class a lesson as to the true nature of fascism. Economic and national oppression, now coupled with wholesale physical extermination, has taught the European peoples the same lesson....

Hitler's approaching defeat by no means signifies the end of Fascism. The Allies are not fighting Fascism as a system, but imperialist Germany as a rival. This is no war of ideologies, Churchill admitted. Furthermore, there is nothing specifically "German" about fascism. It can grow in the United States due to the same causes that operated in Germany....

The European proletariat will rise in the coming revolution to destroy the Fascist scourge. They will make short shrift of the Lublin murderers.

—"Lublin Mass Murders Reveal Rotting Capitalist System," *Militant* (16 September 1944)



LENIN

Jury selection for the trial of black transit worker James Frazier will now take place on February 8, after being postponed earlier this month. It was over a year ago, in October 1993, that a cop shot Frazier in the back of the head as he sat in his car on a Brooklyn street. Frazier's left eye was blown out. To cover up their crimes against James Frazier, the D.A. and the cops want to put him away for up to fifteen years on charges of gun possession!

Speaking at the New York Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal benefit in December, Frazier told the crowd, "The cops didn't expect me to survive, the doctors didn't expect me to survive, and during that time the cops

even attacked me in the hospital." He thanked those who have turned out in his support at previous court appearances, stressing, "The judge notices that support in court. I really believe that if I didn't have that support, I'd have been just another ordinary black man driving a fancy car that was shot."

Divisions of Frazier's union, Transport Workers Union Local 100, are calling on transit workers to come out to the trial. The Labor Black League for Social Defense is mobilizing all opponents of racist cop terror to fill the courtroom at the February trial. To help defend brother Frazier, call us at (212) 267-1025. All out to stop the racist persecution of James Frazier! Fill the courtroom! ■

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27 January 1995

JUST OUT!

No. 44
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Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

No. 44 WINTER 1994-SPRING 1995

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Women and the Permanent Revolution in Bangladesh

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AUSTRALIA...A\$1.50 BRITAIN...£.75 CANADA...Cdn\$1.50 IRELAND...IR£.75 USA...US\$1

Drop the Charges Against Malcolm X's Daughter!

Protest Sinister Government Set-Up of Qubilah Shabazz!

In a blatant set-up by the feds, Qubilah Shabazz faces up to 90 years in prison on charges of "conspiring" to arrange the assassination of Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan, supposedly in retaliation for the murder of her father Malcolm X 30 years ago. This crude and cynical frame-up has provoked an outcry of denunciation from many black leaders, and is treated with skepticism even by much of the bourgeois media. As a protest statement (reprinted below) by the Partisan Defense Committee notes, the Shabazz case recalls the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO program of surveillance and provocation against black militants and civil rights leaders. At Shabazz's arraignment last week, demonstrators outside the Minne-

neapolis courthouse displayed a banner with images of Malcolm, Martin Luther King and murdered Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton reading, "The Real Hitmen: The Feds."

account of taped conversations between Fitzpatrick and Shabazz, reported in the *Washington Post* (19 January), clearly prove that Shabazz was being set up:

"She's not pleased. She's coming up with objections, reasons why he shouldn't do it," one official said, describing the contents of the tapes. 'He's talking about the righteous sanctions to have Minister Farrakhan killed. She objects that innocent people could be killed. She's worried that there might be retaliation—by Farrakhan's people against the Jews.'"

So now this sensitive, intelligent, soft-spoken woman, who already lived through the torment of seeing her father gunned down when she was four years old, has to go through the torture of a government frame-up. Even Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam have



Robin Platzer
Qubilah Shabazz (second from right) with family at New York City opening of Spike Lee's film on Malcolm X.

Farrakhan and the NOI hated Malcolm for breaking with their arch-separatist politics, which led them into grotesque alliances with the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi party when they thought it suited their interests (see "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People," *WV* No. 600, 13 May 1994). Far from seeking to fight against the racist oppression of black people, the NOI offer themselves up as cops for the racist ruling class and seek to be the spokesmen for a layer of aspiring black capitalists out to exploit the ghetto population.

entrapment. The gratuitous torment of Malcolm X's family thirty years after his assassination—the culmination of years of hounding by the U.S. government's racist police forces and other enemies of black freedom—was immediately met with disbelief and revulsion, particularly by black Americans, whose centuries of subjugation in this country have imbued them with a keen sense of recognizing rats when they smell them.

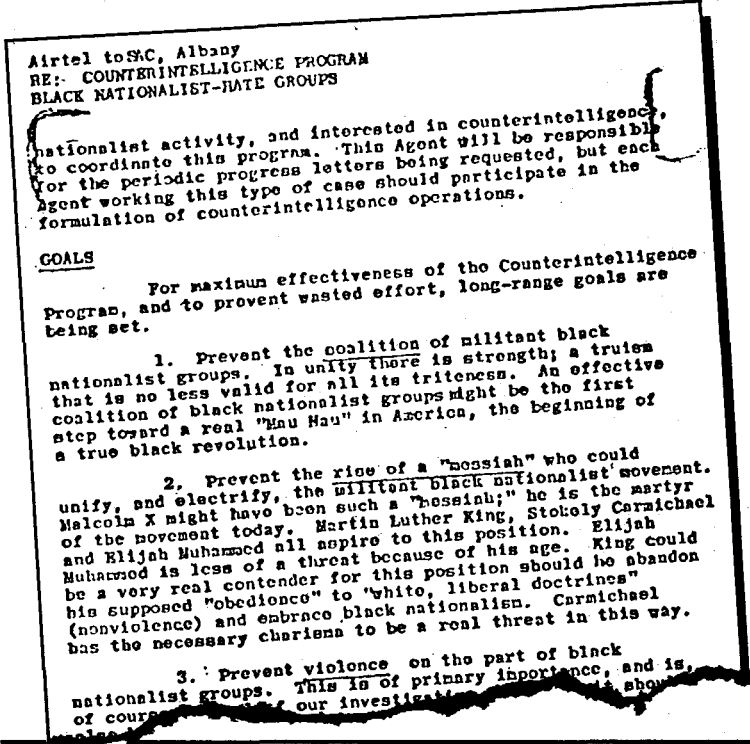
The government informer at the center of this set-up, Michael Fitzpatrick, has a long record of engaging in criminal plots in association with the Jewish Defense League, including the bombing of a pro-Soviet bookstore in New York City in 1977, and of acting as a provocateur against the left. One can only suspect that federal authorities made a deal with Fitzpatrick, who is currently facing cocaine-possession charges in Minnesota.

Your employment of this certified right-wing terrorist to entrap Ms. Shabazz recalls the infamous Gary Rowe, who, as the FBI's top "informer" in the Alabama Ku Klux Klan, helped carry out the 1963 bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church, where four black girls were killed, and was implicated in the nightriders' 1965 murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. We will also never forget Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent Bernard Butkovich, who helped set up the Klan/Nazi murder of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979.

Your persecution of Qubilah Shabazz is all too reminiscent of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign of the 1950s and '60s to destroy black militancy, represented particularly by Malcolm X, whom we honor as a courageous truth-teller for black America. We demand that all charges against Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz be dropped.

Yours truly,
Paul Cooperstein

cc: U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno



Robert L. Haggins
Malcolm X with Louis Farrakhan (far right) in Harlem, 1963. When Malcolm broke with the Nation of Islam, Farrakhan pronounced him "worthy of death." 1968 FBI document outlines COINTELPRO campaign to destroy black militants.

The government's star witness is one Michael Fitzpatrick, a high-school classmate of Shabazz who lured her to Minneapolis with promises of marriage and now claims that she tried to hire him as a hitman. Fitzpatrick has a long history as an FBI provocateur. In the mid-1970s, he joined the fascist Zionist Jewish Defense League (JDL), which carried out terrorist attacks against Soviet officials and cultural groups as well as U.S. leftists and blacks. After being convicted in the 1977 bombing of a Russian bookstore in New York, Fitzpatrick became an FBI informer. Even one of his former JDL cohorts denounces him as a "set-up artist, who goes from group to group setting people up." In the 1980s, he was expelled from an anarchist collective after trying to lure other members into bombing government buildings. Several months before getting involved with Qubilah Shabazz, he was busted on a cocaine-possession charge, which is due to come to trial shortly.

The feds' scheme to entrap Shabazz is so transparent that a couple of government officials involved in the case blew the whistle to the press. Their

denounced the government conspiracy against Shabazz.

The invidious set-up of Qubilah Shabazz was orchestrated at the highest levels of the Clinton Justice Department. Administration officials at first tried to duck the uproar by claiming that they had not been kept informed of the seven-month "investigation." But Janet Reno herself was forced to admit, "We have been working with the United States attorney" in Minneapolis. Not only were Justice Department bigwigs fully involved, but they even assigned one of their lawyers to permanently monitor the case.

The Shabazz affair has revived allegations that Farrakhan may have been involved in the murder of Malcolm X. Last year, Malcolm's widow Betty Shabazz, when asked if she thought Farrakhan had anything to do with her husband's assassination, replied: "Of course.... Nobody kept it a secret." Farrakhan has denied being directly involved. But Farrakhan did make it clear at the time that Malcolm was "worthy of death." And a recently opened documentary, *Brother Minister: The Assassination of Malcolm X*, shows Farrakhan in a 1993 speech thundering in reference to Malcolm X: "And if we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours?"

Brother Minister also recalls how the FBI contributed to fanning the flames of conflict between Malcolm X and Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad by sending bogus letters and circulating false stories. This was but a small part of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO program which targeted many black militants and leftists, especially the Black Panthers, many of whom were shot down or railroaded to prison as part of a campaign to "neutralize militant black nationalist" groups. Now it turns out that the former chief of police in Minneapolis had carried out "surveillance" against the NOI and other black groups as a member of the infamous NYPD Red Squad (Bureau of Special Services) at the time of Malcolm's assassination in New York.

The future American workers revolution will avenge the murder of Malcolm X.

* * *

18 January 1995

David Lillihaug, U.S. Attorney
Minneapolis, MN

Dear Mr. Lillihaug:

The arrest on January 12 of Malcolm X's daughter, Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, on charges of hiring a hitman to murder Louis Farrakhan is a maliciously inspired, transparent case of government



Get the truth about Louis Farrakhan. Order *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 11, available for \$1 from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Fifty Years Ago

The Red Army Liberated Auschwitz!

The following declaration, dated 4 January 1995, is translated from Spartakist No. 116 (January-February 1995), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD). It is also being issued in Polish and Russian.

27 January 1945: The Nazis' "Thousand Year" Reich, which brought thousandfold agony to the peoples of Europe, lay shattered in pieces. Beginning with the German defeats at Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943, the Red Army was able to smash Hitler's Wehrmacht divisions and SS executioners on a broad front stretching from Poland to Hungary and the Balkans. A symbolic climax of the Soviet Union's victory was the liberation of a site that will forever embody capitalist bestiality: Auschwitz.

Between 1941 and 1945 millions of people were killed in Auschwitz: Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Russians, Poles, communists, socialists. But it was Jews above all from all the countries of Europe who died in the gas chambers and ovens of this extermination factory. They were all victims of an imperialist campaign which, in the name of creating a "master race," sought to turn the entire continent into a colony of German capital. As a result of Hitler's "final solution of the Jewish question," over two million Jews—men, women, children—were murdered in Auschwitz alone. In the years 1942-43 the overfilled cattle cars rolled ceaselessly, day after day, to the infamous ramp where the "selections" began. Those who were not immediately forced into the gas chambers fell into the hands of sadistic "doctors" like Dr. Mengele or were forced to slave in satellite camps for huge capitalist concerns. Only by smashing Hitler's Reich could the Red Army save a handful of these people—a fraction of the millions who lost their lives. It was solely because of this victory that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews whom Eichmann would have sent to Auschwitz were spared death by gassing.

Yet the Jews were not simply victims. Thousands from Poland, Russia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia fought in Red Army regular units and partisan detachments against the occupation and thus contributed to the hard-won Soviet victory. The heroic Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto stubbornly battled Nazi commandant Stroop's SS units. Contrary to the Zionist falsification of history, the uprising was organized principally by pro-socialist Zionists, members of the socialist Jewish



Sovfoto

Joint Declaration by the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, Spartakusowska Grupa Polski and Spartacist/Moscow

Bund and Communists, who viewed it as an internationalist struggle. The Trotskyists in the Warsaw Ghetto also stood in the front lines of the struggle against Nazism. In their newspaper *Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Flag), they counterposed their internationalism to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." In July 1941 they wrote: "The war of the Soviet Union against Hitler is the war of the international proletariat; it is our war.... Long live the international revolution!"

Uprisings of the tormented erupted in the extermination camps themselves—Treblinka, Auschwitz—which, given the unequal struggle, were largely drowned in blood. But in Sobibor, where over

250,000 people were murdered, 600 Jewish prisoners and captured Red Army soldiers carried out an uprising that forced the Nazis to close the camp. Three hundred prisoners fled into the woods and survived.

Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa," carried out under the battle cry of the fight against "Jewish Bolshevism," aimed at destroying the Soviet workers state. Indeed, under Lenin and Trotsky this workers state inscribed on its banner from the outset: "Death to the pogromists—For the emancipation of the Jewish people!" This promise was betrayed by the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. Under Stalin, the defense against the Nazi occupation was conducted not in the name of proletarian internationalism but under the nationalist watchword of the "Great Patriotic War." Yet despite the reactionary rule of the bureaucracy and the resurgence of official anti-Semitism and nationalism under Stalin (beginning with his anti-Semitic agitation against the Trotskyist Left Opposition), the Soviet degenerated workers state saved the lives of millions of Jews during the war through necessary resettlement.

