

Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal

For a moment, it seemed as though the whole country had come to a standstill: phone traffic plunged, assembly lines stopped, classrooms went silent, even trading on the stock and commodities exchanges ground almost to a halt. Then cheers erupted in a chorus that resounded from one end of black America to the other, from run-down inner-city housing projects to swank bank offices, from prison cells to black colleges and churches. Not only blacks rejoiced. Amid shouts of "The Juice is loose," in Times Square blacks and whites embraced, whites at Atlanta's airport applauded, Latino bus riders in Los Angeles cheered. But in city after city there were scenes of sharp racial polarization, as shocked or angry whites stood alongside jubilant black co-workers or fellow pedestrians.

One of the longest and costliest, certainly the most publicized and analyzed of criminal trials in American history came to a close with an explosive climax, as the jury of eight black women, one black man, two white women and one Latino man declared Simpson not guilty of the murder of his ex-wife Nicole Brown and her friend Ronald Goldman. We don't know what happened the night they were brutally slain. But we do know a blatant frame-up when we see one. In the face of ample proof that the police and prosecutors lied, that evidence had been planted, that fascist detective Mark Fuhrman—at the center of the prosecution's case—was driven by racist contempt for a black man married to a white woman, the

Race, Class and American "Justice"



Vindictive L.A. cops seek payback for Simpson acquittal by arresting black youth graffiti artists in South-Central. Skali/Daily Breeze

jury rightly observed the legal standard "*falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*" (false in one thing, false in everything) and the legal definition of innocence, finding Simpson not guilty because he had not

been proven so beyond a reasonable doubt. The fact that it only required a couple hours of deliberation to reach a unanimous verdict constituted a scathing indictment of the prosecution's case.

Notwithstanding the media circus which gorged itself on this sordid crime, the jury grasped the simple truth that a conviction would have been an open endorsement of flagrant police racism and frame-up. As L.A. Urban League leader John Mack trenchantly remarked, Fuhrman's taped genocidal ravings were the missing sound track to the vicious videotaped LAPD beating of Rodney King in 1991. The understanding that the cops regularly frame people up is pervasive in the ghettos and barrios, and it is widespread as well among other sectors of the population which have had direct experience with the racist, strikebreaking thugs in blue. In the coal fields of West Virginia, white United Mine Worker militants and their families, veterans of bitter class warfare, had no trouble with the Simpson verdict.

A flood of commentaries in the mass media expressed alarm at the racial fault line in American society "revealed" by the reactions to the Simpson acquittal. The breathtaking banality of this "revelation," self-evident to every ghetto school kid, was supplemented by a hefty measure of hypocrisy, as the capitalist press went out of its way to fan the flames of race war. To believe TV and newspaper reports, not one white person in the country supported the jury's verdict. In fact, the reaction among whites was mixed: despite the media campaign, a Gallup-CNN poll taken a couple of days after Simpson was acquitted reported 42 percent of

continued on page 8

Farrakhan's Reactionary Dead End

Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters

At a time when the murderous racist rulers of this country are smashing every gain won through the blood and toil of the workers and minorities, the nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, later joined by former NAACP president Ben Chavis and Jesse Jackson, called a march of a "million black men" for atonement. They

forgive the oppressors and exploiters for their enormous crimes against black people, working people and poor, while blaming the oppressed for their oppression.

To hell with atonement! What's needed is integrated class struggle to fight for the liberation of black people and all the oppressed. Black oppression in this country is rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism, from the days

of chattel slavery to the wage slavery of modern industry. It took a revolutionary civil war to destroy the Southern slavocracy, and it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to overthrow the whole capitalist system of racist degradation and impoverishment.

"Black Men's Rally for Responsibility," the *Washington Post* called the October 16 event, which was possibly

the largest-ever march in the capital. From the podium Farrakhan echoed Clinton's speech, delivered the same day in Texas, by laying the blame for conditions in the ghettos on the "personal responsibility" of black men. What about the vista of permanent unemployment, the assault on health care, the elimination of welfare, the overflowing prison population and racist

continued on page 6

**No to Sexism, Nationalism! For Revolutionary Integrationism!
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**



Government Hands Off Cyberporn!

Watch out! Government computer snoops are on the prowl and you could be their next target. Like high school honors senior Paul Kim of Bellevue, Washington, who lost a chance to a National Merit scholarship and possibly entrance to Harvard because he posted a parody of his school on the World Wide Web with links to Internet sites that offer sexually explicit material. Or Robert Thomas, owner of Amateur Action Bulletin Board Service in Milpitas, California, who for years has been offering a

wide range of what the government deems pornography. He was busted by a postal inspector in Memphis who downloaded pictures explicitly to nail Thomas. Thomas and his wife, Carleen, were found guilty by a Tennessee jury and he is now in prison. We say: Distributing "dirty pictures" is no crime. Down with the anti-sex witchhunt!

This crackdown has a very sinister edge beyond the usual moralistic hysteria and fear against "smut" and "filth" contaminating innocent children. With

even the National Security Agency (NSA) unable to crack some of the encryption programs now available to PC users, the government is zealously trying to clamp down on them, using export laws classifying such programs as munitions. This has angered powerful capitalist interests, including American software manufacturers and businesses who seek to protect against intrusion on their communications by competitors (and the feds). Pretty Good Privacy (PGP) designer, Phil Zimmerman has been the target of a two-year (!) investigation for possible violation of federal weapons-export laws because his "cryptography for the masses" went outside the U.S. Zimmerman faces a possible five-year sentence and \$1 million fine if convicted!

One government proposal to deal with encryption programs, pushed heavily by the Clinton administration last year, was to require manufacturers to install an encryption standard—vetted by the NSA—known as the "clipper chip." This would permit the government to read all communications encoded by that chip. This device has since been dropped, in part because the encryption genie is out of the bottle; technology already exists to get around it. But that has only spurred the government on a quixotic quest to develop a more advanced "clipper chip."

While *Newsweek* (6 February) screeches that cyber (computer) crime is "probably the fastest growing brand of wrongdoing in America," the real targets are not vicious criminals but ordinary people pursuing their interests in the supposed privacy of their own homes. Ever worried by and distrustful of a discontented population, the rulers of this country seek to tighten control over every aspect of our lives. The Senate recently passed a "Communications Decency Act of 1995" that would slap fines of up to \$100,000 and prison terms of up to two years on anyone who knowingly transmits materials that are "obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy or indecent" to a minor—i.e., any kid with a modem.

As to what the government considers "obscene," you can get an idea from the largely successful efforts by arch-reactionary Senator Jesse Helms to censor the National Endowment for the Arts. The Exon amendment passed by the Senate would restrict even profane language in cyberspace, and a bill introduced by Utah Republican Orrin Hatch "would expand the reach of child pornography laws to encompass wholly imaginary, computer-generated pictures" (*Nation*, 16 October).

Civil liberties groups are rightfully alarmed at the far-reaching dangers of these bills: Jerry Berman of the Center for Democracy and Technology complained, "What they're trying to do is design a whole city to look like Disney World." More repressive and draconian measures are on the way, including criminalizing both photos and computer-generated fantasy images. David Wasch worries that "lawmakers...threaten to transform a medium that personifies free communication into one where posted love letters between husband and wife could be grounds for arrest and imprisonment for indecency" (*New York Times*, 20 June). With 30 million users on the Internet (a communications system initially created for Defense Department researchers) the government desperately wants to assert control.

For all the hysterics around rampant pornography on the Internet, the truth is that sexually explicit matter accounts for a very small proportion (less than one-half of 1 percent) of materials on



the Net. To find it takes computer skills and often code words. It's not like little Susie is going to log on to get info for her history assignment and accidentally hit "alt.bestiality.Barney"! This crusade is another avenue toward criminalizing sexuality, and *regimenting the population across the board*. In the name of fighting "child abuse," they want to read everyone's mail. It comes from the government of Bill Clinton and Janet Reno, who slaughtered 86 men, women and children in a religious commune outside Waco, Texas and justified this with the hypocritical claim of "saving the children"!

The Justice Department recently concluded a two-year investigation in which over 125 homes and offices were searched, thousands of E-mail messages were opened and raids were conducted in over half of the nation's FBI districts. A dozen America Online customers were arrested for swapping digitized sex photos of kids. As both Republicans and Democrats wave the flag of "family values," the reactionary social climate in the country has paved the way for increased censorship and outright persecution of so-called "deviants." The war on cyberporn is yet another assault on the First Amendment. We demand: No censorship or "pornography" laws!

There certainly is a new breed of predator surfing the Net, but it isn't the child molester as we would be led to believe. It is the government agents posing as children. The March 1995 issue of *Playboy* outlines a frightening FBI plot which drew two men into a "chat group" involving fantasies of kidnapping a youth and making a sexually explicit snuff film. Though no victim was ever targeted nor any murder committed, both men were convicted of conspiracy to commit murder and received sentences of 30 years plus. *Playboy* pointed out, "No kids, no crime. A government obsessed with the idea of snuff films.... And if Uncle Sam had not been on the other end of the computer, there would never have been talk of a crime." The appeals judge noted, "Even to talk of such awful crimes is abhorrent, but the extent of what occurred was just that, talk."

Even talk is verboten under "family values" rules. FBI agents complained of minors and adults discussing sex in the on-line "chat rooms." The anti-sex witch-hunt has meant no sex education, birth control given out in two letters (NO), attempts to crush youthful sexuality... and now they want to outlaw talking about it in your own room! Talk about "safe sex"—no one's going to catch a sexually transmitted disease from a megabyte. And for some kids, like a gay teenager who lives out in the boonies, this may be his or her life line to sanity or self-esteem.