Now, in the wake of Yeltsin's counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, anti-Semitism in all its ugly forms is once again raising its head. But already under Gorbachev sections of the Stalinist apparatus (for example, Yeltsin) courted the Russian anti-Semitic fascists of Pamyat. Today, following the collapse of Stalinism, fascists like the Barkashovites (supported by German fascists), Black Hundreds and monarchists are part of the "red-brown coalition" together with "patriot" remnants of the nationalist Sta-

linist bureaucracy. These "red-browns" are the clearest expression of how capitalist restoration is permeated with anti-Semitic filth. A revolutionary workers party will place the struggle against anti-Semitism and against racist attacks on minorities (for example, Chechens, whose capital city and its population are today being bombed to smithereens by the Russian Army) in the forefront of its program—just as Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks did. Our comrades in Moscow are fighting to build such a party.

In the Polish capitalist state which arose in 1990 as the result of Solidarność-led capitalist counterrevolution, we see hypocritical ceremonies "commemorating" the victims of the Holocaust and those who fought fascism. These ceremonies obscenely include the German Fourth Reich, the bloody Israeli Zionist state and the Catholic church, which has placed a crucifix at Auschwitz in order to bury the anti-Semitic character of the Holocaust. Joining such ceremonies in the past were representatives of the former Solidarność regime which "rehabilitated" the Polish fascists of the Second World War. Together with its ex-Stalinist Social Democratic lackeys, the Polish bourgeoisie raises the slogan of "reconciliation" as their ticket into the post-counterrevolutionary "New World Order." This means mass unemployment, racist terror and a ban on abortion in Poland and fratricidal nationalist wars and bloody imperialist interventions elsewhere. In the spirit of the Nazi Third Reich, Roma, Sinti and other "illegal" immigrants in Germany are being imprisoned and then shipped to Poland for deportation to the countries they fled—where they are being killed by pogromists. We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations to defend all victims of racist terror.

Today, the Fourth Reich is consciously following in the footsteps of the Third. This continuity can be seen in the firm BASF which as part of IG Farben exploited Auschwitz slave laborers over 50 years ago, and later became Helmut Kohl's patron. The current "Federal Republic" proclaimed itself the legal successor to the Third Reich and took over whole sections of the Nazi regime's state apparatus, including the longtime Nazi Kiesinger as chancellor. This was part of its anti-communist crusade against East Germany (DDR). Following capitalist reunification and the counter-revolution in the DDR, the German bourgeoisie, assisted by the SPD social democrats, diligently set to work covering

continued on page 7



Yakov Davidson

Ukraine, 1942: Soviet Partisan forces, including Jews, fought against Hitler's Wehrmacht and pro-Nazi Ukrainian nationalists.

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East Europe: Five Years of Counterrevolution



Beliczay/NY Times

Ozd, Hungary: Four years after German firm took over and then abandoned steel mill, the plant's labor force has fallen from 14,000 to fewer than 2,000.

Part One of this series, "The Fall of Polish Solidarność," was published in WV No. 614 (13 January).

Surpassing even their own expectations, the Hungarian Socialist Party won a resounding victory in last May's elections, swamping their numerous opponents to capture one-third of the popular vote and an absolute majority of parliamentary seats. Like the election of their Polish counterparts of the Democratic Left Alliance a half year earlier, the return to power of the Hungarian ex-Stalinists turned social democrats reflects widespread bitterness over the devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution. Two out of every five Hungarian industrial workers have seen their jobs disappear since 1989, while pensioners are forced to scrape by on \$90 a month, far less than the government's own minimum for subsistence. A retired engineer commented bitterly, "The impoverished people are voting socialist out of revenge."

These working people saw in the Socialist Party (MSZP) a link to the economic security and social benefits of the pre-1989 "Communist" system. During the election campaign, the Socialists promised to lower unemployment and to raise pensions and wages. But this neo-social-democratic party is, in fact, just as committed to enforcing the capitalist immiseration dictated by Western bankers as the anti-Communist nationalist "democrats" they've displaced. Socialist leader Gyula Horn assured international capital: "We are a party of experts. We have never been, and will never be, extremists."

To underscore that point, Horn immediately appealed to the openly bourgeois

Part 2: Hungarian "Socialists" Push Anti-Worker Austerity

parties to join with the MSZP—despite its parliamentary majority—in a coalition government. The subsequent pact signed with the free marketeers of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) could have been written by Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher—mandating cuts in government spending, higher consumer taxes and lower business taxes, an end to industrial subsidies and the privatization or enforced bankruptcy of remaining state enterprises. This is a program "certain to raise the price of food and consumer goods and to wipe out the jobs of many state sector employees" (*Washington Post*, 30 June 1994).

Having paved the way for the destruction of the system they once glorified as "real existing socialism," the ex-Stalinist apparatchiks today echo the imperialist lie that "communism has failed" and trumpet the "magic of the marketplace." This is obviously *not* what the Hungarian working people voted for. But a return to the Stalinist past is no less possible than is a "humane" capitalism. The bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe—originating with the Soviet Red Army's victory over Nazi Germany in World War II—were destroyed beyond recall in 1989-90 by the all-sided pressure of Western imperialism on the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracies. There will be no decent future for Hungarian working people

unless the proletariat overthrows the new but still fragile bourgeois order in East Europe. And proletarian revolutions in East Europe cannot long survive unless they ignite the big battalions of the West European working class, which today also faces economic immiseration and political reaction.

From Political Revolution to Capitalist Restoration

More than any other Soviet bloc country, the Hungarian People's Republic revealed both the potential for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and the limitations of a purely national outlook. The relaxation of totalitarian terror in the Soviet bloc following Stalin's death in 1953 threw much of East Europe into profound political crisis. In Hungary, given the especially bloody rule of the regime of Matyas Rákosi, the crisis of "de-Stalinization" led to a genuinely pro-socialist workers uprising which was only suppressed by direct Soviet military intervention.

The main force in the Hungarian political revolution of 1956 was the workers councils, usually led by anti-Rákosi Communists. Despite illusions in Western-type "democracy" and nationalist prejudices, there was a strong impulse among the insurgent workers to construct an egalitarian and genuinely socialist

society—and clear opposition to capitalist restoration. This was typified by the call of a workers council in Budapest for "free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that means of production belong to society" (see "The Hungarian Workers Uprising of 1956," WV No. 483, 4 August 1989). But the victory of the revolution required the leadership of an *internationalist* Leninist vanguard party. As we wrote on the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution:

"Perhaps the most serious weakness of the 1956 uprising, however, was its predominantly isolated, *nationalist* character.... The revolution was sparked by, and prepared during the insurgent wave which traversed the deformed workers states at this time; yet the militant workers and radical intellectuals, whose demands for political and economic reforms led to the outbreak on 23 October, made virtually no effort to extend their activities beyond Hungary's boundaries. Hence the revolution neither received succor from nor expanded its thrust into the other states of Europe—ultimately the *sine qua non* of victory....

"Thus a revolutionary party in Hungary would not only have assumed the task of leading the Hungarian workers to state power, but, as a section of a disciplined *internationalist* party, would have assisted in the vital work of preparing and leading insurrections in other European countries."

—"Political Revolution in Hungary—Ten Years After," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966

The possibility of implementing such a perspective was revealed in the extent of fraternization between the insurgents

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East Europe...

(continued from page 5)

and Soviet troops, forcing the Kremlin to send in a *second* invasion force. After the revolution was crushed by the Soviet Army, the bureaucratic order was restored under the liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar, who himself had been imprisoned and tortured by the Rákosi regime. Following an initial period of severe repression, in the early 1960s Kadar moved to gain the popular support or at least tolerance of the Hungarian masses. Intellectual and cultural life was relaxed under the formula "he who is not against us is with us." However, the main thrust of Kadar's program was economic, redirecting investment so as to rapidly raise consumption levels, a program approvingly dubbed "goulash communism" by Kremlin leader Nikita Khrushchev.

By the late 1960s, the Hungarian Stalinists had exhausted their ability to produce more goulash merely by shifting resources from heavy industry to light industry and agriculture. At this point the Kadar regime became the first in the Soviet sphere to introduce "market socialism," with the express aim of increasing Hungary's exports to the West, especially the European Community. The 1968 New Economic Mechanism freed enterprise directors and state bank officials from tight, centralized control, giving them wide leeway to wheel and deal in international markets.

The move to more closely integrate the economy into the capitalist West had catastrophic consequences in the mid-1970s. The world capitalist depression collapsed Hungary's export markets both in volume and price. At the same time, the Soviet Union increased the price of oil and natural gas to its East European bloc partners, taking advantage of the oil price boom artificially engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel. In the late 1970s, Hungary experienced a disastrous worsening of its terms of trade, wiping out the equivalent of *one year's gross national product*.

Desperately anxious to avoid mass layoffs or cuts in living standards, Kadar & Co. mortgaged the country to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt. Hungary's hard-currency debt shot up from \$1 billion in 1970 to \$9 billion in 1980. At the same time, the lax regime of "market socialism" generated an indigenous class of capitalist entrepreneurs largely drawn from Stalinist apparatchiks. In the mid-1980s, the liberal British historian A.J.P. Taylor, whose wife was Hungarian, estimated that there were as many millionaires in Kadar's Hungary as in Thatcher's Britain, although the former displayed their wealth less conspicuously.

Gorbachev's *perestroika* and the resulting disintegration of the Kremlin bureaucracy removed the last restraint on the Hungarian Stalinists' appetites to

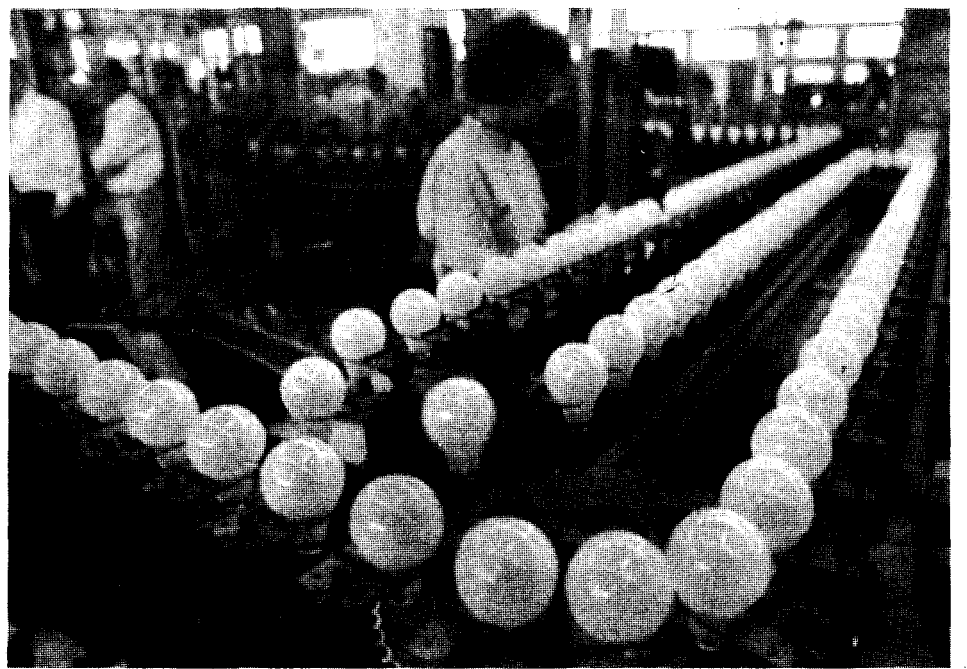
become junior partners of Wall Street and Frankfurt. In 1988, Kadar was ousted by a more right-wing faction in the ruling Communist party. Visiting the U.S., "reform" prime minister Karoly Grosz told American businessmen that 25 percent of the Hungarian economy could now be foreign-owned. New legislation served as a license for the massive rip-off of state-owned productive assets, as managers bought up state enterprises through easy loans from their colleagues at the state bank. A few years later, the right-wing nationalist prime minister Jozsef Antall would bait the legion of ex-Stalinist entrepreneurs: "They have forgotten Marx and only remember Das Kapital."

A major factor in the Hungarian bureaucracy's indifference to the loss of governmental power was that so many of its members were leaving politics anyway to devote all their time to their new businesses. In late 1989, the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party dropped the "Worker" from its name and proclaimed fealty to bourgeois democracy. A small Kadarite split retained the old name, since changed to the Workers Party. Demoralized, faction-ridden and its cadre preoccupied with personal enrichment, the Socialist Party received only 11 percent of the vote in the pivotal elections in the spring of 1990, coming in fourth behind three avowedly bourgeois parties.

The victor was Antall's right-wing nationalist Hungarian Democratic Forum (MFD), which shaded off toward fascism. These "democrats" openly glorified the fascistic interwar dictatorship of Admiral Horthy, which came to power by drowning in blood the 1919 Hungarian Commune. The MFD pushed blatant anti-Semitic and anti-Roma (Gypsy) racism, touted "Christian national values" and emphasized a policy of chauvinist irredentism. Thus, in a country of 10 million people, Antall was fond of proclaiming himself prime minister of 15 million Hungarians, referring to the minority populations in neighboring countries. The MFD's main opponents were pro-Western "neo-liberals," divided between an older layer of anti-Communist "dissidents" (the Free Democrats) and a coterie of self-absorbed yuppies (the Young Democrats). Once in office, Antall set about trying to recreate the old Hungarian gentry while carrying out the brutal austerity dictates of the International Monetary Fund.

The reaction of the masses of Hungarian workers to this counterrevolution carried out in the name of "democracy" was expressed by a middle-aged woman struggling to survive by selling fruit from a street stand after the textile mill where she had worked for 25 years went bankrupt:

"It's all thanks to democracy. For us ordinary people, life has got a lot worse over the past four years. We have become poorer and weaker. Some can no longer



Beliczay/NY Times

General Electric's takeover of Tungram electrical products company has brought massive layoffs and ferocious speedup. One-third of Tungram workers now live at or below official poverty level.

eat so well, and nobody feels sure about the future."

By May 1994, four years after being ousted from power, the venal ex-Stalinists were able to inflict a humiliating defeat on all the anti-Communist parties, both the right-wing nationalists and pro-Western neo-liberals. By the time of its demise, the MFD regime had not only antagonized the working class but had also alienated the bourgeois intelligentsia with its flagrant corruption and high-handed authoritarian methods. When the government fired 129 radio journalists last March in a blatant attempt to regiment the media, 30,000 demonstrators poured into the streets of Budapest to demand that the MFD regime stop "tampering with our brains."

Foreign Investment Fuels Economic Pauperization

Since the Budapest Stalinists had long engaged in "market socialism," Western industrialists and bankers viewed Hungary as relatively stable compared to other former Soviet bloc countries where the transition to capitalism appeared more conflict-ridden and chaotic. Since 1990 Hungary has received \$7 billion in foreign investment, more than all other East European countries combined. Yet Hungary's "success" in attracting Western capital has not lessened but rather *intensified* the exploitation and pauperization of the working masses.

As long as enterprises remain state-owned, even right-wing nationalist regimes face some political pressure to limit mass layoffs. Privatization, however, subjects the workers to the dictates of the world capitalist market in all their brutality. Hungary is the one country in the former Soviet sphere where employment has actually fallen *more* than output. Between 1990 and 1993, gross industrial output fell 33 percent, while

the industrial labor force was slashed even deeper, by 41 percent, resulting in a massive intensification of labor for those still employed.

Much of the foreign investment in Hungary was expressly intended to reduce, not augment, production. A number of Austrian firms, for example, bought up wholesale and retail outlets in order to market Austrian-made goods, displacing Hungarian products. Even the much-touted 1990 buyout of Tungram by General Electric has only further pauperized Hungarian workers. A giant manufacturer of electrical products, Tungram accounted for 3 percent of Hungary's gross national product and was quite competitive in international markets, supplying a significant share of headlights used by German automakers like Mercedes. In the Tungram venture, GE was looking for a cheap and easy way to break into the German electrical products market.

In the three years after the takeover, GE cut Tungram's labor force from 18,500 to 10,000 while implementing a ferocious speedup. Even the compliant trade-union officials complained: "We have reached the point where one person is doing the work of several people, and he can't do it in the normal 8 hours; he is doing it in 10" (*New York Times*, 10 March 1993). Yet even though they are producing far more per capita and are employed by a wealthy American-based multinational, more than a third of the remaining Tungram workers live in families at or below the official Hungarian poverty line!

An even worse fate was suffered by the 14,000 steel workers in the city of Ozd when a German outfit bought up their mill in 1990. A few years later, the German bosses decided the venture wasn't profitable and pulled out. Today, fewer than 2,000 workers are left trying



Bankuti/NY Times

The "magic of the marketplace": Thousands of homeless families sleep on streets and in train stations of Budapest, while a handful of Hungarian yuppies live it up.



Szabo/NY Times

to survive by processing scrap steel. Such bitter experiences produced a rapid popular disillusionment with the new "democratic," i.e., capitalist, order.

To the extent that the Western media covered Hungarian politics in the first phase of the counterrevolution, they focused on the rantings of the fascistic wing of Antall's MFD represented by Istvan Csurka, one of the party's six vice presidents. Csurka attacked Hungary's liberal president Arpad Goncz as a puppet of the "Paris-New York-Tel Aviv mafia" and raved that the former Communists "never admitted being Jewish while running the country." After this fascist demagogue broke from the MFD in 1993 and went into opposition, the London *Financial Times* (17 November 1993) wrote: "Mr. Horn and Mr. Csurka are competing for the anti-government vote, including the votes of those who believe that four years of painful changes have merely created a new wealthy class."

But there turned out to be no competition at all. Horn's Socialists won a sweeping electoral victory while the fascist blowhard Csurka got about 2 percent of the vote. In their own way, the Hungarian masses understood that Csurka was only offering a more extreme version of the nationalist and anti-Communist demagoguery which since 1990 has served as the ideological cover for economic immiseration. An 80-year-old pensioner explained rather plaintively why he supported the Socialists: "They have always been on our side. They want what we want. Peace and quiet and that

ity, on the two occasions when the MSZOSZ threatened general strikes over economic policy, the right-wing nationalist government was compelled to negotiate a compromise. For all their rabid anti-Communism, Antall, Csurka & Co. had no stomach for a confrontation with the organized working class.

MSZOSZ union head Sandor Nagy is perceived as representing the left wing of the Socialist Party, with Bekesi on the right and Horn occupying the center position. But no less than his social-democratic comrades, Nagy insists: "Nobody wants to bring back the former system; that's ridiculous and impossible" (*Washington Post*, 9 May 1994). However, the growing mass support for the Socialists was based precisely on a desire to restore at least a modicum of economic and social benefits from the old system. The single most important reason voters gave for supporting the Socialists was the belief that "things were better in the old days, when there were jobs and a secure existence." And right after the May elections, the director of Hungarian Gallup reported that the typical Socialist voter is "much more anti-market, anti-privatization, more for egalitarian values and social redistribution. They are traditional, old-time socialist supporters" (*Washington Post*, 31 May 1994).

The right-wing nationalist regime itself sought to turn the election into a referendum on the Communist era. Its main campaign tactic was to vilify Horn for participating in one of the Stalinist



Budapest workers topple statue of Stalin during 1956 proletarian political revolution.

working-class base, especially the trade unions. The Socialist tops can now claim anti-working-class and other unpopular measures are "necessary" to placate their coalition partners.

A half year after the Polish ex-Stalinist Social Democrats ousted the Solidarność gang, Western imperialist opinion had become somewhat more open to the change in political regimes in East Europe. An editorial in the *New York Times* (10 May 1994) remarked: "Former Communists might not be the ideal agents of market reforms in Eastern Europe. But they can—with help—get the job done." The job the ex-Stalinists are carrying out on behalf of international finance capital is the privatization or closure of wide swathes of Hungary's industry, leading to even more massive layoffs.

It is indicative of the lack of proletarian leadership in East Europe that the Hungarian masses could turn nowhere but to this "Socialist" party of capitalist austerity in their desperate desire to reverse the effects of capitalist counterrevolution. The lack of a revolutionary alternative was manifest in a conference held in Budapest last September, which drew some 60 leftists from East Europe and elsewhere to discuss "The Left at the Dawn of the 21st Century" (*Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, Autumn 1994). But while bemoaning the plight of mass unemployment and the failure of Stalinism and mainstream social democracy, the participants put forward little but stale New Left nostrums about defending "ecological and cultural structures," not even hinting at the need to sweep away the capitalist system.

The inevitable disillusionment with the Socialist/Free Democratic regime in Budapest could well produce strikes, big protests and a further leftward motion in Hungarian society. But in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, it could also lead to a resurgence of the fascistic right,

as mass frustration with "free market" immiseration is channeled into a chauvinist frenzy scapegoating Jews, Roma and other minorities. Even a Socialist spokesman has warned: "If we don't succeed, the pendulum will go to the right again and that is very scary." But the cravenly pro-capitalist social democrats cannot "succeed," either in piecing off a restive working class or in creating a fully fledged capitalist economy. To break the spine of a restive workers movement, capitalist counterrevolution will drive toward the establishment of a bonapartist or fascist dictatorship. In the absence of cohered capitalist relations, virulent national chauvinism serves as a battering ram for consolidating capitalist rule (see "East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution," *WV* Nos. 547 and 548, 20 March and 3 April 1992).

To prevent its further immiseration, if not wholesale destruction, the working class needs a party armed with an internationalist program of *socialist revolution* to sweep away the nascent bourgeois order. Such a party would rally behind the proletariat all layers of the oppressed, fighting chauvinist and fascist attacks on Hungary's sizable minorities of Jews and Roma, defending the rights of women and reaching out to the working masses throughout Europe, East and West. The Hungarian proletariat needs to resurrect the workers councils created in the 1956 Revolution, smashing the nascent capitalist state and thereby laying the basis for a democratically organized planned economy. Above all, for the egalitarian and socialist aspirations of Hungarian working people to be realized requires the leadership of a genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist party with an internationalist perspective aimed at extending socialist revolution particularly to the imperialist heartland of West Europe.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Belizay/NY Times

September 1993: Right-wing nationalists commemorate Admiral Horthy, butcher of 1919 Soviet Republic and fascistic dictator of interwar Hungary.

the price of bread doesn't go up every day. And of course doubling pensions."

Popular Front of "Free Market" Immiseration

Far from being on the workers' side, Horn & Co. are assertive advocates of "free market" economics whose slogan is "private property and social responsibility"! One Western business analyst in Budapest described the party's economic expert, László Bekesi, as the most right-wing socialist he had ever met. Trying to live up to that billing, Bekesi denounces any concession to economic populism: "We don't promise spending or fast improvements. We will bring in capital through privatization and bring down state expenditure" (*London Guardian*, 3 February 1994). Bekesi is the representative *par excellence* of that layer of former Stalinist apparatchiks turned capitalist entrepreneurs who form a major component of the Socialist Party's constituency.

However, the core of the party's social base is the organized working class. To an even greater degree than in Poland, the former official Stalinist union grouping, the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions (MSZOSZ), has transformed itself into the hegemonic economic organization of the working class. Feeble attempts to launch rival anti-Communist nationalist or liberal unions never got off the ground. When the right-wing government held elections for union representation to the national health insurance and pension funds in 1993, the ex-Stalinists won hands down. While the country has not experienced a high level of strike activ-

militias which suppressed the 1956 Revolution. All accounts agree that the red-baiting of Horn totally backfired. It convinced people that the ruling Democratic Forum was simply out for revenge and longed for a return to the Horthyite past. Indeed, shortly before his own death in late 1993, Antall presided over the spectacular official reburial of the fascistic dictator. Meanwhile, the bourgeois opposition parties—the Free Democrats and Young Democrats—attacked the government's economic policies from the neoliberal right, for not pursuing privatization and marketization aggressively enough.

As a result, the Socialists won an electoral victory of a far greater magnitude than anyone had expected, winning 209 out of 386 seats in the parliament. But far from welcoming this landslide, Horn & Co. feared that they would now come under massive pressure to meet the demands of their working-class and plebeian base. So they quickly agreed to a coalition government with the anti-Communist neo-liberals of the Free Democrats. The motive for this bloc between a party of former Stalinist apparatchiks and a party of former anti-Communist "dissidents" was cynically explained by Free Democratic leader László Rajk: "the Socialists don't want to be the only ones around to be blamed next time."

The present coalition in Hungary demonstrates in a very clear way the nature of popular-frontism since there was no obstacle whatsoever to forming a purely Socialist government. The sole and obvious reason for this coalition with a bourgeois party was to provide Horn & Co. with a counterweight to their party's

Auschwitz...

(continued from page 4)

up its gruesome history. Now we are told that infamous concentration camps like Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald were sites not of Nazi crimes but of "Stalinist dictatorship"! And recently, this "revisionist" campaign, which is rewriting history, went a step further when a court in Mannheim, Germany alibied current Nazi leader Deckert, describing his bloody anti-Semitic denial of the Holocaust—under the code word "Auschwitz lie"—as strengthening the "power of resistance of the German people against Jewish claims stemming from the Holocaust."

Rosa Luxemburg emphasized that humanity stands before the alternatives: socialism or barbarism. Auschwitz epitomized capitalist barbarism. We stand, like this great revolutionary fighter, for the unity of the proletariats of Poland,

Germany and all the lands of the former Soviet Union. It was in this same spirit that the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald—Austrian, French, Belgian and German Trotskyists—fought in that concentration camp for their revolutionary program. In their declaration of April 1945 (reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 26, Winter 1979), shortly after the liberation of Buchenwald, they wrote:

"To prevent the restabilization of the German bourgeoisie, facilitated by imperialist antagonisms, and to establish workers power, the revolutionary struggle of the working class of each country against its own bourgeoisie is necessary...."

"The proletariat can fulfill its historic task only under the leadership of a new world revolutionary party. The creation of this party is the most pressing task of the most advanced sections of the working class. International revolutionary cadres have already come together to construct this world party in the struggle against capitalism and its reformist and Stalinist agents." ■

Young Spartacus

For the Separation of Church and State!

White House Pushes School Prayer

The American ruling class is trying to reintroduce a "moment of silence" and "voluntary" prayer in public schools as part of their reactionary "family values" campaign. Make no mistake—the "moment of silence" mandate is but a prelude to an organized school prayer amendment to the Constitution.

Led from the White House by Baptist Bill Clinton and in Congress by Georgia's Newt Gingrich, this attack is pushed by an army of ultrarightists whose program is to liquidate public education, abolish abortion, introduce creationism and eliminate all mention of AIDS prevention, sex education and homosexuality in the classroom. In July 1994, the Senate passed a bill to cut dwindling federal funds to public schools that don't kowtow to court-ordered "constitutionally protected" school prayer. Such all-sided social regimentation is designed to groom another generation of youth as cannon fodder in the next imperialist war.

Despite the 1962 Supreme Court ruling against organized prayer and Bible readings as violations of the First Amendment, the blight of school prayer has been quietly infecting school districts across the nation. According to a report in the *Boston Globe* (4 December 1994), already Massachusetts, the District of Columbia and six Southern states have either proposed or enacted moment-of-silence measures, or "voluntary" prayer before sports or graduation events, in the last year. There are an estimated 12,000 Bible groups holding prayer sessions before classes in schools around the country. Particularly in the

South, religion is increasingly integrated into the school day.

In August of last year, Brian Bown, a high-school teacher in Snellville, Georgia, was fired for continuing to teach his

per" by classmates because he refused to participate in Bible class in Ecu, Mississippi. His mother Lisa, a Lutheran who doesn't want her kids to be told what to pray, is courageously suing the

schools. In Merrimack, New Hampshire, the school board is debating whether to teach "creationism" in science class, but doesn't want to spend the money for a phone line for a computer network!