The bipartisan campaign against cyberporn is a truly obscene campaign to persecute kids in the name of sheltering them from digitized dirty pictures while countless families are about to be thrown into the streets to starve as welfare "reform" takes hold. The real violence and crime of society flows from the mass immiseration of the population by the greedy capitalist class. As the economy goes down the tubes and the bourgeoisie intrudes into every aspect of our lives, they now seek to make virtual reality, well, virtually illegal...but it won't be a virtual prison they'll throw you into. Down with the cyberporn witchhunt! Government censors butt out! ■



TROTSKY

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

Louis Farrakhan's "Million Man March" calls for "atonement," blaming black men for the conditions of their own oppression and telling black women to stay home. Farrakhan's retrogressive program, an expression of black separatism, is an accommodation to the vicious racism inherent in American capitalist society. Forty years ago, veteran American Trotskyist Dick Fraser fought for the then-revolutionary Socialist



LENIN

Workers Party to intervene into the unfolding struggles for black equality with a program to link this fight with the struggle for socialist revolution, in which black workers would play a leading role. Commenting on the "Back to Africa" movement led by Marcus Garvey in the early part of this century, Fraser noted that "the Negro movement expresses separation at the time of its greatest backwardness, defeat and isolation." Fraser's fight for revolutionary integrationism and development of the Marxist analysis of racial oppression is a cornerstone of the Trotskyist program today upheld by the Spartacist League.

Only once during the past 130 years have the Negro masses intimated in any way that they might take the road of separatism. This was the result of a social catastrophe: the defeat of the Negroes in the Reconstruction. This defeat pushed them back into such a terrible isolation and demoralization, that there was no channel for the movement to express its traditional demand for equality. The result was the Garvey movement. This occurred, and could have occurred, only in the deepest isolation and confusion of the Negro masses. The real meaning of the Garvey movement is that it provided a transition from the abject defeat of the Negroes to the renewal of their traditional struggle for direct equality. It did not at all signify a fundamental nationalism....

The division of American society into races cuts across the working class. The white monopoly in skilled crafts created an aristocracy of labor corresponding to the racial division of society in general. The working class generally accepted the idea that they secure an economic advantage from the subordinate position of Negroes in the working class.

But as the roll of the skilled crafts diminishes in modern industry, the possibility of maintaining an aristocratic division in the working class is revealed as a weapon against the working class as a whole, dividing it and preventing unified class action against capitalism....

Segregation is the foundation of prejudice. The Negroes, in their struggle against segregation are constantly clearing the ground for the emergence of class consciousness in the working class as a whole....

The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a whole people regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class. The Negro struggle is therefore not the same as the class struggle, but in its independent character is allied to the working class. Because of the independent form of the Negro movement, it does not thereby become a national or separatist struggle, but draws its laws of development from its character as a racial struggle against segregation and discrimination.

—Richard Fraser, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (January 1955)

WORKERS VANGUARD



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DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Carla Wilson

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

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International Outcry Over Death Sentence by Gulf Emirate

Execution of Filipina Maid Stopped

TOKYO—Last month, an Islamic court in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) condemned a 16-year-old Filipina maid, Sarah Balabagan, to death by firing squad for killing her employer in self-defense after he assaulted and raped her at knife point. Coming after the execution of another Filipina maid in Singapore earlier this year, the death sentence against Balabagan provoked international outrage. Demonstrations were held in the Philippines and elsewhere calling to save Sarah. As the outcry mounted, on October 14 the court announced that, following intervention by the UAE president, the death sentence had been revoked in exchange for blood money from Balabagan's family.

The death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against humanity. We call for the abolition of capital punishment, in the UAE and the Philippines as well as in Japan and the United States, two of the few imperialist countries which enforce this practice of state murder. Ironically, the fact that the feudal emirate has a pre-capitalist legal code provided the device—exchanging blood money for blood violence—to save this woman's life. But we warn that although the death sentence against Sarah Balabagan was dropped, she is not out of danger, and demand that she be immediately released and granted safe passage out of the country.

The case of Sarah Balabagan has highlighted the conditions faced by the several million Filipino overseas contract workers (OCW) scattered around Asia. Almost 1.5 million work in Saudi Arabia and the various Persian Gulf oil sheikdoms, including the UAE, where they—along with OCWs from Sri Lanka, India and elsewhere in the region—perform much of the backbreaking labor and personal services for a feudalistic elite. Recent newspaper reports have revealed that Saudi Arabia has executed at least eleven women over the last three years, while hundreds of foreign women workers have been ferociously lashed in the Gulf states. In Japan, where abuse of Filipina "hostesses" and factory workers is rampant, the more than 100,000 Filipino contract workers have been following Balabagan's case closely.



Free Sarah Balabagan! Sixteen-year-old maid (left) still in prison in the United Arab Emirates after death penalty lifted. Above, protest at UAE consulate in Manila.

At the age of 15, Sarah Balabagan left Mindanao in the Philippines in order to help support her Muslim family, only to find a life of vulnerability, degradation, unremitting toil and brutality. Shortly after her arrival in May 1994, documented in letters she sent home, Sarah's employer demanded that she "surrender her virginity" in exchange for money and gold. When Sarah refused, she was raped at knife point. Attempting to fend off her attacker, she managed to grab the knife and stab him "in defense of my life and honor" (*Today* [Manila], 27 June 1995).

The case was originally brought to trial in June of this year. Balabagan was found guilty of manslaughter, sentenced to seven years imprisonment for "abusing her right to self-defense," and fined \$42,000 in "blood money." At the same time, the court awarded her \$27,000 in compensation, a virtual acknowledgment that she had been raped. Feeling the heat for its inaction following the hanging of Flor Contemplacion in Singapore this past March, the Philippine

government of General Fidel Ramos appealed the verdict, demanding a bigger monetary award for the rape and a reduction in sentence. The UAE's response was to order a retrial with new judges, who subsequently convicted Balabagan of premeditated murder and ordered her execution.

A recent news article in a Gulf states magazine referred to Filipina maids in the country as a "minefield." Other reports put the spotlight on beheadings of women in public squares as security measures instituted by the Saudi royal family to ensure stability. The more than 150,000 Filipino workers in the UAE have held "prayer sessions" for Balabagan ever since she was sentenced. And a strike by Filipino workers at a natural gas development in Qatar over working hours and pay last July no doubt impressed the sultans and emirs who lord it over their subjects while relying on the menial labor of slaves and foreign workers without rights.

These anachronistic absolutist rulers are propped up by billions of oil dollars and Western arms. The firing squad and executioner's sword are part of a whole panoply of state terror by these autocratic regimes which cannot tolerate even a breath of democratic rights. But the overseas workers, strategically located in the oil and other industries, are the Achilles heel of the Gulf statelets. And while the petty royalty seek to hide any hint of opposition through rigid censorship, there are mumblings of discontent. The *Financial Times* (13 October) noted that the case of Sarah Balabagan "has sharply reminded United Arab Emirates authorities of their over-dependence on imported labour." Out of a total population of 2.5-3 million, some 70 percent are "foreigners," including 750,000 workers from India and another 400,000 from Pakistan.

Female and "Foreign"

Filipinas, even in their own country, are viewed as objects to be kept in "their place" in accordance with the pervasive anti-woman attitudes reinforced by organized religion, both Catholic and, in the southern islands, Muslim. But the nightmare which befell Sarah Balabagan exemplifies the status of women and the particular plight of foreign workers

who have crossed borders lured by promises of good jobs, only to find themselves viewed as expendable commodities, ruthlessly exploited without legal or trade-union protection and readily thrown away when their labor is no longer needed. Held in contempt, vulnerable, and isolated, foreign women workers are frequent victims of rape, beatings and whippings before laughing prison guards, and in general are treated no better than animals.

A 1994 report from the Philippine Overseas Workers Welfare Administration states that Saudi Arabia topped the list of countries abusing Filipino workers, but rape and sexual abuse cases were highest in "poor, little" Kuwait, the country which sparked U.S. imperialist-led murderous war against Iraq under the banner of "freedom and democracy." The UAE (which recently began granting loans to its male citizens already married to "foreigners" to finance taking a "local" woman as their second wife) is one of three countries in the world to which the Philippine government has banned contract labor by "non-professional" women workers because of rampant sexual abuses. In the last six months of 1992, four foreign maids attempted suicide there.

The London *Independent* recently published a five-part series (9-13 October) exposing the normally secretive "killing fields" in the Gulf, whose victims include Saudis, Filipinas, Sri Lankans, Nigerians, Indonesians and Pakistanis. Among the most horrendous cases are that of 19-year-old Sithy Farook from Sri Lanka, executed by a seven-man firing squad in the UAE last April on charges of killing a four-year-old after becoming desperately overwrought by her job of caring for 17 children; and a Filipina worker in Saudi Arabia, Leonarda Akula, who was publicly beheaded for killing her employer and his wife (after they imprisoned her in their house) and their 18-year-old son who tried to rape her.

The author of the *Independent* series, Robert Fisk, writes:

"The nature of the Islamic trials and the cruel methods of execution call into question the morality of the West's military and political support for Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states whose supposedly civilized values were defended by 500,000 US, British and other Western

continued on page 10

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, October 21: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*; October 28: *The Russian Revolution of 1917*; Boston University, CLA (College of Liberal Arts) Room 418, 725 Commonwealth Ave.

For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 2: *1917—The Russian Revolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Illini Union, Room 217

For more information: (312) 663-0715

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, October 20: *The Revolution Betrayed*; November 3: *Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W. (just west of Spadina)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 30: *The Marxist Programme*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, October 26: *Marx's View of Economics*; November 9: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)

For more information: (604) 687-0353

Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!