The separation of church and state remains one of the most basic gains of the first American Revolution. The right to bear arms is being chipped away, the right to citizenship faces an all-sided attack, and the right to be free from unreasonable search and seizure is nearly a dead letter. We need a socialist revolution! As we said in our "To Hell with School Prayer" article:

"The Moral Majority bigots' vision of the "perfect" American society is one that is completely segregated—put blacks in one school, Jewish kids in another, and the WASPs will be able to pray together happily ever after. In spite of its religious and ethnic diversity, though, the United States is a white Protestant country, the prayers will be white Protestant prayers, and those children who don't mouth along will be branded as un-American."

—*Young Spartacus* No. 117,
April 1984

Ten years later, with racism against immigrants and minorities being whipped up to new heights through Proposition 187, the danger posed for all types of minorities is even more palpable. What will happen to Spanish-speaking Catholic children when it's their "turn" to lead prayers? Or to French-speaking black Haitians, Muslims or Jews? It will be the likes of Gingrich and North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms who will decide which prayers are acceptable.

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Birmingham, Alabama: Spartacists join in defense of abortion clinic last spring against religious bigots. Particularly in the Deep South, prayer is creeping into the school day.

class during the state-mandated moment of silence. After Mississippi passed a law earlier this year allowing "voluntary" student-led prayer in the public schools, eleven-year-old David Herdahl was branded an "atheist" and "devil worship-

state. As an indication of the level of hysterical absurdity this campaign has reached, Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders was recently fired for mentioning the dreaded "m" word (masturbation) at a conference on sex education in public

Mexico City: Youth Spike Fascist Provocation

On January 12, a march of 30,000 or more people poured into the Zócalo, Mexico City's huge central plaza, on the first anniversary of the huge 1994 march against the government's bloody assault on the Zapatista insurgents in Chiapas. The demonstration was organized by various popular-frontist and pacifist organizations whose main demand was for "peace" in Mexico's poorest and southernmost state. But on their arrival, a sinister group of fascists had set up shop in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral with a swastika banner.

These disgusting vermin have gathered on and off for months in the Zócalo, pasting up quotations from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, spewing anti-Semitic filth and waving swastikas. In a grotesque attempt to appeal to Mexican nationalism, they carried a sign claiming that the swastika was an "Aztec symbol." The fascists seek to obscure the fact that their hero Hitler would have liked to

exterminate all Indian and dark-skinned people.

After the march arrived at the Zócalo, members of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) took swift action to see that the fascists' grotesque provocation was soundly spiked. Upon seeing the fascists, a handful of Spartacists organized an on-the-spot united front with an anarchist youth group. About 20 of the young anarchists joined us in agitating more than a hundred of the assembled demonstrators, while together we ripped the fascists' banners to shreds and scared the living daylight out of the Hitler-loving scum.

While the crowd enthusiastically applauded this act of sanitation, the fascists screamed that the anti-fascist youth were "dopers" and "troublemakers," and yelled slurs at us. They tried to physically attack one of our comrades, but were effectively repulsed. The fascists even started to chant "Marcos! Mar-

cos!" (the Zapatistas' subcomandante in Chiapas) to show that as nationalists they're "with" the insurgents. They were shouted down by the chant of "Fascists! Fascists!" by the emboldened crowd.

This was an important victory. These scum have been polluting the Zócalo too long, and they're feeding off strong undercurrents of anti-Semitism in Mexico today, despite the country's tiny Jewish population. The fascists' scapegoating of Jews for the economic anguish caused by decaying capitalism, recently intensified by the Mexican stock market crash and the plunge of the peso, is deadly poison to Mexican workers and peasants. Unfortunately, it is also on the rise.

A major publishing house just put out a deluxe book on the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy," an anti-Semitic, anti-communist screed. At the end of December, fascists painted slogans on the outside walls of the Trotsky Museum in

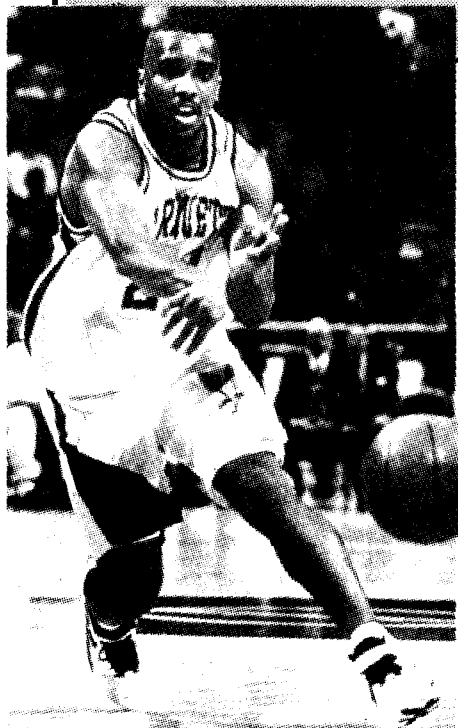
Coyoacán, a southern suburb of Mexico City where Leon Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist agent in 1940. They painted "Hitler was right," "Jews Out," and "Communist Pigs" on the walls surrounding the building. Trotsky founded the Red Army, which not only smashed the bloody perpetrators of anti-Jewish pogroms during the Bolshevik Revolution, but later crushed Hitler's Holocaust machine.

Last year, our comrades dealt these fascists another blow when they tried to desecrate the memory of the martyrs of Tlatelolco, the hundreds of student demonstrators massacred by the Mexican army during the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City. When the fascists marched with a large swastika at a 2 October 1994 demonstration to commemorate the massacre, our comrades led enraged protesters in destroying and burning this symbol of genocide. As the GEM wrote afterward in a press statement, the fascists' provocations are:

"a deadly threat against every leftist, trade-union or student activist; against every Indian, black person, Asian, gay or lesbian, Jew or other minority member. Mobilizing the power of the working class, there must be a firm response that drives back the Hitler-lovers, who want to whip up racist massacres, when they crawl out of their holes with their deadly racist poison. Down with racism! We must put a stop to these racist provocations!" ■

Hoop Dreams and Racist American Reality

A Review



John Biever

William Gates plays at Marquette University.

Two 14-year-old black basketball players dream of making it to the pros and out of the ghetto. Off court, their days and nights are spent playing or watching the game and struggling against the poverty and pains of everyday life. One, Arthur Agee, plans to buy his mother a house and move out of a neighborhood plagued by drugs and gang violence. The other, William Gates, wants to realize the hopes of his mother and of his brother, who failed to make the pros. These are their simple "Hoop Dreams." Today, they are in their last year of college ball, Arthur at Arkansas State and William at Marquette University.

The filmmakers—Steve James, Frederick Marx and Peter Gilbert—set out in 1986 to document what happens to two high-school ball players' aspirations for a college scholarship and a shot at NBA fame. Most documentaries never make it off the art-house circuit, but *Hoop Dreams* has been shown widely for months. At the New York Film Festival in October, when the audience realized the filmmakers were in the theater with the Gates and Agee families, the crowd erupted in a 10-minute standing ovation. The film and the families deserve it.

The idea of basketball as a ticket out of the ghetto is neither particularly exceptional nor new. Isiah Thomas and Mark Aguirre—two pros who climbed out of Chicago's West Side ghettos—could easily be the ones traced in the documentary that follows Arthur and William for five years, from the schoolyard through college recruitment to graduation. What stands out is not hoops and hoopla, but the gnawing pressures of ghetto life in racist capitalist America under Reagan/Bush and the Democrats.

The bourgeoisie's program of "Genocide U.S.A."—homelessness, welfare cuts, mass layoffs and racism—is seen whenever the camera wanders from the basketball courts. No matter how diligent and determined these youths are to make it out of the ghetto, they are increasingly held back by thousands of negative pressures. *Hoop Dreams* is a window not only on the young ballplayers' careers, but also on the lives of families headed by black women who find a way to sustain self-respect and sanity when the system tells them they are less than nothing.

The film begins with the two youths full of optimism after a black scout of schoolyards and grammar schools taps them for the prestigious St. Joseph's summer recruitment camp. Over the years, their spirits are eroded by bitter race and class oppression. At St. Joseph, a predominantly white, suburban powerhouse in Chicago's rigorous basketball Catholic League, William wins a starting position on the varsity squad. Arthur is slotted for the starting guard spot on the junior varsity. Both students' reading level: the fourth grade.

The youths' treatment at St. Joseph's spawns a sense of cynicism and crashes their illusions in the game as "sport." Their lengthy commute from the ghetto to posh suburbia makes palpable the gross inequality and stresses how enforced racist segregation widens the gap between whites and blacks in everyday life. At St. Joseph's they can taste opportunity daily, but only if their jump shots fall. (Angered by what is revealed in *Hoop Dreams*, the coach and school recently filed suit against the filmmakers and the distributor, Fine Line.)

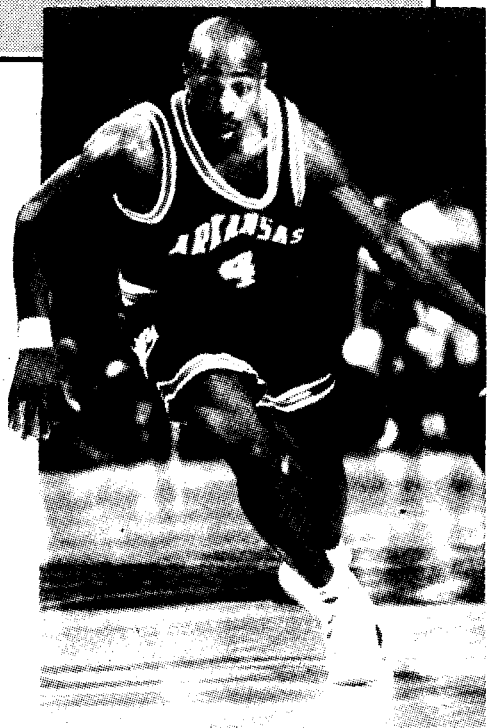
William advances on the court and makes leaps in school. Because he is considered a "blue chip" player who will lead the team to the state playoffs, he is treated to tutors, summer jobs and a financial "sponsor" who covers his tuition. Branded "the next Isiah," when William suffers a knee injury and endures two operations, St. Joseph's insurance foots the bill.

Meanwhile, Arthur is constantly asked by St. Joseph's coach Gene Pingatore when he's "going to grow" taller and he doesn't meet expectations. Says Pingatore: "I can see playground and talent but no confidence." Midway through

Arthur's freshman year, when his father is laid off his job, the family falls behind in its bills and the school quickly dumps him because the tuition isn't paid. After six weeks out of school, Arthur starts over at unranked Marshall High, a typically substandard, predominantly black public school on Chicago's economically depressed West Side. Ironically, Pingatore later watches Arthur lead Marshall in the state playoffs.

Arthur's difficulties are a mirror of his life at home. His family begins a slow descent—the lights are turned off, the gas cut off, the welfare payments stalled. But for his eighteenth birthday, his mother prepares pies, cakes and fried chicken for a party. She notes with pride the fact that her son is still alive while many of his peers are already dead. Weeks later, public assistance also recognizes Arthur's birthday. Welfare is reduced to \$268 a month for a family of five because Arthur—though still in school—is no longer eligible for welfare payments, based on the racist presumption that a black male who is 18 years old has probably already dropped out. For many youth on welfare, the state works to enforce the necessity of leaving school for dead-end, low-wage jobs or worse.

One of *Hoop Dreams*' most moving scenes takes place in a tiny auditorium devoid of fans and cheers. Arthur's mother receives her nursing aide's certificate and wins top rank in her class after months of struggling. Her husband, laid off from two industrial jobs in a row, has fallen into a desperate cycle of drug abuse and crime. She views her graduation as a real chance to lift her family from the welfare rolls. Anyone who doesn't already know it can easily figure out what Bill Clinton's pledge to



Patrick Murphy-Racey

Arthur Agee is an Arkansas State senior.

"end welfare as we know it" would mean for the Agees: instead of fried bread, hot dogs and ketchup as a vegetable, complete starvation.

The effects of a system that values black life only to the extent that a profit can be made off of it is reflected in Arthur and William's careers and the lives of many like them. City streets, welfare offices, drug rehab centers and schoolyard courts are filled with former high-school stars who were a step too slow. In 1983, Harry Edwards, the black sociologist who helped organize the "black power" protests at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico, estimated that there were about 1,400 professional black athletes and only 2,400 black people who make a living through sports-related entertainment. The Center for the Study of Sport and Society at Northeastern University

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It's Nobody's Business!

Columbia Witchhunts S&M Discussion Club

The following letter was submitted for publication to the Columbia Daily Spectator by a member of the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club.

To the Editor:

We protest Earl Hall's vicious ouster of Conversio Virium (CV), a group that discusses sadomasochism and consensual practices of sexual bondage. The move by the Earl Hall Student Governing Board smacks of the Spanish Inquisition, when priests and religious bigots ruled the day. This modern-day assault on individual freedom dovetails with the right-wing sweep in the November midterm elections.

Students in CV are under attack for merely discussing a variety of sexual

practices deemed too different by a few haughty, patrician bureaucrats of the SGB. Perversion, it has been noted, is not what you do, it's what someone else likes. Some SGB members apparently hope to enforce Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich's anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-sex "family values" at Columbia. What's next? Will Earl Hall issue an edict insisting on the missionary position for all registered clubs?

At the "open" meeting of Earl Hall clubs on December 1, 1994, opponents of CV raised bogus concerns about "safety" and "responsibility" as well as the anti-sex feminists' false claim that S&M pornography leads to violence against women. In fact, the real reason for the frenzied assault on CV is close-

minded prudery and hypocritical moralism. Columbia believes it is above the laws that nominally accord democratic rights—rights won through hard struggles by working people against the arrogant ruling class.

The attack on CV is but the latest in the sordid history of witchhunting at Earl Hall. Last fall, our group, the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club, defeated the SGB's attempt at censoring the political views that Columbia students could have access to. The FOSYC was singled out for harassment and suppression for our insistence that revolutionary Marxists have the right to openly advocate their views on campus.

The fight to reinstate CV is an act of elementary self-defense for the democratic rights of Columbia students, faculty and workers. People ought to be able to read, eat, drink, smoke, and enjoy whatever consensual activities they choose, without the SGB's dictatorial interference. If CV members want to discuss, (or, GASP!) even try, S&M, it's nobody's business.