Boston Schools: Liberals Attack Affirmative Action

A wealthy white Boston lawyer, Michael McLaughlin, has brought suit against the city's school department. Taking his cue from the national forces of racist reaction, who seek to smash affirmative action and bury the corpse of busing for school desegregation, McLaughlin's suit alleges that his daughter was denied access to the prestigious Boston Latin examination school because of "reverse discrimination." Claiming that "all vestiges of unlawful discrimination have been eliminated," McLaughlin seeks to overturn the racial guidelines established after the pitched battles in the early 1970s to desegregate Boston schools.

McLaughlin claims he took the action reluctantly and doesn't want to become a poster boy for the anti-affirmative action crowd. But his action was immediately hailed by arch-reactionary James Kelly, the president of the Boston City Council who got his start in city politics with the brick-throwing anti-busing bigots in South Boston, and by Kelly's friends in the ultra-racist South Boston Information Center. Recently, McLaughlin resigned from a law firm that had been involved in pro-civil rights litigation so that he could pursue his reactionary court suit.

Before this suit is even resolved, an emboldened mayor Thomas Menino is already doing away with the racial guidelines for admission by restricting admissions by quotas at an experimental elementary school in white West Roxbury. This, along with incoming school superintendent and top Clinton aide Thomas Payzant's desire to reopen the debate over affirmative action, sends out a clear

message that any and all programs that aid minority youth in education are on the chopping block.

These attacks on affirmative action are a very real threat to students because Boston public schooling, mirroring inner-city education across the country, is, in a word, abominable. This was highlighted earlier this year when the Jeremiah E. Burke high school lost its regional academic certification. Situated in the middle of the poor and black Grove Hall section of Roxbury, Burke had no librarian and one guidance counselor for 940 students. At a hearing last March, frustrated parents wanted to know why the soon to be decertified school resembled a prison (*Boston Globe*, 30 March).

Burke High is hardly alone—four other schools are listed on academic probation for lacking such basics as chalk, toilet paper and working clocks. Sixty percent of Boston's public high schools are either decertified, on probation or on warning status because of their inability to meet already egregiously low academic standards which, even when passed, often produce functional illiterates.

Boston Latin, on the other hand, represents one of a tiny handful of prestigious "public" schools which turn out the next generation of leaders. Steeped in Boston "Brahmin" tradition (and gin), Latin is the oldest school in the country (founded in 1635) and boasts graduates

like John Hancock and Joseph Kennedy Sr. As one of three public schools in the city requiring a highly competitive entrance examination, Latin sends nearly 85 percent of its graduates to college.

Boston Latin has always been a bastion of race and class privilege. As soon as their kids are out of diapers, wealthy families send them to the best private schools and tutors so that they can pass the exam to get into Latin. So much for a level playing field for the working-class and minority youth competing for a desk at Latin! In a city school system that is estimated to be only 18 percent white and with rapidly growing black and immigrant populations, Boston Latin is still more than half white. Yet to the likes of McLaughlin, the guidelines which allow blacks and Hispanics only 35 percent of the coveted school's places must be ripped up.

The very existence of elite schools like Boston Latin is predicated on the maintenance of race and class inequalities. Obviously, if quality education were free and available to all children, there would be no need for competition for schools like Latin. The Spartacus Youth Club fights for *free quality education for all*. Even a basic democratic demand like this is anathema to the capitalist class because it would require millions of dollars and the racist American ruling class has consciously written off the futures of large numbers of inner-city blacks whom

they consider expendable. Their class priorities are clear: when it comes to black America, they only have money for more prisons and more cops.

The abominable level of public education in Boston is a direct result of the malign neglect that came in the aftermath of the smashing of school busing in the mid-1970s. Indeed, it was Northern liberal Democratic Party-controlled Boston where school desegregation was killed by an alliance of violent racist bigots in the streets with pusillanimous limousine liberals in Congress who made sure that no buses with black schoolchildren rolled out to their leafy suburbs where the good schools are. Although hardly adequate even as a solution to school segregation, the busing programs of the '70s were often initiated and weakly implemented by federal judges in the aftermath of the mass social struggles of the civil rights movement.

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League took an active part in the fight to defend school busing. We fought for the formation of labor-black defense guards to protect black children from the racist mobs. Against the criminal illusions in and reliance on the capitalist state, we particularly opposed the call by left liberals and the Socialist Workers Party for "federal troops to Boston." Against the narrow limits set by the federal judges, which tended to pair poor white districts like South Boston with poor black districts like Roxbury, pitting them against each other, we called to *extend busing to the suburbs* so poor kids, black and white, could get a fair shot at a real education.

continued on page 10



Boston Globe

Boston, 1974: Anti-busing racist mob goes after Haitian worker. Spartacists fought for integrated working-class defense of busing and its extension to the suburbs.



Young Spartacus

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Deadly Cop Terror on the Streets

Lynch Law U.S.A.

In the wake of Los Angeles cop Mark Fuhrman's racist spewings, heard by virtually the entire population of the United States except for 12 jurors sealed off by Judge Ito, the media has been filled with "rogue cop" exposés and hand wringing about why nobody seems to trust the cops. It's really pretty obvious: the cops lie, they're corrupt, they're vicious—and as every black and minority person in the U.S. knows, they're deadly racist killers. And that's just in normal times.

Now it's worse, as the capitalist rulers have decided to let the poor and the inner cities rot, slashing what pathetic remnants of social programs still exist, abandoning even the pretense of caring for broad sectors of the population. To carry this out, the ruling class requires a brutal army of repression. While legal lynching under the racist death penalty escalates (40 prisoners have already been executed this year, more than one a week, the most since capital punishment was reinstated in 1976), the cops are carrying out lynch law in the streets. According to FBI statistics, in 1989, nationwide 369 people were killed by the cops, while by 1993 the figure had risen to 455—well over one a day!

Their reckless contempt for human life was starkly revealed in Chicago this summer. Joseph Gould, a black resident of a homeless shelter, was trying to earn some change washing auto windshields on the night of July 30. Off-duty cop Gregory Becker came out of a nightclub and reportedly became so enraged at the presence of this "squeegee man" that he went to his car, pulled out a gun, held it to Gould's skull and pulled the trigger. Then the cop just drove off. But witnesses got his license number and Becker was arrested the next morning. However, Cook County State's Attorney Jack O'Malley and a compliant judge



Cop terror in Miami.

man, Aaron Williams, was beaten to death by 12 cops. And San Francisco is still seething after 22-year-old Brian Sullivan was gunned down in 1993 by the SF cop known as "the bogeyman," who'd wracked up dozens of civilian complaints.

In New York, the election two years ago of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who narrowly won with the Staten Island vote, was a green light for the thugs now dressed in militaristic "navy blue" (closer to SS black) uniforms. From Harlem and Washington Heights to Brooklyn and the Bronx, New York's Deadliest have been on a rampage. Even

Park for letting her grandchild pee against a tree. Meanwhile, the police run riot: days after a mob of New York cops terrorized hotel guests during a police convention in Washington, D.C., the NYPD staged a mammoth operation spearheaded by a tank-like armored combat vehicle clanking down Avenue A to evict a few dozen artists and anarchist squatters on the Lower East Side. And this past weekend, an army of cops clashed with a crowd of hundreds who gathered in an East Village project after police shot a "drug suspect" in cold blood.

The direct link between the mayor's office and racist cop terror reached chilling expression in January, when two Hispanic youths, Anthony Rosario, 18, and his 21-year-old cousin, Hilton Vega Jr., were executed outright by two cops who had served as Giuliani's bodyguards during his campaign. After the killings, the mayor personally called one of the shooters, Detective Patrick Brosnan, to congratulate him! Anthony Rosario's mother, Margarita Rosario, has been fighting for justice, and has launched a \$100 million civil suit against the police department, the two cops and the City of New York.

After a Bronx grand jury cleared the killer cops in April, buying the lie that the two murdered youths were robbers, the Rosario family hired a respected pathologist to do an independent autopsy; she concluded that Vega and Rosario "were prone on the floor at the time of the shootings." In August, the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB), a supposedly independent "all-civilian" agency (in reality staffed by five mayoral and three NYPD appointees) determined that the two cops had "used unnecessary and excessive force."

Meanwhile the cover-up continues. The CCRB has ceased its investigation pending the outcome of an FBI probe into "possible civil rights violations," while the cops have been protecting and defending the con man and police informer who set up the two young men. In 1992, the formation of the "civilian" CCRB by black Democratic former mayor Dinkins drove the cops into a frenzy; led by then-candidate Giuliani, 10,000 white cops stormed City Hall. In the face of such racist cop bonapartism, the Spartacist League called for mobi-

lizing labor in defense of black and Hispanic neighborhoods under attack.

Futility of "Review Boards"

So what can be done? In Chicago, U.S. Representative Bobby Rush complained that atrocities like the murder of Joseph Gould take away from "good police officers who diligently do their jobs." Such whitewashing of the police is grotesque coming from former Black Panther Rush, whose comrades Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were slaughtered in their beds in 1969 by racist cops and the FBI. To the racist government which is out to eliminate welfare, slash Medicaid and gut Medicare, the killer cops are diligently doing their jobs as they gun down minority youth and fill the prisons and death rows with black and Hispanic men.

There's police brutality, racist police terror, and then there's Philly. In Philadelphia, where Mumia Abu-Jamal was put on death row by a cop frame-up—and a bomb dropped by a police helicopter on the MOVE commune in 1985 killed eleven black people and burned down a black neighborhood—some 100,000 arrests are presently under review as blatant racist frame-ups. Finally, in 1993 they set up a police "advisory commission" after years of legal wrangling by the cops to kill it. On September 19, the panel held its first hearing, on the case of Moises DeJesus, and all hell broke loose.