Sincerely,

David Yourman,
for the Friends of the
Spartacus Youth Club

Political Exclusion Defeated at Clinic

Across the country, Spartacus Youth Club members have been part of abortion clinic defense against escalating "right-to-life" terror, fighting for mass mobilizations to protect the clinics. The following Washington, D.C. report tells how we politically defeated liberals attempting to exclude this strategy on the clinic front lines.

JANUARY 22—Yesterday was the annual mobilization by anti-abortion bigots seeking to shut down the clinics on the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. Seven Spartacists in Washington arrived at 5 a.m. at the Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force's staging area for dispatching defenders. About 150 people came to the site, the lobby of an office building.

When we began to distribute our paper, we started getting harassed immediately inside the building by people wearing sashes saying "Peacekeeper"! They told us not to distribute our paper, followed us around and even told one member that he couldn't talk to anyone! This brought to mind a Peter Tosh song one of our members began to sing: "Everyone is crying out for peace, yes/No one is crying out for justice/I don't want no peace. I want equal rights and justice!"

The "peacekeepers" certainly didn't care for that! But a group of anarchists agreed with what we had to say about no reliance on the cops, the state, and about the BATF and Bill Clinton and Janet Reno's slaughter in Waco, Texas. They defended our comrade.



Washington, D.C., 21 January: Spartacist clinic defenders oppose liberals' reliance on cops and federal troops to "protect" women.

We arrived at the Hillcrest clinic in southeast Washington at around 7:30 a.m. We joined a line of about 60 people, including 20 escorts at the front of the building and the rest around the back with arms linked. When we took out our signs, the "peacekeepers" came over and said we weren't allowed because we didn't have "identifier" yellow/green ribbons. Of course, in order to get one, we'd have to sign a ludicrous statement vowing to obey the police, remain non-

violent and avoid any chants or signs that weren't "in good taste."

They were particularly incensed by one sign: "For the right of armed self-defense! No to gun control!" In the wake of the anti-abortion bloodbath in Boston, this would seem an elementary point of agreement for all clinic defenders. But in this instance, the liberal ladies of Washington—with Socialist Action as their attack dogs—couldn't stand it. We argued forcefully to keep our signs up,

Prayer...

(continued from page 8)

Any interference by the government in religious matters is inherently coercive and an outright move toward the establishment of a state religion.

And unlike the so-called "socialists" of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who ran a full-page article in their December 1993 issue of *Socialist Worker*, "Jesus Christ SUPER-RED?", real Marxists don't capitulate to religious reaction. Citing not Marx or Lenin, but the Bible, the *Socialist Worker* claims: "The revolutionary message, odd fragments of which survive, embedded in the New Testament is the real starting point of what became Christianity." Lest anyone think the ISO partial to Christ only, they've also capitulated to Islamic

reactionaries seeking to enslave women in the veil (see "Third Camp' Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism," WV No. 613, 30 December 1994). As communists, we in the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League assert that organized religion has time and time again played a prominent role in supporting reaction—from the Vatican's support to the fascists in World War II, to Khomeini's enslavement of women in Iran in the name of Islamic fundamentalism, to religious bigots fueling anti-abortion terror in this country.

It is indicative of the depths of capitalism's degeneration that the present ruling class can so embrace the revival of state-sponsored religion, spitting on the old bourgeois ideals of free speech and freedom of (and from) religion won in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nine-

teenth centuries. Notably, even Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and many other signers of the Declaration of Independence polemicized at great length against Christianity, knowing full well the historical lessons of the brutal religious wars in Europe.

During the days of the Paris Commune in 1871 (the first attempt by the working class to take power), one of the revolutionaries' first acts was to abolish all special privileges held by the church, confiscating wealth and property. Russia's Bolsheviks learned from the experience of the Communards and wiped out religious obscurantism through the workers' seizure of power in 1917. Today, it is no less true than it was in Karl Marx's time that it is the communists who fight for the separation of church and state. Keep god out of it! Religion out of the classroom! ■

and also had to defend carrying another sign: "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Racist Death Penalty = Legal Lynching!"

Several of these "peacekeepers," including Socialist Action members, could not stomach linking the defense of the clinics and the defense of a black political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. They said it had nothing to do with abortion. The point is simple: "pro-life" bigots are also pro-death-penalty racists.

Our comrades confronted and defeated this exclusion attempt politically. The clinic defenders who were gathered listened attentively to our arguments about how capitalist counterrevolution in Poland crushed women's rights, including the right to abortion, and pointed to "Socialist" Action's role as U.S. cheerleaders for the anti-woman program of Solidarność.

The "peacekeepers" threatened to call the cops to get us off sacred "private property." A couple of them actually did go running to the cops, while others simply huddled. We held up our signs, argued loudly for our views and showed our paper, which featured our program for defense of the clinics through mass mobilizations. A few minutes later, one "peacekeeper" bought an issue of *Workers Vanguard*. A couple of others then told us we could stay, urging one among their ranks to "cool it." It was smooth sailing after that. Later that day, a young black woman who was there with us applied for membership in the youth club! ■

Hoop Dreams...

(continued from page 9)

in Boston estimates that 545,000 high-school seniors are playing varsity basketball but no more than 50 will make it to the pros.

Fewer than 10 percent of all athletic scholarships go to blacks and even that small number is under attack. Beginning in 1996-97, stricter standards for college athletes will require that prospective freshman varsity players attain a higher minimum grade point average in required courses, linked to the notoriously biased "standardized" national test scores, to get scholarships.

The segregation which maintains blacks as a race-color caste at the bottom of society is replicated in the world of sports. When Arthur makes it to Mineral Area Junior College in Flat River, Missouri, he is housed with other basketball players in an isolated, tiny brick shack far from the school. Of the seven black students at the school, six live in the house. They are there only

because they can play ball.

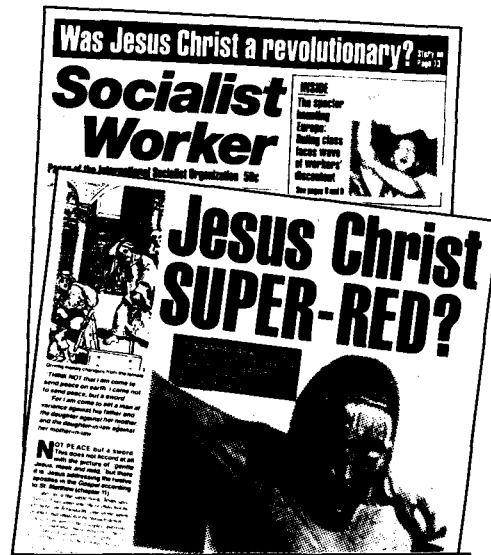
Throughout the film, it's clear that school is merely a holding pen at Marshall; pricier programs and facilities grace St. Joseph. But neither school really cares whether the kids can read or write. The summer before his senior year, William attends an invitation-only recruitment camp at Princeton University where one scout remarks that the camp is a "meat market" but that he does his job well in delivering "professional meat."

For those athletes who do get into college, often the only education they get is reading a playbook or learning to comprehend defense patterns on a chalkboard. As an answer to the grossly inadequate miseducation dealt out under capitalism, the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand open admissions and no tuition at all colleges and universities, remedial programs for those who have suffered from an inadequate education and a living stipend paid by the state for all students.

For many minority youth, who find doors of opportunity slammed shut elsewhere, sports often provide an escape from grinding poverty and oppression.

Involvement in sports allows a fleeting connection—however hopeful and illusory—to those talented few who do make it to the big league and big money. Even the drug dealers in Arthur's neighborhood are eager to offer him and other ballplayers pocket money for sought-after sneakers, playing small investor on the ground floor of a big capitalist enterprise. The hope that these schoolmates can make it to the pros is a powerful "opium of the people." The cruel reality for most of the young players and their neighborhood fans is that there is no way out.

Sports is about the only profession where, for a few short, grueling years, black people can earn six- and seven-figure incomes. But even for the lucky ones, the "American Dream" is a brutal nightmare. In 1993, the "Hampton Four," including prep school star Allen Iverson (now a starter at Georgetown) became an example of how the closed sports world is no escape from brutal racist oppression. Iverson spent a year in jail after being sentenced to five years behind bars for the "crime" of fighting



Socialist Worker panders to backward religious obscurantism. We say: Keep god out of it!

back against a racist provocation. Liberal columnists at the *Village Voice* now slanderously taint his career with the label "jailbird."

Over two decades ago, basketball legend Kareem Abdul-Jabbar told *Sports Illustrated* writer Jack Olsen:

"Yes, I was just like the rest of those black athletes you've read about, the ones that put all their waking energies into learning the moves. That might be a sad commentary on America in general, but that's the way it's going to be until black people can flow without prejudice into any occupation they can master. For now it's still pretty much music and sports for us."

Hoop Dreams shows that virtually nothing has changed and that the fantasy of making it big in the sports world is still the hope many inner-city youth cling to. The way out of such all-sided oppression is through a sharp fight against the racist profit system and its ruling class. We need a revolutionary party that will mobilize the power of the working class and all the oppressed to struggle for a future where anyone can afford their dreams. ■

Philly Cops' Bloody Racist Record

Black Plainclothes Policewoman Beaten

Mumia Abu-Jamal is today battling for his life on Pennsylvania's death row after being framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop. Even the most cursory look at the sordid racist record of Philly's cops and courts demonstrates why this courageous fighter for black rights did not have and could not have had a fair trial in that indecent *injustice* system.

The 13 May 1985 police/FBI bombing which killed eleven members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, five of them children, was a defining moment in the racist government's war on "troublesome" black people, representing "the signature of the Reagan years," as we wrote at the time. The fiery mass murder, which also destroyed the entire black neighborhood which had complained about their MOVE neighbors, was the culmination of a decade-long vendetta waged by the Philadelphia police department against the black commune. In 1978, 600 cops brutally assaulted MOVE's earlier Powelton Village home; when one cop was killed in the crossfire, twelve MOVE members were framed up

officer a report of a missing child at a North Philadelphia house shortly after midnight. While Cureton went upstairs, the other policeman scuffled with a woman resident, then radioed for help. Unaware of the "assist officer" call, Cureton came back downstairs and was standing with her back to the door when as many as 20 uniformed cops swarmed into the house swinging clubs and metal flashlights.

Cureton was grabbed by the hair, dragged outside to the front porch and severely beaten with flashlights, billy clubs and fists by the frenzied mob of cops. Despite her and her partner's screams that she was a police officer, "they just beat the living hell out of me," recalled Cureton. "I personally believe they saw black, they grabbed me, and they did what they had the opportunity to do." Although Cureton still suffers dizziness, nausea and headaches from the flashlight blows to her head, she has been ordered to return to work by the Philadelphia police department, which refuses to comment on the incident.

and in Klan robes. By the 1920s, Pennsylvania had become the state with the fourth-largest Ku Klux Klan concentration, and Philly was the state's eastern center for the KKK, with 30,000 members in 1922.

During World War II, while black soldiers were supposedly fighting for "democracy" overseas—in segregated units—black workers in Philly were subjected to a racist onslaught. When the CIO moved to organize workers at the Philadelphia Transportation Company against a company "union" (whose slogan was "a vote for the CIO is a vote for n-----s on the job"), the transit bosses organized a six-day "work stoppage" against the federally ordered hiring of eight black workers.

The cops and city officials played along, claiming they were "helpless" to stop the racist mobilization, until Roosevelt ordered the army to move in to enforce the wartime no-strike laws. Some Southern soldiers took the opportunity to try to impose Jim Crow segregation on the city's buses, provoking



Adrienne Cureton, victim of vicious beating by her fellow cops.

leaders. "The way to treat criminals is *spacco il capo* [break their heads]," Rizzo often said. Thereafter, the promotions came fast and furious for the "Cisco Kid," and by 1964, Rizzo was deputy commissioner, cracking heads in the ghettos as thousands protested against police brutality. It was at this time that Rizzo put together the special team of sharpshooters which later drove fleeing MOVE members back into their burning house in 1985.

In 1966, as the civil rights movement raised the hopes of Philly's beleaguered black population, Rizzo mobilized a battalion of 80 riot cops backed up by a thousand reserves to raid four SNCC meetings, and was appointed police commissioner for his thuggery. The next year, Rizzo unleashed his goons against 3,500 black high-school students protesting the lousy education in Philly's rundown, segregated schools. Rizzo also carried out a vendetta against the Black Panthers, whose anti-racist militancy made them a target for cop attack around the country. He organized a system of mobile arsenals that patrolled designated areas in black neighborhoods, to be used by busloads of riot cops. Rizzo, who once boasted, "I'm gonna make Attila the Hun look like a faggot," became a national icon for the racist "law and order" crowd, and remains so for the gangsters in blue who carry on his legacy.

This is the city in which Mumia Abu-Jamal was "tried" and sentenced to die. Philadelphia's racist history makes any idea of justice a bad joke, especially for black people. There *cannot* be an unbiased judicial process because the people charged with carrying it out want exactly the opposite of justice. In the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, we place no faith in the capitalist courts, but rather seek a massive mobilization tapping the social power of the proletariat. Ultimately, it will take a socialist revolution to mete out justice to the ruling-class perpetrators of racist terror and their hired guns. ■



Racist vendetta against MOVE: murderous bombing of Osage Avenue commune by FBI/cops in May 1985. Right, 600 cops assaulted MOVE home in August 1978, brutally beating Delbert Africa.

and thrown in prison for years.

The bombing of MOVE was an atrocity unequalled until Clinton and Reno's 1993 Waco holocaust, but the Philadelphia political establishment and bourgeois press approved it as a successful conclusion to the "MOVE problem." MOVE had been vilified for years in the media, and one of the only voices raised in their defense had been black radio journalist and former Black Panther leader Mumia Abu-Jamal. For a long time, the Philadelphia cops had regarded Jamal as a thorn in their side and targeted him for elimination. In 1981, they made their move, and ever since the Fraternal Order of Police has waged a ceaseless vendetta for Jamal's execution.