Several hundred police jammed into the room, disrupting the proceedings in city council chambers with jeers of "kangaroo, kangaroo" as witness after witness told how in August 1994 police beat the 250-pound tow-truck driver to death. Moises' mother, Rosa, said she had called an ambulance when her son suffered one of his frequent seizures, from an old brain injury. Instead, the police arrived, beat and handcuffed him and threw him in a patrol car. But it didn't stop there. The cops pulled DeJesus out of the cruiser's smashed rear window, beat him mercilessly with long flashlights and nightsticks, and continued to hit him as they dragged him a half block and threw his limp body into the police wagon.

In March, District Attorney Lynne Abraham said her own "investigation" of the DeJesus arrest found no criminal misconduct by the police. She said he died of coronary arrest caused by cocaine and prescription drugs—a claim that even the city's medical examiner is backing away from. As the hearings opened in September, Fraternal Order of Police head Costello lashed out against Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, telling him, "Call off the hearings! You created it, you can kill it." Rendell, a pro-death penalty former prosecutor who handled the original arraignment of Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1981, is too soft for Costello. Instead Costello backs the Republican challenger, Joseph Rocks, whose brother is vice president of the Philly FOP. The cops went to court to block the panel from compelling police to testify, and shut down the hearings for a week.

continued on page 11



Protest demonstration at Bronx courthouse, last July 7, against NYPD execution of Anthony Rosario and Hilton Vega Jr. and other victims of racist police.

dropped murder charges down to official misconduct for not reporting he'd discharged his weapon!

There is the hollow thud of repetition to cop executions in the streets. On September 6, in San Francisco's Ingleside district, yet another young black man was killed, shot in the back of the head at close range as he was riding away on a bicycle. This time it was two black cops who did the shooting. William Hankston Jr., 29, had been in a park which cops had targeted in their phony "war on drugs." In June, another black

according to the NYPD's own statistics, there were 54 deaths at the hands of police during 1994—31 from gunfire and another 23 who "died while in police custody." This was a 42 percent increase over the previous year, with the vast majority of victims black and Hispanic.

Many others are thrown behind bars for what Giuliani terms "quality of life violations," as the courts and prisons are filled with subway "fare beaters," the homeless, indigent "squeegee men," kids suspected of playing hooky from school. A grandmother was arrested in Central

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Million Man March...

(continued from page 1)

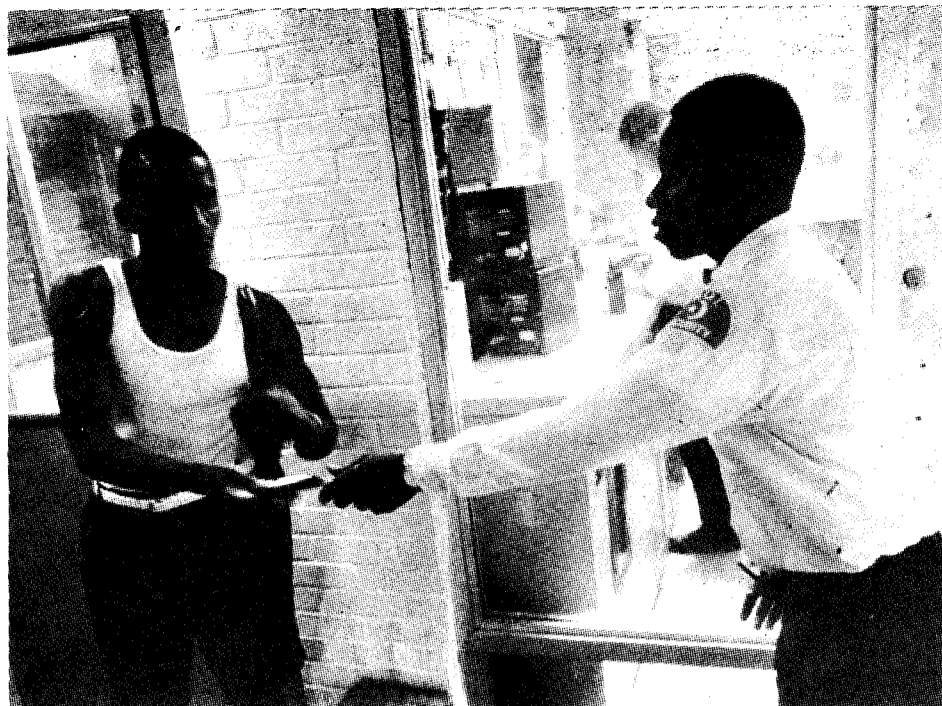
police terror? These are non-issues for this apostle of "black capitalism," whose message is "do for self."

This march was a reactionary appeasement of the capitalist rulers. Clearly, most participants in this massive outpouring of black men were not there because they agree with Farrakhan's racist tirades against Jews and Asian immigrants or because they have bought into his vision of "black capitalism" in a racially segregated society. But despite the outrage and despair over the hellish conditions of racist America felt by the hundreds of thousands at the Mall in Washington, this march was *directly counterposed* to any struggle for black emancipation.

At a meeting on September 28, the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. passed a motion stating:

"Farrakhan's 'Million Man March' for 'Atonement' is a right-wing, segregationist, and sexually exclusionist mobilization whose aim appears to be to pressure the Democratic Party to acknowledge the black constituency Clinton's 'New Democrats' spat on in '92. The utter vacuum of black leadership, intersecting the intensification of racist state repression and slashing of opportunities for blacks in all spheres of life, creates circumstances such that even this Booker T. Washington type mobilization, which blames black people for their oppression and tells the women to step back, stay home and pray, is attracting the support of unionists and youth who have no interest in Farrakhan *per se*."

"The participation of the big public service unions is particularly regressive and perverse. The purpose of unions is to represent all of the working people, yet they are now lending themselves to a march from which white workers and all women are excluded. This is a poisonous reactionary mobilization we will stay away from."



Palmer/U.S. News & World Report

Nation of Islam security guards in Baltimore housing project. U.S. government funds Farrakhan's rent-a-cops in service of racist repression.

While many liberals and reformist leftists tried to dance around these hard facts, the march was not only built by Farrakhan but also built his authority as the pre-eminent black leader in Clinton/Gingrich's America. And that's not accidental, for his message is not that different from theirs. At the same time mass support for this reactionary separatist is passive and superficial, and could be blown away by any significant social struggle.

Reactionary Message, Reactionary Messenger

Farrakhan first called for the rally last December, proclaiming a "holy day of atonement" for black men for "not playing the role of head of the household" and for "the abuse and misuse of our women and girls." Chavis, who was

ousted as head of the NAACP in part because of his attempts to reconcile with Farrakhan, later took on the role of national organizer. But the march really took off in the last month and a half with the endorsement of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and several black churches. They were joined by Jesse Jackson and a number of black elected officials (BEOs), including Washington mayor Marion Barry and Detroit's mayor Dennis Archer.

Their watchword was "black operational unity." This was largely an expression of the desperation and impotence of "black elected officials" and other misleaders. For years, Jackson has been riding in the back of the Democratic Party bus, trying desperately to gain influence, appealing to the broad range of "constituencies"—blacks, women, white workers, Jews—that made up the "New Deal coalition." He even sought "reconciliation" with that symbol of Dixiecrat segregation, former Alabama governor George Wallace. To no avail. And with Clinton, he was kicked off the bus. Likewise, with the Republican ascendancy in Congress, the Congressional Black Caucus lost even the semblance of any influence.

So to get some "clout," they embraced Farrakhan's march, hoping that the sight of a million black men in front of the Capitol would give them some bargaining power. The "march" was also a giant voter enrollment device: "Operation Big Vote," ostentatiously encouraging participants to register as independents. This was linked to the recent boom in support, as an independent or Republican presidential candidate, for former Pentagon chief Colin Powell, who was invited to address the rally. It is ironic that Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Farrakhan expresses admiration for Powell, whose claim to fame was perpetrating the massacre of over 100,000 of Iraqi Muslims!

Significantly, the march had wide (if grudging) support among the white ruling class. President Clinton supported the "aims" of the march and "honored" the participants. Senate Republican leader Dole said "I like the talk about self-reliance, about picking yourself up, cleaning up our cities and getting kids off drugs," while cynically vituperating about Farrakhan's anti-Semitism. While the Zionist Anti-Defamation League scurrilously compared this march with a Klan or Nazi mobilization, even the American Jewish Committee had positive words to say about a march for "atonement," which was, after all, consciously modeled on the Jewish Yom Kippur. And, grotesquely, Philadelphia's Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, who has been demanding the execution of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, helped build the march.

Zionist support for Farrakhan, despite their mutual animosity, is not coincidental or hypocritical. What Farrakhan offers is a black version of Zionism. The

Zionist state of Israel was founded on a program of racial separatism and "Jewish capitalism." And there are deep parallels between Farrakhan's program and that of the current right-wing consensus in American bourgeois politics. When Clinton was elected in 1992, the NOI leader hailed the yuppie racist's plan for welfare "reform" and called to "cut federal spending" (Louis Farrakhan, *A Torchlight for America*). As journalist Don Terry noted in the *New York Times* (15 October), "In many ways, Mr. Farrakhan is a conservative, and on the surface, at least, some of the rally's themes echo those heard at Republican gatherings: God, loyalty, family, discipline."

Various liberal black integrationists, feeling the pressure to jump on the bandwagon for Farrakhan's march, went into contortions trying to separate the "message" from the messenger. Harvard professor Cornel West called on "radical democrats" to participate in order not to "yield the terrain to Minister Farrakhan." Social democrat Manning Marable initially called for the march to have "a much broader character," later calling it a "diversion" while continuing to look for "common ground" with Farrakhan. But West, the CBC and BEOs climbed on board because in the face of the bipartisan assault on black rights and social welfare, they have no alternative agenda to Farrakhan's illusory perspective of "self help" through black capitalism.

While they may squirm over some of Farrakhan's egregiously reactionary social positions, they basically have the same message as the "messenger." A key theme shared by all of the sponsors of the march is support for the deadly "war on drugs," which is really a war on the black ghettos. From Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan, these bourgeois black misleaders shamelessly boost this campaign of state repression that has led to the imprisonment of a vast section of the country's black youth. As a recent report by the Sentencing Project makes clear, the "war on drugs" has been "an unmitigated disaster for young blacks and other minorities." For all the talk of "family values," from Gingrich, Dole and Clinton to Farrakhan, the report concludes:

"As increasing numbers of young black men are arrested and incarcerated, their life prospects are seriously diminished. Their possibilities for gainful employment are reduced, thereby making them less attractive as marriage partners and unable to provide for children they father. This in turn contributes to the deepening of poverty in low-income communities."

Today, fully one in three black men between the ages of 20 and 29 are in the clutches of the criminal "justice" system, whether in jail, facing trial or on probation or parole. This is the direct result of the "war on drugs," which is racist to the core. For example, getting caught with 5 grams of "crack" cocaine, prevalent in the ghetto, draws the same sentence as 500 grams of powder cocaine, the yuppie drug of choice. Congress recently overruled a recommendation by the federal government's own sentencing commission to equalize the penalties.

The stark fact is that while blacks constitute 12 percent of the population and an almost identical proportion (13 percent) of regular drug users, blacks account for 35 percent of all drug arrests, 55 percent of convictions and 74 percent of prison sentences. Some 90 percent of all sentences to state prison for drug possession in 1992 were meted out to blacks and Hispanics. And in 16 states, not a single white person has ever been prosecuted for crack possession. When Jesse Jackson leads chants of "up with hope, down with dope," he is cheerleading for this drive to turn the ghettos into a vast prison.

Farrakhan: Bad News for Black People

The fundamentally reactionary character of the Million Man March was demonstrated not least by its exclusion of women. This provoked angry opposition

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated militant labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

There is a crisis of leadership today. Black misleaders are wedded to either pro-capitalist racist Democratic Party liberalism or do-nothing dead-end black separatism. The Labor Black League for Social Defense is a multiracial organization of militant workers and youth fighting for revolutionary integrationism: for black freedom through socialist revolution.

—What We Stand For—

- 1) Militant Labor/Black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the organized power of the unions to stop the racist terrorists, in and out of uniforms! Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!
- 2) For the right of armed self-defense! Gun control kills blacks! Down with the racist death penalty!
- 3) Stop deportations! Down with the INS! Full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Independence for Puerto Rico! No to racist "English-

only" laws! Down with anti-Arab, anti-Asian and anti-Semitic bigotry!

4) Fight for women's rights! Free abortion on demand, free quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free quality health care for all!

5) Down with the anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedrooms!

6) A fighting labor movement—sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Stop union-busting! Organize the unorganized! Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay and full cost-of-living escalator clause! Picket lines mean don't cross!

7) Fight discrimination in jobs, housing and schools! For union-run minority recruitment and training programs! Free, quality, integrated public education for all! No cutbacks in social services!

8) Institute a massive social security program—health care, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages! For a massive program of public works—high quality housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people!

9) Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack!

10) Break labor and blacks from the Democrats and Republicans! Finish the Civil War! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! Take industry away from its incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy.

For more information write: _____

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from a number of black women. Many uneasily accepted a subaltern role of organizing for the march so that "their" men could attend. C. DeLores Tucker, who campaigned against Time-Warner because of the lyrics on "gangsta rap" CDs, supported the march as a step against "pornography and violence." In a cynical concession, several women were added to the speaker's list, including poet Maya Angelou, Rosa Parks of the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott, and even Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz.

However, some black feminists denounced the march, most prominently Angela Davis. But Davis et al. can offer no solution for triply oppressed black women workers, because such reformists are beholden to Clinton's Democratic Party, which pushes the same "family values" reaction as Newt Gingrich or Louis Farrakhan. For our part, we recall that the vanguard of the abolitionist movement against slavery—John Brown, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and the Grimké sisters—stood for the commonality of interests of all the oppressed. As Frederick Douglass proclaimed, "Right is of no sex—Truth is of no color." In our struggle for socialist revolution to eliminate black and women's oppression, we stand on the tradition of these radical-democratic revolutionaries.

Despite the efforts of his "mainstream" allies to downplay his role, Farrakhan made it very clear that in going "big time" he had no intention of toning down his virulent anti-Semitism and bigotry. On the eve of the march, a two-day conference was held in Washington featuring Farrakhan's notoriously anti-Semitic deputy Khalid Muhammad who spewed diatribes against Jews, white women and "race mixing." And a couple of days earlier, Farrakhan himself, in a Reuters TV interview, declared that not only did he consider Jews to be "bloodsuckers" but that this applied to a whole list of ethnic groups:

"Many of the Jews who owned the homes, the apartments in the black community, we considered them bloodsuckers because they took from our community and built their community but didn't offer anything back to our community. And when the Jews left, the Palestinian Arabs came, Koreans came, Vietnamese and other ethnic and racial groups came. And so this is a type and we call them bloodsuckers."

With such views, it's no wonder that Farrakhan is more than willing to collaborate with white-supremacists like California Nazi Tom Metzger. Even back in the 1960s under Elijah Muhammad, the NOI got funding from Texas ultrarightist H.L. Hunt and cultivated relations with the American Nazi Party and the KKK. This is a suicidal trap for black people, who would be the first victims of a fascist takeover.

The petty-bourgeois hucksters of the NOI seek to pit one sector of the oppressed against others because their program is to become the "bloodsuckers"—that is the capitalist exploiters—of "their" people, claiming the ghetto as their exclusive market. During the rally,

Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm X Dead

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque, he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

Muhammad Speaks

4 December 1964

Muhammad Speaks

10 April 1964

On My Own



Months before Malcolm X was assassinated, Farrakhan (then known as Minister Louis X) declared Malcolm was "worthy of death," while Muhammad Speaks called for his head to roll.

a call went out from the podium for everyone to wave a dollar bill in the air as a symbol of the potential for black "empowerment." This scene of hundreds of thousands of men waving dollar bills encapsulates the fraud of "black capitalism": the idea that a significant black bourgeoisie could be consolidated in racist America is a reactionary utopia. In the face of a genocidal drive that is devastating the ghettos, Farrakhan & Co. preach accommodation to the racist capitalist status quo.

As we wrote last year, in an article reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet series *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 11 (August 1994), "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People." Farrakhan's hostility to militant black struggle is underscored by his vendetta against Malcolm X. While today he tries to claim the mantle of Malcolm, two months before his assassination, Farrakhan proclaimed that Malcolm was "worthy of death." In his 1993 Savior's Day speech, the NOI leader thundered, "we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor."

Despite his anti-white bombast and the NOI program which still calls for "complete separation in a state or territory of our own," Farrakhan seeks to hire himself out to the racist capitalist rulers as a cop over the ghetto masses. After patrolling the Mayfair Mansions housing project in Washington, D.C., in the early '90s the NOI Security Agency won contracts to guard federally subsidized

apartment complexes in Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The NOI rent-a-cops serve the racist rulers in carrying out repression of black youth no less than the government's official killers in blue. And in Farrakhan's black capitalist utopia this serves a greater purpose: profits. He writes that if the NOI were given "unhindered" rein, "we could effect a change in the lifestyle of our people that would allow us to do more with less wages."

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Many march participants, and some speakers, compared Farrakhan's "Million Man March" to Martin Luther King's 1963 march on Washington. This was the high-water mark of the liberal civil rights movement. It was intended by its liberal Democratic Party organizers to defuse the militancy of sections of the movement, notably the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and steer the movement into the calmer waters of legislative reform to get rid of Jim Crow segregation. Malcolm X aptly called that march the "Farce on Washington." What does that make Farrakhan's march, which blames black people for their oppression and tells the women to stay home?

When the civil rights movement "went North," it came up against the realities of black oppression—in jobs, housing, schools—which are rooted in the very structure of American capitalism and cannot be eliminated through legal reforms. Frustration in the Northern ghettos exploded in a series of ghetto upheavals in the mid-'60s, which were brutally put down by cops and National Guard troops. Simultaneously, the federal government sought to buy off discontent and create a layer of black middle class and professionals as a buffer against black unrest. Today, there is a greater disparity in income among blacks than among whites, with 20 percent of black families earning half of all black income.

This layer, which continues to endure the daily humiliations of racism, has seen the openings which they were afforded slam shut, especially for their children. Predisposed by their relatively privileged position to buy into the sham of "black capitalism," many members of the black middle class are turning in despair from the goal of integration and some have provided an audience for Farrakhan's demagoguery. The outlook of

this layer is typified by Ben Chavis. When the Spartacist League and the Labor Black Leagues launched a campaign of demonstrations last year protesting against Jim Crow racism at Denny's restaurant chain and calling for unionization, the NAACP under Chavis cut a deal that gave them a seat on the chain's board of directors, as well as empty promises for black franchises and managers.

By its very nature, black oppression cannot be ended without an overturn of the capitalist system. As American Trotskyist Richard Fraser wrote in his seminal work, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" (January 1955): "The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a whole people regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class." Adopting Fraser's perspective of "revolutionary integrationism," the Spartacist League declared in one of its founding documents, written at the time of the ghetto struggles of the '60s:

"The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."

—"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (1967), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9.