The Philadelphia police department has a long, bloody tradition of racist terror, operating like a gang of white ethnic toughs defending their turf through murderous violence against "uppity" darker-skinned people. This was made crystal clear by the late, unlamented police-chief-cum-mayor Frank Rizzo, who railed, "Nobody is going to take the streets away from the cops." To these thugs in blue, all blacks and minorities are "perps" to be brutalized, as unfortunate black policewoman Adrienne Cureton found out when she was jumped, choked and beaten by a gang of "Philadelphia's finest" while on duty January 2.

Cureton, a 26-year-old Juvenile Aid plainclothes officer with six years on the force, was investigating with another

Cureton has likened herself to "Rodney King—only I'm a cop." Cops, including black cops, are used to doling out vicious brutality. They aren't usually on the receiving end of the billy club—unless they are among the few who happen to be the wrong color.

Philadelphia brings its own pronounced racist pathology to how it deals with black people. The race question has always been intense in this city, which was historically dominated by Italian and Irish immigrants, and the growing population of potential black voters has done nothing to alleviate that. It's no surprise to most black people in the "City of Brotherly Love" that Philly's cops act like a gang of deranged ethnics, meting out less justice than you'd get from the Mafia. In the 1950s, the huge North Philly ghetto was grotesquely labeled "The Jungle" by the local press, while the cops repeatedly subjected it to "anti-crime" campaigns. Former mayor Wilson Goode, black front man for the 1985 cop/FBI massacre of MOVE, recently revealed in his memoir, *In Goode Faith*, that he stayed away from Osage Avenue that day because he feared the police planned to assassinate him.

Black and labor historian Philip Foner described Philadelphia as "the most anti-Negro city in the North and the most segregated metropolis above the Mason-Dixon line." With the mass migration of black people North during World War I came forcible segregation into ghettos, enforced by racist thugs both in uniform



UPI photos

mass resistance from outraged black riders. The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party reported: "At the height of the strike, a colored worker rang the famous Liberty Bell and shouted, 'Oh Liberty Bell, where is your liberty?' The capitalist court sent him to a mental institution for asking such a question" (*Militant*, 19 August 1944).

The year before, the man who was to leave an indelible racist imprint on the city, Philly's own godfather of repression, Frank Rizzo, joined the police department. As a rookie, Rizzo gained the notice of the Democratic Party machine for beating up Republican ward

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Racist Hitmen...

(continued from page 1)

is to see to it that layers of the minority population die, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them."

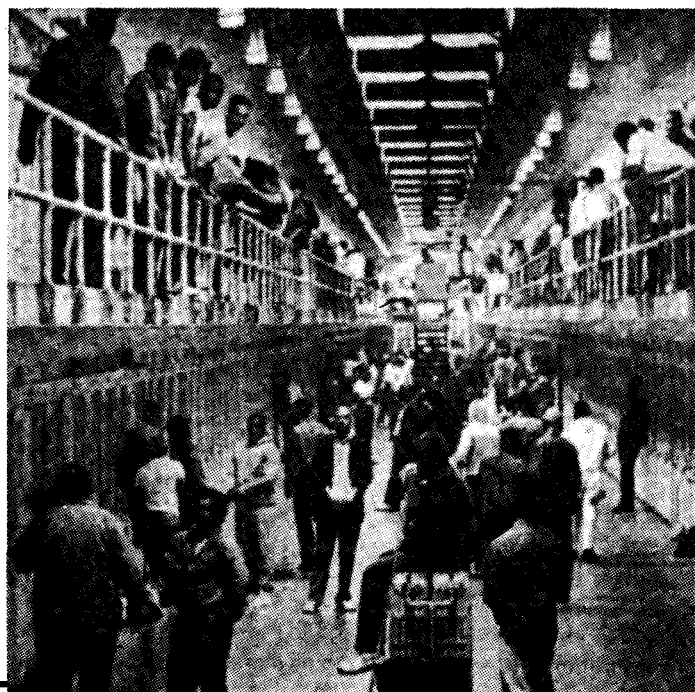
Clinton's 1992 pledge to raise the minimum wage, which keeps a family of four \$2,000 below the poverty line, never materialized. Now Republicans on Capitol Hill vow to reject any increase, while House majority leader Dick Army has announced he wants to do away with the minimum wage altogether. For the poor, sick, old and unemployed in today's America, the only thing you're "entitled" to is to starve. But there's plenty of welfare for the rich, like the 50 percent cut in the capital gains tax promised in the "Contract With America."

To grasp how wide the gap has grown between the haves and have-nots in the U.S. today, look at New York City, the center of finance capital, where nearly two million people try to exist on welfare. By the end of the "greed decade" of the 1980s, the top fifth of Manhattan households made 32 times as much as the bottom fifth. The income disparity there is second in the U.S. only to a part of Hawaii where a handful of houses lies near a former leper colony! The destruction of New York's diversified manufacturing base meant the loss of 600,000



Rubin/JB Pictures

Black youth face permanent unemployment, increasing imprisonment. Over fifty percent of state and federal prison population today is black.



Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

tion in and leadership of the convulsive social struggles that will erupt in this country and internationally.

Right-Wing Reaction Against Blacks, Women, Immigrants

The elections marked the "revenge of the suburbs," as right-wing forces mobilized the "angry white man" vote by going after blacks and immigrants while promising "middle class" tax breaks. A key actor in the Republican campaign was the Christian Coalition, founded by "televangelist" Pat Robertson after his run for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination.

Of late, these fundamentalist fanatics have tried to posture as sane spokesmen for a "balanced budget" and "fiscal responsibility." But Pat Robertson's new best seller, *The New World Order*, reveals the full, chillingly reactionary agenda of the Christian right. The book is a Bible Belt rehash of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, portraying the French and Russian Revolutions as a satanic conspiracy hatched by a secret society of "Illuminati" and bankrolled by Jews. He even paints the Cold War as a plot by Jewish bankers to enrich themselves by financing military spending! Robertson spews venom at "liberal, secular Jews" who promote "unrestricted freedom for smut, pornography and the murder of the unborn":

"The part that Jewish intellectuals and media activists have played in the assault on Christianity may very possibly prove to be a grave mistake.... American Jews invested great energy in attacking these very allies. That investment may pay a terrible dividend."

Despite Robertson's Nazi-like rantings about an international Jewish bankers' conspiracy, right-wing Zionists like the *Commentary* crowd nonetheless defend him as a "friend of Israel." If he's a friend of the Zionist state, it's because his long-term program is to expel Jews from "Christian America" and have them

live in the Near East whether they want to or not.

This racist, anti-Semitic trash is not far removed from the views of the reactionary politicians Robertson worked to elect. Gingrich's Congressional district comprises the white enclaves north of black Atlanta like Cobb County, where 130 years ago the slaveholders' Confederate Army made its last stand against General Sherman's march through Georgia and where today the timeworn bashing of Jewish, black and immigrant New York is as holy as the "Good Book."

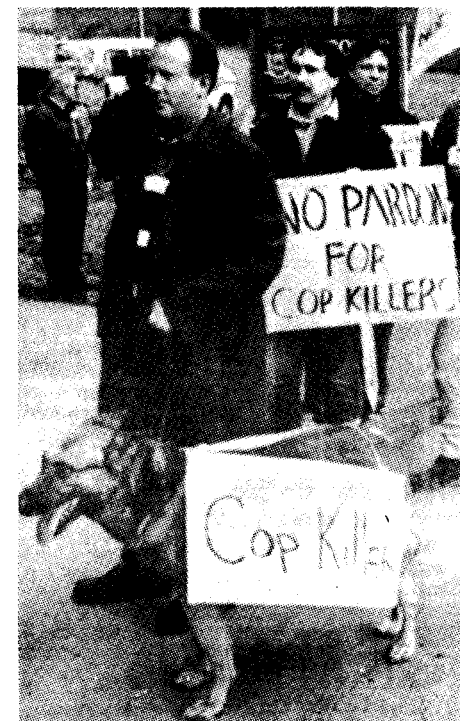
One of Gingrich's first acts as Congressional leader was to appoint one Christina Jeffrey, a fellow teacher from his days at Kennesaw State University in Marietta, as House historian. Gingrich was forced to dump her when her record as a Nazi apologist was aired. In 1986, as a member of an Education Department panel, this "historian" helped deny federal funding for an educational program about the Holocaust because it didn't give "the Nazi point of view" nor "that of the Ku Klux Klan" (see "Reagan's Amerika," WV No. 437, 2 October 1987).

Another "ideological" force in Clinton/Gingrich's America is Charles Murray, whose 1984 book, *Losing Ground*, is largely responsible for framing the current move to eliminate welfare for single mothers. As the co-author of *The Bell Curve*, pseudoscientific garbage denouncing blacks as genetically prone to ignorance and criminal behavior, Murray is the leading ideologue in legitimizing the genocidal onslaught against the black ghetto masses as a *surplus population*.

Sex, Shame and the State

First on the government hit list is the young, black, single welfare mother. "Every threat to the fabric of this country—from poverty to crime to homelessness—is connected to out-of-wedlock teen pregnancy," wrote Jonathan Alter

in a crazed, scary column for *Newsweek* (12 December 1994) titled "The Name of the Game is Shame." Raving about the "scourge" of teen pregnancy, Alter seconds White House aide Bruce Reed's "solution" to "try shame first" by "beefing up enforcement of the often-ignored requirement that every birth certificate



Hamburg/NY Daily News

Sinister police bonapartism on the rise: New York cops mobilize outside Bedford Hills state prison on December 28 against clemency for jailed radical Kathy Boudin.

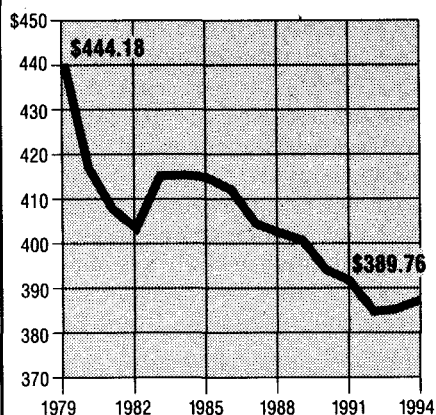
contain the social-security number of the father."

The assault on "illegitimate" children and their "immoral" moms—the ideological rationale for eliminating Aid to Families with Dependent Children—is part of an attack on *all* sexual activity outside of the patriarchal monogamous marriage bed. Meanwhile, terrorist attacks against abortion clinics and murderous attacks on gays have soared, complemented by a rash of frenzied "child abuse" and "kiddie porn" victimizations targeting day-care workers and parents. The Supreme Court recently refused to hear an appeal by a Penn graduate student who has been railroaded for having pictures of *clothed* children in supposedly "lewd" poses. In a horrifying recent case in New Jersey, a man was arrested for taking nude photos of his six-year-old daughter for a photography class assignment. Now he is to be tried in a nightmare of legal hysteria. Nor are you safe in the brave new world of cyberspace. Late last year a California couple was prosecuted for transmitting sexual material which is perfectly legal in their state via E-mail. The feds prosecuted them by retrieving the offending images in *Tennessee*, with its more reactionary "community standards."

Clinton demonstrated his "family values" credentials by dumping Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders for daring to acknowledge that kids actually have some interest in sex. When asked about masturbation at a December AIDS con-

Real Weekly Earnings

Non-supervisory production workers
Sept. 1979-Sept. 1994. (in 1994 dollars)



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

AFL-CIO Graph

Over the past 15 years, American workers have faced enormous fall in wages, paralleling decline in union organization.

jobs since 1969. Today, only 20 percent of *white* youth in New York City can find jobs; for minorities the rate is 10 percent. Welfare is in fact, and in intent, a way to keep the poor quiet.

The corollary to the murderous cut-backs is escalating state terror against the ghetto masses as part of the "war on drugs," from increasingly militarized and expanding police forces armed with high-capacity 9mm semiautomatic pistols to the billions of dollars being spent on new prison construction. The elections gave a huge boost to capital punishment, which is about to be reintroduced in New York. Earlier this month, the Supreme Court upheld the execution of a Texas man even after the state claimed someone else had committed the murder for which he was sentenced. There is an urgent need for militant protest against the brutalizing and often racist death penalty.

The right-wing victory registered in last November's elections is palpable and pronounced. But, as we noted at the time, "bourgeois elections are at best a distorted reflection of what is going on in society" (WV No. 611, 25 November 1994). While the reactionary offensive has provoked despair and disorientation among liberals and their reformist hangers-on, among those who are most directly under attack—in the ghettos, the barrios and the labor force—there will be many who seek to resist. A revolutionary workers party committed to sweeping away this bankrupt capitalist system must be forged through interven-



Der Spiegel

La Migra terrorizes "illegal" immigrants crossing over Mexican border.

ference. Dr. Elders replied, "That is something that is a part of human sexuality and it's a part of something that perhaps should be taught." The racist right has vituperated against Elders as the "black condom queen" for such common-sense health proposals as distributing condoms in the schools. Clinton seized on the flap over masturbation to force this outspoken black woman out of his Cabinet.

The Racist Offensive and Union-Busting

The Republicans' election victory indicates that many white working people still buy the racist lie that throwing blacks off welfare will benefit them through a "middle class" tax cut. The "white backlash" of the late 1960s and "tax revolt" of the '70s fractured the labor/minority New Deal coalition which had made the Democrats the dominant party of American capitalism since the 1930s. Reagan's election in 1980 signaled the ascendancy of the Republican right as the vanguard of racist reaction against the minimal gains of the civil rights movement.

Deep-going racist prejudices to the contrary, white workers' standard of living is directly linked to that of the black ghetto poor. One of the first defining acts of the Reagan presidency was the wholesale destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union. Yet here was a union which consisted overwhelmingly of white males who considered themselves middle-class professionals and which, moreover, had been one of the few unions to endorse Reagan for president over Democrat Jimmy Carter.