Farrakhan's program of enforcing a strict separation and a return to Jim Crow segregation could only be realized through a victory of the most extreme right-wing racist forces in this country. Grotesquely, a significant number of unions supported Farrakhan's march, particularly public employees unions in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. The only force that could benefit from unions throwing their weight behind a racially and sexually exclusionist program is the Ku Klux Klan.

The march takes place against the backdrop of a steady immiseration of the whole working class, with real wages dropping by over 20 percent during the last two decades. The absence of serious class struggle is centrally due to the role of the union bureaucracy and the related dispersal and co-optation of labor radicals. The labor police of capital have presided over the destruction not only of millions of jobs but also of large sections of their own organizations without lifting a finger in struggle. It's no wonder, then, that they turn a complete blind eye to hideous conditions for blacks and other oppressed minorities.

What is required is forging a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement, including through a political struggle against the sellout leadership in the unions, whose first loyalty is not to the workers but to the capitalist system. We Trotskyists continue the tradition of the Communist International in Lenin's day, which proclaimed itself "not simply the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America but equally the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world" whose duty is "to encourage and support the international organization of the Negro people in their struggle against the common enemy." We seek to forge a multiracial vanguard party which can lead the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in a struggle for workers revolution, to replace the capitalist system, whose decay is so painfully evident in America's inner cities today, with a socialist society that can realize the promise of emancipation and equality for all. ■



Delegation of American Nazi Party at 1961 Nation of Islam meeting in Washington, D.C. Farrakhan treacherously seeks "common ground" with genocidal fascists on basis of anti-Semitism and segregationism.

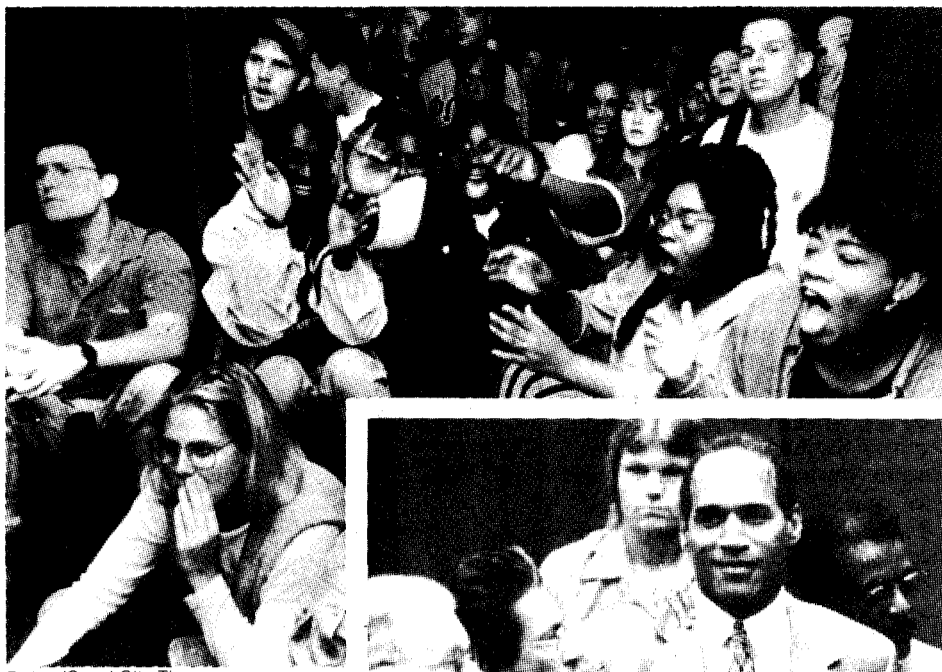
Simpson Acquittal...

(continued from page 1)

whites said the jurors made the right decision. Yet a steady stream of racist vitriol was directed at Simpson's black lead attorney, Johnnie Cochran, at the majority black jury, at every black person across the country who saw in the verdict a brief glimpse of justice.

Simpson's acquittal was met with a bloodthirsty outcry. Reeking with racist arrogance, yuppie lead prosecutor Marcia Clark declared: "Liberals don't want to admit it, but a majority black jury won't convict in a case like this." *Los Angeles Times* columnist Al Martinez scurrilously ranted, "The Johnnie Cochran Troupe did everything but tap-dance and tumble before a jury that wouldn't know DNA from the PTA." With incredible chutzpah, high-flying white executives and suburbanites moaned that Simpson beat the rap only because of his wealth! We didn't hear these screams of outrage when white multimillionaire Claus von Bülow got off on appeal on the charge of attempted murder of his wife.

It's striking that in the forefront of the uproar were feminists and liberals, who presumed Simpson guilty from the start. The National Organization for Women (NOW) in L.A. organized screaming protests against the acquittal. On the Op-Ed pages of the *New York Times*, liberal feminist Maureen Dowd fumed about Simpson going free: "hide your wives and daughters." Black columnist Bob Herbert lashed out at the "degrading spectacle" of black people "furiously celebrating the Simpson verdict," maligning it as "a collective dance on the graves of two innocent people." Anthony Lewis pointed to the prosecution's "conclusive" evidence and dismissed defense claims that the cops framed Simpson, asking incredibly: "What motive would they have to do that?" What motive?! What world does Lewis live in?



Fisher/Quad City Times

Racial polarization in response to Simpson acquittal: as black students in Illinois college cheered, many whites expressed shock.



Myung J. Chun

O.J. got the same frame-up treatment meted out daily in the ghettos. But the fundamental divide in this deeply racist society, as in every capitalist country, is not race but class. With his millions, O.J. Simpson was able to buy himself an ace team of lawyers. The sentiment of one Seattle man was repeated nationwide: "If it had been me or anybody else, or any other black man," he said, "without the money and without the fame, he'd be in jail or on death row or dead already."

Former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been in a California prison for 25 years, framed up for a crime the government knows he did not commit. And Mumia Abu-Jamal remains on death row in Pennsylvania, innocent of any "crime" but his eloquent and outspoken defense of the oppressed. As

picket-line battles in the Midwest point to the basic Marxist understanding that the workings of the profit system itself will provoke social struggle. What is needed is a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fuse the anger of the black ghetto masses with the militancy and social power of white West Virginia miners and the integrated urban working class in a struggle that sweeps away the entire machinery of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The Capitalist State—Frame-Up, Inc.

The central strand in the prosecution's case was the "testifying" of fascist cop Mark Fuhrman. Months earlier, this swastika-wearing racist pig had boasted, "If I go down, they lose the case." Then came the bombshell exposé of Fuhrman's genocidal rantings on 12 hours of audiotape. Judge Ito allowed the jury to hear only the tiniest portion of Fuhrman's repeated slurs of blacks, Hispanics and Jews, and not one mention of 18 incidents he nauseatingly described of L.A. cops beating suspects, coercing testimony, lying, destroying and manufacturing evidence. But the evidence they were allowed to hear and see was more than enough to convince the jury that the prosecution's star witness was a lying bigot who regularly plants evidence against interracial couples.

The "mountain of evidence" claimed by the prosecution was almost all highly suspicious and tainted: the still-moist bloody glove "discovered" by Fuhrman six hours after the murder; the socks "found" on a carpet that a police videotape taken minutes earlier showed to be bare; the failure to discover blood on the socks and Simpson's back gate until weeks later. And "incompetence" alone could not explain why the chief detective transported a vial of Simpson's blood from police headquarters 20 miles to Simpson's house.

Then there is Fuhrman himself. The capitalist media sanctimoniously denounced "rogue cops," but anyone who ever had a run-in with the LAPD recognized it as business as usual. In fact, Fuhrman was so typical that he didn't even make it onto the 1991 Christopher Commission's list of the LAPD's 44 worst cops. The prosecution *knew* that he had a record as a sadistic racist going back at least to the late '70s. When a fellow cop married a Jewish woman, Fuhrman painted a swastika on his locker. Yet this fascist cop was one of the first four detectives to arrive at Simpson's house following the murder.

To believe the prosecution's alibi for introducing illegally obtained evidence, the cops landed on Simpson's doorstep not because he was their prime suspect—though his mug shot was featured in a

California cop training film on domestic violence—but because they wanted to break the news of his ex-wife's death to him gently and help care for his children! Then Fuhrman jumped over the fence to scour Simpson's estate—without a search warrant. Writer Joe Domanick, author of a book on the LAPD, remarked: "Mark Fuhrman went over the wall at O.J. Simpson's house simply because that's what he always did."

Indeed, it was a striking expression of the arrogant bonapartism of the police and prosecutors, who chafe at the most minimal constraints, that they treated this case as though they were dealing with an anonymous ghetto youth saddled with an apathetic and underpaid public defender. The seemingly endless list of slipshod omissions, constitutional violations and outright lies in the Simpson investigation make sense only if it is understood that the cops and prosecution do not depend on getting evidence to secure a conviction.

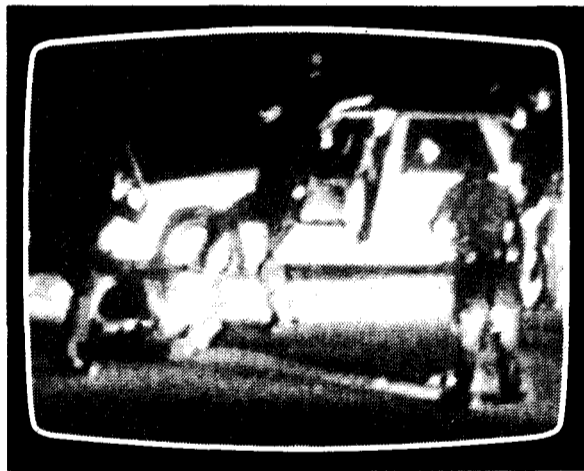
The American "justice" system is *pre-dicated on frame-up*—of the guilty as well as the innocent—whether out of vindictiveness or sheer laziness. The cops' word is usually all it takes, occasionally augmented by some "scientific" evidence churned out in a police crime lab. Most of the time, it works. One homicide cop inadvertently made that clear when he complained, "There are people doing life without parole who have been convicted with one-tenth of the evidence that they had in the Simpson case." But Simpson's "dream team" of high-priced lawyers, experts and investigators—though arrayed against a massive prosecution effort backed by the full power of the state and well over a million dollars in corporate "pro bono" funding—had the resources to unravel the lies and discredit the DNA tests. William O'Dell Harris, a black man from West Virginia, did not: he spent seven years behind bars before it came out that the DNA evidence used to convict him had been fabricated by a police chemist.

What was on trial in the Simpson case was the LAPD and, by extension, every police department in the country. The cops—black as well as white—act as an occupying army in the ghettos and adopt a corresponding mentality of racist contempt against all black people. Liberals leapt to denounce the Simpson verdict because, no less than the conservative right, they are committed to upholding the sanctity of the capitalist state. If anything, in recent years liberals have placed themselves in the vanguard of the drive for "law and order" with their push for ever more stringent gun control, seeking to ensure the state's monopoly over armed force. They bemoan the "excesses" of "rogue cops" and decry racism in the police force as an "aberration" because they seek to strengthen the authority of this institution of racist class domination. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (WV No. 625, 30 June):

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

Police State, U.S.A.

Not for the first time, the effective exercise of a democratic right—trial by a jury of one's peers—is leading to calls for its elimination. California governor Pete Wilson is pushing for a ballot initiative to allow for convictions by non-unanimous juries. Other measures call for further eroding defendants' right to refuse to testify, limiting the use of expert witnesses, restricting TV coverage of trials and allowing for the wholesale introduction of illegally obtained



George Holliday Video



Black Star

Fascist L.A. cop Mark Fuhrman's genocidal ranting was "missing soundtrack" for videotape of vicious LAPD beating of Rodney King.

Around the country, cops and fascists took the racist backlash to the streets. In a black neighborhood of South Philadelphia, as a police cruiser slowly drove past blacks holding signs reading "Not Guilty," the cop inside ominously gave the finger to the crowd. Black San Francisco mayoral candidate Willie Brown reported getting dozens of hate calls, L.A.'s black weekly, the *Sentinel*, received at least a dozen threats to burn down their building or of a drive-by shooting. Within 15 minutes of the verdict, Harlem's *Amsterdam News* was warned, "There's going to be a whole lot of dead n-----s." This threat was punctuated in Boston by the burning of a cross and in southern Pennsylvania hooded Klansmen paraded in the streets.

That O.J. Simpson, a multimillionaire celebrity and Reagan/Bush conservative whose ambition was to be a Republican Senator, would become a symbol for the downtrodden and dispossessed in itself speaks volumes about the depth of racial oppression in the U.S. Even a black superstar who "made it" according to the rules of (white) American capitalism, once he was in the clutches of "the law,"

Jamal wrote in a column on the Simpson verdict titled "The Power of Money":

"If O.J. Simpson were a poor man of no influence, with the exact same errors in his case, he would still be on death row, for without money for good investigators, good jury specialists and good lawyers, who would know that such errors ever existed."

To free political prisoners such as Geronimo and Mumia, and the countless nameless, faceless black men and women who are daily entrapped by lying prosecutors or shot dead by racist cops will take a powerful movement of social struggle that strikes at the core of this criminal system, the capitalist state apparatus.

The passivity of the labor movement, enforced by misleaders whose fundamental loyalties are to the capitalist system, has created such despair in the face of an onslaught of racist reaction that Simpson's acquittal was seen by many as a rare sign of hope on the horizon. Nonetheless, it is to mobilizing the potentially decisive power of the working class that opponents of racist oppression must look. The 1992 plebeian upheaval in L.A. after Rodney King's racist cop tormentors walked and the recent

evidence. Many of these measures represent a frontal assault on the Bill of Rights: the Fourth Amendment's ban on unreasonable search and seizure (already vitiated by numerous Supreme Court decisions), the Fifth Amendment's guarantee against self-incrimination, the Sixth Amendment's promise of the right to counsel and a public trial.

Viewed in combination with the current onslaught on the rights of immigrants—including naturalized citizens—and the massive intrusion of Christian Coalition religious bigotry into politics, this assault on constitutional rights reflects a reactionary yearning to return the Constitution to the exclusive benefit of those it initially was intended to cover: property-owning men who were of course English-speaking, Protestant and surely "white." Over the ensuing two centuries, including a revolutionary civil war, the definition of "citizen" came to include many—though by no means all—of those people resident in the United States.

The achievement of substantial legal equality for black people, beginning after World War II, was also heavily motivated by U.S. imperialism's felt need to look good internationally—not least in its competition with the Soviet Union in the Third World. However, even as citizenship rights were extended to broader sectors of the population, these rights—notably the Second Amendment right to bear arms—were simultaneously attenuated. Now, some significant elements of white racist reaction, exemplified by the nativist groups who designate black people as "Fourteenth Amendment citizens," are placing a large question mark over the very extension of citizenship to freed black slaves. We call for full citizenship rights for everyone who lives here.

The capitalist rulers have implemented a barrage of new legislation aimed at bolstering their powers of repression, while dusting off old legislation. The recent conviction in the NYC "terrorism" trial of blind Egyptian cleric Omar Abdel Rahman and nine other Islamic fundamentalists on charges of "seditious conspiracy" is an ominous precedent for widespread police-state frame-ups. The ten were not even charged with carrying out a crime, but simply with a "conspiracy of intent." Sedition laws have historically been used to go after leftists and labor activists, from the 1919-20 Palmer raids which rounded up thousands of foreign-born leftists in the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the World War II prosecution of 18 Trotskyist leaders. Most recently, the feds attempted to use sedition laws in a failed 1989 case against three members of the Ohio 7, New Left radicals who were already serving time on another frame-up conviction.

With bipartisan support, the capitalist rulers are trying to turn the United States into a "democratic" police state. The occupation of the ghettos proceeds apace with the militarization of the Mexican border. As Johnnie Cochran aptly put it, "The vision of America has become barbed wire from sea to shining sea." The latest report from the U.S. Sentencing Project shows that fully *one third* of all black men in their twenties are now either in prison or on parole or probation—up from 23 percent six years ago—largely as a result of the "war on drugs." Meanwhile, some *three million* kids and their mothers are about to be deprived of even the most minimal means of existence, as Clinton/Gingrich/Dole abolish welfare. This is the pathology of capitalism in its death agony.

Behind the current escalation of police-state terror is the drastic decline in the living standards of wide layers of the population. The discontents wracking America stem from the decline of U.S. capitalism as an area of production in the world market, signaled by the August 1971 fall from the gold standard at the height of the losing, imperialist war in Vietnam. Even as wide swathes of American industry and millions of unionized manufacturing jobs have been devastated, the counterrevolutionary de-

struction of the Soviet Union has led those who own the equity and debt of America to fantasize about an infinite vista of pure profit and untrammled exploitation. This is the banner of the Gingrich/Dole Congress (with Clinton limping along behind it), pushing a fantastical scheme of a utopian capitalism which can somehow pay for a huge military machine and rid itself of an enormous debt while slashing taxes for the rich, all simply by demolishing social welfare for the poor.

Meanwhile there is growing despair not only in the black ghettos but in the Idaho hillsides and in the Midwest Rust Belt. The expressions of this despair are, however, sharply differentiated along race lines. In the ghettos, and even more so among the black middle class, there is an openness to pseudo-nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. Among whites who now feel cut out of the "American dream," there's a tendency to look to rightist answers, including eccentricities, blaming current social and economic ills on, e.g., immigrants, the "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government), satanism and single black welfare mothers. In the absence of sharp class struggle leading to a decisive fight for political power by the working class, this is a recipe not only for increased racial polarization but ultimately for one-sided genocidal race war.

Yet this widespread disaffection also creates an immediate problem for the ruling class. If there is one thing on which various sectors of the population agree, it is that the government can't be trusted. Clinton's draconian "counter-terrorism" bill has run aground on distrust over the feds' murderous assaults at Waco and Ruby Ridge. And, even before the Simpson acquittal, cops and prosecutors were complaining that it is getting increasingly difficult to get largely black and Hispanic juries in the inner cities to convict. The Bronx, for example, has an acquittal rate of over 47 percent for black defendants in felony cases. An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* (4 October), titled "The Jury's Right," wrote that "we would be fools not to see that the Simpson jury is trying to tell this country something important." The verdict, said this mouthpiece for finance capital, sent "a large message" about the criminal justice system: "They don't trust it. Neither do a lot of other people."

Reflecting similar concerns within the bourgeoisie, William J. McDonough, head of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, recently warned: "We are forced to face the question of whether we will be able to go forward together as a unified society with a confident outlook or as a society of diverse economic groups suspicious of both the future and each other" (*New Yorker*, 16 October). Yet even more far-sighted capitalist spokesmen have no answers, because at bottom this is an irrational system predicated on anarchic market forces which lead to the destruction of productive capacity and of ever wider layers of the working population. And that necessarily means increased police repression.

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People!