The savage attacks on the ghetto poor and on black democratic rights in general during the Reagan/Bush years went hand in hand with *union-busting and the overall gutting of the labor movement*. Phelps Dodge, Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern Airlines, Pittston Coal, Ravenswood Aluminum were key strikes involving the heart of the unionized industrial working class in this country. All of these hard-fought battles were defeated through police scabberding, the arrest of union militants, even the murder of workers defending the picket lines. Many of the workers involved in these labor struggles were white males—termed members of the "middle class" by the bourgeois media and politicians—whose interests Gingrich and Clinton now demagogically claim to represent at the expense of the black poor.

The bosses use the growing reserve army of the unemployed as a battering ram against the labor movement. Now strikes of Bridgestone rubber workers and Caterpillar workers are in danger of defeat as a result of massive scabbing.

At the midpoint of the Reagan/Bush "greed decade," left-wing writer Mike Davis summed up the increasingly desperate state of the American labor movement:

"In industry after industry, the hard-won wage 'patterns' that guaranteed contractual uniformity and preserved effective solidarity between workers in different forms are being destroyed, their place



AP
Joycelyn Elders, dumped as surgeon general by Clinton because she was an outspoken black woman who promoted sex education.

Atlanta Union Tops: Cops for La Migra

ATLANTA—More than 50 federal agents and state and local cops swarmed onto the Olympic Village construction site here on January 12. As immigrant workers tried to hide in unfinished heating ducts, sewers and the top floors of the site, 37 of them were grabbed by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and thrown onto buses to Brownsville, Texas to be shoved across the border. Another 20 workers were seized the next day in *la migra's* "Operation Roustabout."

Obscenely, it was *local union tops* from the Atlanta Labor Council who were behind the INS raid! Council president Stewart Acuff railed that "Atlanta area workers ought to be angry" that immigrants were working at the Olympics site. What Atlanta workers ought to be angry about is that labor traitors like Acuff feed the racist anti-

immigrant frenzy with their disgusting "Georgia Work for Georgia Workers" campaign rather than fight to unionize the workers! The AFL-CIO hasn't even organized the Olympic Village construction site.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, loyal to the capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party, has never taken on the racist bosses to organize the "open shop" South, including the new industrial sites that are springing up along the Interstates from Virginia through the Carolinas and Georgia. The Hamlet, North Carolina poultry plant inferno in 1991, when 25 mostly black women workers died because the company padlocked the fire doors, is a direct result of the failure to organize the region. What's needed is a mass organizing drive which would link together workers across the South—black, white

taken by a savage new wage-cutting competition. Within firms, multi-tier wage concessions, which allow employers to pay up to fifty percent less to new hires, are eroding inter-generational solidarity, ensuring, in the guise of protecting the privileges of seniority, that older workers are more vulnerable to replacement to exactly the same extent that younger workers are made more exploitable. Meanwhile, on picket lines, workers in major industries who have chosen, or been forced, to resist the concessionary tide are confronted, for the first time since the 1930s, with scabs, billy clubs and the National Guard. Finally, beyond concessions lies the specter of rapidly approaching deunionization."

—Prisoners of the American Dream (1986)

Today 80 percent of all workers in U.S. manufacturing have no union protection at all. Over the past generation, real wages in this country have fallen by 20 percent, an enormous intensification of the exploitation of the American working class of all races and ethnicities.

Labor and Blacks: Forward Together, or Backward Separately

The current intensified attacks on black people by the American ruling class—from starving single mothers and taking away their children to locking up young black men for life—can only be combatted through racially integrated working-class struggle. Despite the widespread deindustrialization of the East and Midwest and resulting lumpenization among black youth, unionized black workers still occupy key strategic points in the U.S. economy; for example, urban transit in many big cities and longshore in Southern Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports. More generally, black workers are often in the forefront of labor militancy because they have fewer illusions in the American "way of life" and in the bosses' government, courts and cops.

Furthermore, the seething anger of the ghetto poor can also be tapped and redirected in the service of working-class struggle. A union leadership which was militantly anti-racist could call on thousands of black youth in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Chicago to help combat police scabberding of the kind that broke the Greyhound strikes, for example. However, given the present sellout pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, many blacks are open to separatist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, who combines anti-Semitic and anti-Asian bigotry with the pipedream of "black capitalism." It is as workers that blacks continue to play a strategic role in the American economy—and that is where the power is to destroy racist

and foreign-born. Militant Hispanic workers, who have had an energizing effect on labor struggle in the U.S., would play a leading role in such an organizing drive.

After the raid, *la migra* announced that other Olympic construction sites will be raided. Well-off tourists from all over the world will be welcome at the Olympics, but not the foreign-born workers who build the venues. And under a new law, those workers convicted of using a false I.D. will never be permitted legal residence in the U.S. Even as the black Democratic city government and the Coca-Cola interests carry out racist sweeps against immigrant workers, they are also "renovating" a downtown park for the Olympics in order to drive out the largely black homeless people there.

In recent years, the INS has carried out a series of raids in north Georgia, targeting Hispanics in low-wage food processing plants and carpet mills, sometimes rounding up over a hundred workers at a time. Last month, restaurants and bars in Smyrna were raided. The racist raids and deportations must be stopped! Labor must demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

capitalist rule, through the class struggles of the multiracial proletariat.

At the same time, immigrants from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America—who are now the victims of a racist frenzy—have brought with them the more class-conscious traditions of the Latin American proletariat, especially the understanding that the cops are nothing more than armed thugs for the bosses. Over the past several years, the Los Angeles area has been the one consistent region of labor militancy in the U.S.—Justice for Janitors at Century City in 1990, the *drywalero* construction workers throughout Southern California in 1992, the organizing by Latino truckers in the ports. Latino L.A. Teamster Jesse Acuna was sentenced to five years in jail for defending his union's picket lines against scabs in last year's strike. We call for his freedom, now!

The American labor bureaucracy—closely linked to the Democratic Party—has become so defeatist, so cowardly, so wretched that it is now overseeing the destruction of its own organizations. Strike after strike has been broken because the union misleaders play by the bosses' rules, trying to never get in a situation where they're even faced with having to violate this country's harsh anti-labor laws. They oppose mass picketing to stop scabs and secondary strike and labor boycotts in defiance of Taft-Hartley. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been at best indifferent to the oppression of black people and at worst actively engages in racist practices, for example, continued white job-trusting in many

construction trades. And the union tops are the most vocal in pushing trade protectionism by appealing to flag-waving American chauvinism and anti-Asian and anti-Hispanic bigotry.

The current reactionary offensive demands recognition of the real unity of interests of all of society's exploited and oppressed against their common enemy on Wall Street and in the corridors of Washington. But this unity requires breaking workers and the oppressed from allegiance to the capitalist Democratic Party. The urgent task is building a revolutionary workers party, in which blacks and Hispanics will play a key role, which will mobilize the enormous power of labor on behalf of all of the downtrodden, from the unemployed to women seeking abortions, in a struggle for workers rule. As we wrote after a labor/black mobilization to spike a KKK provocation in Springfield, Illinois last January ("Stop the Klan! For a Workers America!", WV No. 592, 21 January 1994):

"The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, jobs, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership that is necessary to do this—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow to the bosses' laws, a workers party that doesn't respect the property 'rights' of the capitalist rulers, that understands that there will be no victories for labor and no freedom for blacks without integrated class struggle which champions black rights. That is the kind of party that we communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build." ■

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

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Decatur, GA 30031
(404) 521-9338

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Box 6441, Main PO
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(312) 663-0715

Oakland

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

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

Los Angeles

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

San Francisco

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

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Box 2644
Champaign, IL 61825
(217) 352-3359

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Montréal

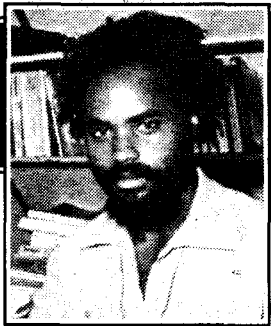
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

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

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

White Racist Tuesday



"No other group in America has been subject to racism in the full sense—to xenophobia, to chauvinism, to ethnic stereotypes, yes; but not to the radical sense of otherness that racism presents in its full virulence. Blacks have been alien, not only in national or cultural or social terms, but in the deepest human sense of worth that can make intermarriage more a blasphemy than a social comedown where blacks—as opposed, say, to those of different religions, or nationalities—are concerned."

—Garry Wills, "A Tale of Three Cities" (*New York Review of Books*, 28 March 1991)

Recent U.S. elections are a harbinger of harder times for many; a legislative program that amounts to a War on the Poor.

The underlying program pushed by both segments of the major Nationalist Party (masquerading as two political parties) is white supremacy.

Both parties waged war on those Americans least able to defend themselves—Welfare Mothers.

Both parties waged war on the homeless.

Both parties promised more prisons.

Both parties ran on both fear and death—not

hope nor faith in a better tomorrow.

Both parties scapegoated, and exploited white fear of, blacks.

Both segments of the National Party played to pseudo-"nativist" dread of the foreigner—Mexicans, Cubans and/or Haitians—the dark other hitting the shores or clamoring over the border.

Several years ago, I wrote, in an article about former Klansman-turned-politician David Duke, that upcoming elections, lusting after the so-called "centrist" white male vote, would pull politicians in a more repressive direction. (I suggested 1996, not 1994.)

Who would've believed that national political debate would center on sending children of welfare moms to orphanages?

Or that ancient movies, like "Boystown," would be invoked as documentation in support for such a loony notion?

The next document—"Gone with the Wind"?

What's next—"Birth of a Nation"?

Increasingly, the "center" in American politics is a place of repression, fear, dread and death.

It is a place that spawns prisons while shutting down schools.

It is a place riven by fear of the majority of the peoples of the earth.

It is a place in dread of the slightest change that may unshackle the nation from its genocidal historical impulse towards white nationalism.

It is a place that promotes death as "the final solution" to every social problem.

It is a place locked in fright of the future; a place that seeks solace in the flickering images in black and white that flit across the silver screen—projections of a false and long dead yesteryear.

1 January 1995

© 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

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

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

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

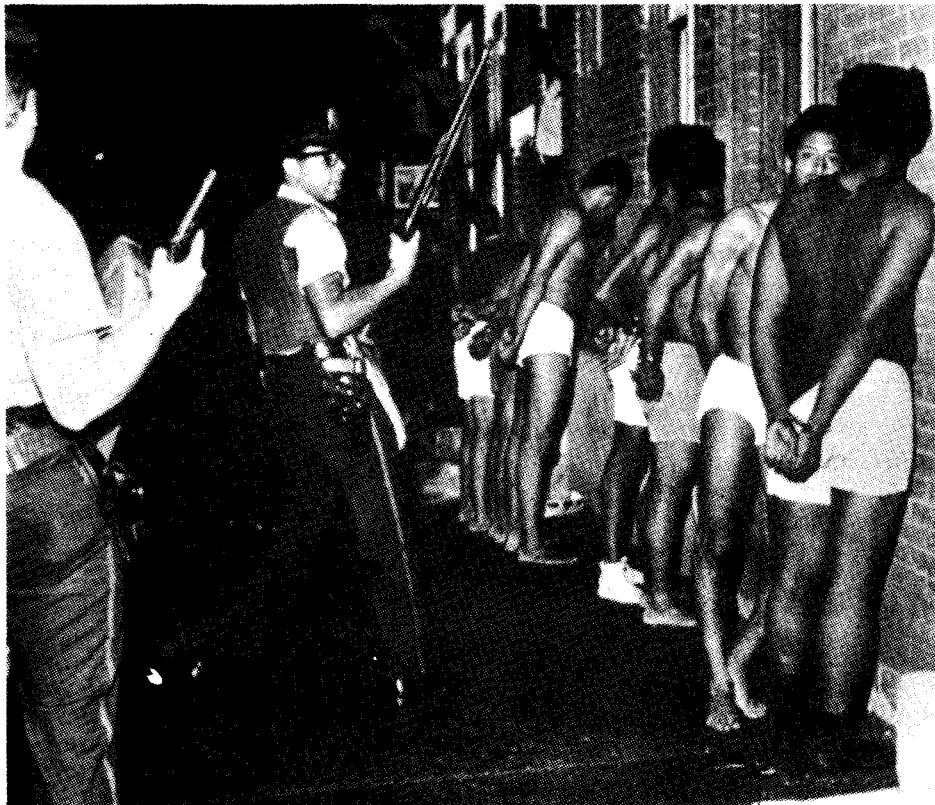
(continued from page 16)

saw a third man shoot Faulkner and then run from the scene. McGill & Co. produced as a witness a hospital security guard who claimed to hear Jamal confess to the shooting. But the officer who took Jamal into custody and stayed with him reported that Jamal remained silent the entire time. His testimony was not produced at trial. The defense was told he was "on vacation" and unavailable. Testimony of other eye-witnesses was not produced at trial.

THE SENTENCING: Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to die for his political activities and beliefs. McGill secured the death sentence by telling the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's membership in the Black Panther Party and use of the slogan "power to the people" and the old Maoist dictum "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" 12 years earlier "proved" he was a "cop-killer"!

THE APPEALS: The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ignored its own precedent to reverse the forbidden "appeal after appeal" argument and affirmed the sentence of death against Jamal. Months later, in another case, Pennsylvania's highest court re-established its earlier precedent. In 1990 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Jamal's appeals, which emphasized that he was sentenced to death because of his Black Panther Party membership. Yet two years later the same court reversed the death sentence of David Dawson, ruling that evidence of his membership in the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood prejudiced the jury.

From Philadelphia, PA to Washington, D.C., the courts have adopted special



Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Rizzo's killer cops strip search Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1970 raid.

rules for Jamal and racked up a mountain of constitutional violations. The men in black robes want black men's blood.

The Philadelphia Story—Rizzo Town

From the vicious 1871 riot by white gangs which left four blacks dead to the bombing of the MOVE commune on May 13, 1985, Philadelphia has always been a racist hellhole. Blacks ghettoized in dilapidated, overcrowded housing; segregated run-down schools; black unemployment and infant mortality nearly twice that of whites; the status quo brutally enforced by racist, trigger-happy cops led by Frank Rizzo—this is the Philadelphia in which Jamal was born

and raised. The record of former mayor Frank Rizzo's campaign against the black population of Philly is a tale of state-sponsored terror—and at every turn, Jamal was there to expose and protest the injustice.

In 1966 Rizzo led a unit of 80 cops in raids against meetings of the militant civil rights group SNCC. In 1967 Rizzo led busloads of baton-wielding cops in an attack on students protesting the dismal education in Philadelphia's antiquated and segregated schools. Fifty-seven students were arrested and 22 seriously injured. Among those students fighting to rename Benjamin Franklin High School for Malcolm X was the 13-year-old Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Jamal was beaten and arrested by Rizzo's plainclothes cops for protesting a 1968 presidential rally for George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. In September 1969, Rizzo's cops raided Black Panther Party headquarters and tore apart the office. Fifteen-year-old Minister of Information Mumia Abu-Jamal was among those arrested. Later that year, armed cops surrounded the Church of the Advocate on December 14, as 1,000 people inside paid their respects to slain Panther leader Fred Hampton, who was murdered in his bed by the Chicago cops and FBI ten days earlier. Mumia Abu-Jamal was the first speaker at the event,

which was widely covered in Philadelphia newspapers. Three weeks later, in January 1970, Jamal was featured in a front-page article about the Panthers in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

In coordination with the FBI and its deadly COINTELPRO operation against the black movement which left 38 Black Panther Party members dead, Rizzo and the Philly police compiled files on 18,000 people and 600 organizations. This campaign of police terror culminated in the infamous August 1970 raid on the Philly Panther office in which Black Panther Party members were lined up against the wall and forced to strip naked while the press looked on. Rizzo became an icon to the racist "law and order" crowd.

Jamal, the young student activist, co-founder of the local Black Panther Party chapter and renowned journalist, could not have—and did not—evade Rizzo's deadly eye. Jamal was among the journalists covering Rizzo's press conference following the August 8, 1978 siege of the MOVE commune's Powelton Village home by hundreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career,

Jamal Legal Defense Needs \$\$\$

The filing of Jamal's petition for a new trial is only the start of a long and costly process to save Jamal from the executioner. The legal defense needs lots of financial help. Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state. In recent years, those cases which have successfully overturned death sentences and freed the innocent defendant have cost at least \$1 million in legal fees and expenses.

To help raise funds, Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell. Advisers include Whoopi Goldberg, Harry Belafonte, Ed Asner, E.L. Doctorow and Sonia Sanchez.

Your support is urgently needed. Tax-deductible contributions for the defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, NY, NY 10023-5001.



Philadelphia Inquirer



Philadelphia Daily News

Judge Albert Sabo (far left), who sentenced Mumia Abu-Jamal, is known as "king of death row." Frank Rizzo, enforcer of racist cop terror against black Philadelphia.

that you're going to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

The state's opportunity for "settling accounts" came three years later, on December 9, 1981, when Jamal was shot in the chest by a cop and railroaded to death row.

Stop Racist Legal Lynchings!

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. Schools crumble—build more prisons. Factories shut down—gut welfare and hire more cops. Sixty percent unemployment for black male youth—throw them in boot camps. Housing shortage—declare a "war on drugs" and raid public housing, throwing whole families out on the streets.

With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is far and away the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks at a rate far higher than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. Over 25 percent of young black men are under the "supervision" of the very criminal "injustice" system.

Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder. It represents the legacy of slavery—legal lynching—a continuation of the ideology that proclaims that black people are not human and can be killed with impunity. State executions are a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state.

Texas rang in the New Year by executing Jesse Dewayne Jacobs, a man they knew was innocent of the crime he was sentenced to die for! This grotesque murder exposes the symbolic value of the death penalty to the ruling class: the all-powerful state will decide who lives and who dies. Truly in the death penalty we see the impulse to genocide.

As Jamal wrote in the prestigious *Yale Law Journal*, "You will find a blacker world on Death Row. African Americans, a mere twelve percent of the national



Over 250 attended June 1994 speakout for Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York chaired by Ossie Davis (right). WV Photo

population, compose about forty percent of the Death Row population." Over 80 percent of those sent to death row from Jamal's Philadelphia are black, *some one-third of those on the row from Philadelphia sent there by...Judge Sabo.*

In the 1987 case of *McCleskey v. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged the overwhelming racial bias in the application of the death penalty but argued that *this didn't matter* because, "taken to its logical conclusion [this] throws into serious question the principles that underlie our criminal justice system." Thus Chief Justice Rehnquist & Co. reaffirm the principle set forth by Justice Roger Taney in the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case, that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

The racist death penalty goes hand in

hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people "in their place." The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The forces of racist "law and order" have been mobilizing to push through Jamal's execution. After announcing its plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to cancel the broadcasts. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole threatened on the Senate floor to cut off NPR's federal funding. Evidently NPR's prestigious *All Things Considered* program could not "consider" letting a black man falsely con-

victed of killing a cop speak from death row. Yet on 8 November, NPR found it acceptable to broadcast the murderous ravings of an anti-abortion bigot who threatened that if Florida gives Paul Hill the death penalty for murdering a heroic Pensacola abortion doctor, "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen!"

The capitalist politicians, media and especially the Philadelphia FOP want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. Pennsylvania State Representative Michael McGeehan, author of a bill to speed up executions, said he's "specifically interested in [Jamal's] case. We're going to see him die." **In fighting the legal lynching of Jamal we will strike a blow against the entire apparatus of racist, capitalist repression.**

Mumia Abu-Jamal does not stand alone. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT); the Metro Toronto Labour Council and Vancouver Public Employees in Canada; Section 10 of the Mexican Teachers Union SNTE; ILWU Locals 6 and 10 in San Francisco and ATU Local 308 in Chicago, as well as unions in Britain and Australia—have taken up Jamal's cause. Harry Belafonte, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, Congressman Ron Dellums, Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg, Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, Jr., the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (South Africa), the Palmares Cultural Foundation in Brasilia are just some of the individuals and organizations who have joined tens of thousands who say: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die."

Make the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, a rallying cry against the racist death penalty. Raise *your* voice and *organize*, in your unions, community, youth and church groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. **Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty! ■**

International Campaign of Protest—Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Death Row
Political Prisoner

Black
Journalist

"Voice of
the Voiceless"

Former
Black Panther

MOVE
Supporter

NEW YORK CITY

Hosted by Ossie Davis

Co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

Speakers include

Charles Brover,
Partisan Defense Committee

Wadiya Jamal,
wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Kica Matos, Research Director, NAACP
Legal Defense Fund,* New York, NY

Jan D. Pierce, Vice President,
Communication Workers of America
District 1,* New York, NY

Henry Schwarzschild, National Coalition
to Abolish the Death Penalty

Brenda C. Stokely, President,
AFSCME Local 215/DC 1707,*
New York, NY

James Webb, President, New York
Chapter, Coalition of Black Trade
Unionists,* New York, NY

Leonard Weinglass,
lead counsel for Jamal

Bruce Wright, author of
Black Robes, White Justice

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, February 11, 3 p.m.

For more information: (212) 406-4252

P.S. 41

116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Ave.)

ATLANTA

Thursday, February 16, 1 p.m.

Room 460, University Center
Georgia State University

For more information: (404) 659-0251

BOSTON

Thursday, Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m.

Place: to be announced

For more information: (617) 492-3928

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, March 4

Time and place to be announced

Video Showing:

Tuesday, February 7, 1 p.m.

3525 Ackerman, UCLA

For more information: (213) 380-8239

BAY AREA

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.

ILWU Local 6 Union Hall
99 Hegenberger Road
Oakland

For more information: (510) 839-0852

CHICAGO

Saturday, March 4, 2 p.m.

United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland

For more information: (312) 663-0719

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, February 25, 2 p.m.

Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room
Howard University

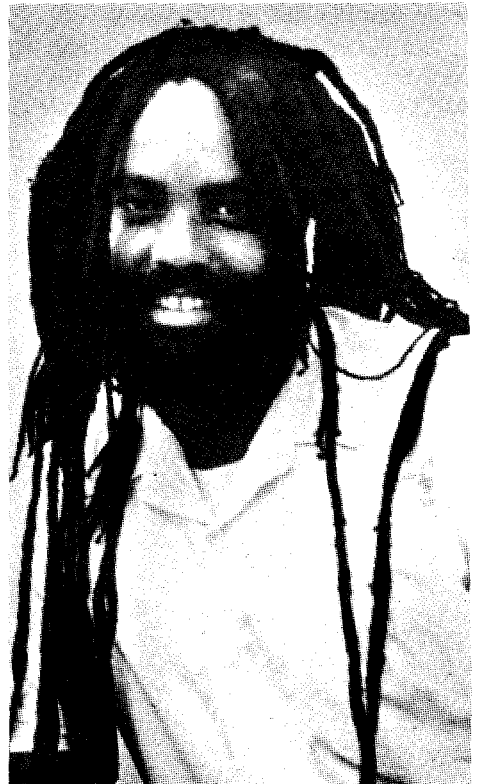
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Mobilize Now!



Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, January 17: 350 people, including Partisan Defense Committee contingent, protest at the inauguration of governor Tom Ridge, who vows to speed up executions. Death row political prisoner Jamal (right) is the victim of a racist frame-up.

We reprint below an urgent appeal just issued by the Partisan Defense Committee.

We are in a race against time to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous black journalist, fighter for social justice, and a political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. Mumia Abu-Jamal is the victim of a racist frame-up. As a former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, and an award-winning black journalist known as the "voice-of

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

—Ossie Davis at the 3 June 1994 New York speakout initiated by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

the voiceless," Jamal has lived a vibrant life of struggle on behalf of the poor, the black and the dispossessed in this country. Even from the hideous conditions of death row, Jamal continues to speak out for the oppressed in commentaries which appear regularly in newspapers all over the country. It is precisely because he is a beacon of hope and strength in the fight against racist injustice that the forces of reaction and repression want to silence Jamal forever by execution. *This racist legal lynching must be stopped!*

The threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in this country since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the persecution of Mumia Abu-Jamal takes place in a context of a

Jamal's Attorneys Seek New Trial in Pennsylvania State Court

right-wing Congress pushing a devastating rollback of the gains made by blacks, women, gays and the labor movement through hard-fought struggles. The death penalty is the centerpiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law and order." Clinton's new Crime Bill, passed just before the midterm elections, mandates the death penalty for 60 more federal offenses, effectively making the death penalty the law of the land even in states that abolished it.

In Pennsylvania, Republican Tom Ridge won the state house on a pro-death-penalty platform and pledged to sign death warrants as soon as he takes office as governor on January 17. Foremost among the over 170 men and women on Pennsylvania's death row is Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) openly boasts of its campaign to kill Mumia, rallying outside the state house and bombarding the television and radio talk shows with bloodcurdling calls to "get on with it."

The campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical stage. Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass and including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, are filing an application for a new trial in Pennsylvania state court in early 1995. While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's life, death penalty abolitionists cannot expect justice through the capitalist courts. We must rely on and organize the tremendous power of social protest to save Mumia. Were it not for the exposure and power of international pro-

test, black South African president Nelson Mandela would still be a prisoner breaking rocks on Robben Island. Were it not for mass mobilizations against Jim Crow "justice," the Scottsboro Boys would have died in prison for a crime they did not commit.

The cops and their friends in high places know that Jamal symbolizes capital punishment in America—you better know it too. Join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

In the early morning hours of December 9, 1981, Jamal was working as a cab driver and saw his brother Billy being beaten by police officer Daniel Faulkner. Jamal got out of his cab and took a near-fatal bullet in the stomach. Jamal was found sitting on the curb and bleeding nearly to death. Faulkner was dead. Jamal was sent to death row in a classic Southern-style racist frame-up on charges of killing a police officer. While critically wounded, Jamal was beaten, kicked, rammed into a pole and dumped on a hospital floor by police, where he was beaten again. Jamal has always maintained his innocence, but was presumed guilty by the hanging judge and prevented from presenting a defense in a frame-up trial fraught with violations of Jamal's constitutional rights, from jury selection to closing arguments.

THE JUDGE: Albert Sabo—the "King of Death Row"—has sentenced more men and women to death than any other sitting judge in the U.S. A former under-sheriff for 16 years and member of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of

Police, Sabo is known by defense attorneys as "a prosecutor in robes." Sabo limited cross-examination of prosecution witnesses, saying at one point, you "don't have to prove that every witness is a liar on the stand."

THE PROSECUTOR: Joseph McGill—no stranger to frame-up prosecutions. One of his victims, Matthew Connor, spent 12 years in prison before his release in 1989, when McGill's illegal concealment of evidence was exposed. In Jamal's case, to relieve jurors of any responsibility for the legal lynching, prosecutor McGill told the jury, "You are not asked to kill anybody. You are asked to follow the law...the same law that will provide for him appeal after appeal after appeal." In earlier cases tried by McGill, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that this same argument required automatic reversal of the death sentence.

THE DEFENSE: Jamal was denied the right to represent himself or have the attorney of his choice. He was allocated a mere \$150 for pretrial investigation in a case in which the police had already interviewed 125 people. Jamal was removed from the courtroom and missed most of the prosecution's case. His court-appointed lawyer was unprepared for trial and repeatedly asked to be relieved. He was later disbarred.

THE JURY: In a city which is over 40 percent black, all blacks except two were excluded from the jury. One black juror was dismissed by the judge himself and replaced with a white juror who stated that he was not sure he could be unbiased in this case. Another juror's best friend was a Philadelphia cop.

THE EVIDENCE: Critical evidence demonstrates Jamal's innocence. The prosecution's case claimed that only Jamal and his brother came anywhere near Faulkner until the backup cops arrived. But four witnesses stated they

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