The Simpson trial provided a graphic illustration of the suicidal character of ethnic and sectoralist politics in racist, capitalist America. Ronald Goldman's father—whose lawyer was earlier Fuhrman's spokesman!—violently denounced Cochran for comparing Fuhrman with Hitler in his summation speech. Cochran's statement was eminently true. Referring to Fuhrman's genocidal call to "place all the n-----s on a pile and burn them," Cochran warned: "There was another man not too long ago in the world who had those same views.... This man, this scourge, became one of the worst people in the history of this world, Adolf Hitler, because people didn't care or didn't try to stop him." It takes the mindset of a bigoted Zionist to see this as black anti-Semitism or any kind of trivialization of the Holocaust. If the Fuhr-

mans of this country were to take power, Jews would be in peril as well as blacks.

More pronounced has been the feminist outcry over the Simpson acquittal. Tammy Bruce, the rabid leader of the L.A. chapter of NOW, barely tried to restrain her bloodlust for a Simpson lynching party. Simpson was a reprehensible wife-beater, but that doesn't prove that he was a murderer, as the feminists and the prosecution would have it. Sexual relations between black men and white women are an explosive issue in this profoundly racist society. It is enough to recall the Scottsboro case of nine young blacks in the 1930s who were nearly lynched on the false charge of raping two white women. Countless black men in the Jim Crow South were lynched for nothing more than "reckless eyeballing" of white women. That's what happened to 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi 40 years ago, and nobody was tried for *his* murder.

The Simpson case provided an excruciating contradiction for opportunists whose politics are based on tailing after various petty-bourgeois forces, from feminists to black nationalists. Sam Marcy's Workers World Party decided that after the Fuhrman tapes, "racism eclipsed the other critical social issue

nents of integration, the WL blithely claimed, "the issue in Warrendale is not race." And in the Simpson trial, North & Co. declare that "Racism...is only a secondary and incidental basis of the oppressive role of the police."

For years, the Northites have presented a "colorblind" version of "socialism" that dates back to the American social democracy before the impact of the Russian Revolution was felt. In the early part of this century, Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs once declared, "We have nothing special to offer the Negro." But North has more in common with Debs' social-chauvinist opponent, Milwaukee "sewer socialist" Victor Berger, who was an open racist.

Marxists have a different, and counterposed, tradition. A defining political struggle in the early socialist movement was over the case of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French general staff who was framed up in an anti-Semitic witchhunt. Dreyfus was no leftist or worker any more than O.J. Simpson is, but rather a conservative militarist and supporter of French imperialism. Nonetheless, genuine socialists did not wait for Dreyfus's tormentors to admit they were carrying out a frame-up—which the French army high command finally did



WV Photo
Labor must be mobilized to fight police terror: union contingent in Philadelphia demonstration on August 12 for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

in the spotlight—domestic violence" (*Workers World*, October 12). And if Fuhrman's genocidal rantings had not been revealed, would that have swung the balance the other way?

One group which had no contradictions is the Workers League (WL) of David North. In the last couple of years, this dubious outfit has written off the trade unions as any sort of working-class organizations and denounced the right to self-determination for oppressed nations. Now, the WL has become the "left wing" of outright racist reaction. In a commentary co-authored by WL supremo North, these racist pro-cop "socialists" sounded like a press release from the prosecution: "A very wealthy man was able to manipulate the legal system and, as in this case, literally get away with murder." North alibis the cops, dismissing "claims of frame-up" which "confuse routine sloppiness, lies and arrogance with a genuine conspiracy to manufacture a case." Since Simpson was not a leftist or a worker, they claim, he could not have been the victim of a police and government frame-up. And what of racism? Not an issue for North, who explicitly equates "white racism and black nationalism" as "mutually complementary."

This is far from the first time that the WL has acted as bloodhounds for the cops. When SWP militant Mark Curtis was framed up on bogus rape charges by Des Moines, Iowa cops and prosecutors in 1988, the Northites scripted the summation for the prosecution, which in many cases was virtually identical with the WL statement. And in 1992, the Workers League acted as spokesmen for a white racist backlash against the presence of a school named after Malcolm X in the predominantly white Warrendale area of Detroit. As school doors were defaced with swastikas by avowed oppo-

only a month ago, 100 years after the fact—but rallied to his defense as part of the fight against anti-Semitism and all aspects of political reaction.

Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin had in mind the Dreyfus case and similar instances of chauvinist persecution in writing that the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must be a *tribune of the people*, fighting against every manifestation of oppression and anti-democratic discrimination. Following Lenin's example, the Spartacist League calls for a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. The Simpson case confirmed yet again that, despite the changed demographics of American society with the influx of Hispanic and Asian immigrants in recent years, black oppression remains, as it has always been, the cornerstone of reaction in the U.S. We fight for *black liberation through socialist revolution*.

Large numbers of black people understand that the whole system of police frame-up and judicial persecution is loaded against them. But this racist "injustice" system will not be defeated in the courtroom with high-priced lawyers. In recent years, the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee played a key role in organizing the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. We seek in particular to mobilize the social power of labor to free Mumia from the clutches of his would-be executioners and abolish the racist death penalty. For the one third of young black men in the clutches of the cops and courts, for the millions of welfare mothers and children facing starvation, for the working class as a whole, the program of revolutionary class struggle to sweep away the capitalist oppressors is the only road to liberation. ■

Filipina Maid...

(continued from page 3)

troops after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990."

Indeed, the imperialist "Desert Slaughter" of Iraq was not about morality but about control of oil and U.S. imperialist domination. But while denouncing the Arab oil sheikdoms for their cruel and inhumane treatment of foreign workers and wondering what the Gulf War was all about, the *Independent* "forgets" to mention the plight of domestic servants in Britain—enslaved not only by sheiks who have moved there, but also by expatriates who have returned and brought their servants with them—documented in Bridget Anderson's book, *Britain's Secret Slaves*, published by Anti-Slavery International.

And in the U.S., a whole industry of garment sweatshops is based on Asian and Latina women workers, often working in literal slavery. In the article "USA: Immigrant Women Workers Expose Racist Abuse" (*Women and Revolution* No. 42, Spring/Summer 1993), we wrote of the conditions of Latina maids. Now immigrants, both legal and "illegal," are the targets of a racist backlash symbolized by California's Proposition 187.

In Japan, we well remember Maricris Sioson and the 32 other Filipinas whose deaths in 1991, while working as "hostesses," were covered up as the Philippine embassy in Tokyo refused to seriously investigate. Sioson was 21 when her bruised, battered and stabbed body was returned to her home in Manila. One young woman was thrown out of a window, another was drowned in a bathtub. These women were enticed from their impoverished homeland, forced into prostitution or imprisoned in factory dormitories and subjected to all kinds of abuses. Their male counterparts scrimp to make a living as dock workers at the port of Yokohama or as day laborers throughout the country. Working in some of the dirtiest, hardest jobs, they are subjected to non-payment of wages when they can find work, and suffer systematic abuse of their health.

In a leaflet calling for defense of the rights of foreign workers distributed on May Day 1993, the Spartacist Group Japan demanded full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and for foreign workers to be integrated into the same unions as their Japanese brothers and sisters.

"The Sun Never Sets on a Filipino Worker"

Similar to the furor unleashed following the execution of Flor Contemplacion, the case of Sarah Balabagan has unleashed a cry of outrage in the Philip-

pinas, where 2,000 people a day leave to work overseas. Contemplacion was viewed as a hero and victim among a great majority of the Filipino working class; at least three movies were produced about her life, drawing many thousands who could identify with her fate.

While the Ramos government hypocritically mouths words of condemnation of Balabagan's sentence, it is careful not to push too far. As one government official put it, "We intend to keep our relations with the U.A.E. It is one of the friendliest countries to the Philippines" (*Asiaweek*, 29 September). It is also a



Spartacist Japan

Spartacist Group Japan demands "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!" at rally against police roundup of Iranian immigrants in Tokyo in 1993.

top market for imported Philippine products. Meanwhile, Ramos hands down death sentences at home and whips up nationalism in the form of praising the stranglehold of Catholicism on the Philippines while denouncing the "fanaticism" of Islam. This past summer a task force of 3,000 police and presidential guards backed by armored cars descended on the Muslim quarters of Manila in a pre-dawn raid, arresting 300 suspected "gang members," an obvious attempt to intimidate the Muslim insurgency movement in the south.

After overthrowing the dictatorship of the hated Ferdinand Marcos, General Fidel Ramos poses as a democrat and defender of OCWs. But whether under Marcos or Ramos, as the obedient servant of U.S. imperialism and executor of the dictates of the International Monetary Fund, the Philippine government has kept the majority of the population at or below starvation level so that they must leave the country to earn a living. A spiraling escalation in the price of rice and other commodities and a threatened increase in oil prices, combined with Ramos' repeated calls for emergency powers and attempts to implement police-state measures (such as detention without trial and a national identification system) have brought large numbers of protesters into the streets.

the OCWs are women who are employed mainly as domestics at the lower end of the pay scale.

Demonstrations in defense of Filipina maids have included contingents from trade unions. But even in the case of the left-led KMU labor federation, under the cover of socialist rhetoric, their real politics are nationalist reformism, putting pressure on the bourgeois ruler of the day. Ultimately, the fate of the thousands of other Sarahs, Flors and Leonardas, and of the increasing millions of foreign workers throughout the world, depends on the forging of a revolutionary internationalist vanguard party of the proletariat. Equality of women and elimination of poverty are tasks that cannot be solved short of socialist revolution on an international scale.

The outcry over the threatened execution of Sarah Balabagan must not fall silent. Only when those who labor rule will the sheiks and their executioners, holdovers of medieval backwardness, as well as their powerful imperialist patrons who have repeatedly engulfed the world in the flames of modern warfare, be swept from the stage of history. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 4)

At the height of the racist tide against busing, the liberals conspicuously turned their backs on integration in education, beginning with the 1974 Supreme

Court decision *Milliken v. Bradley* which exempted Detroit's richer and whiter suburbs from desegregation. In Boston, successive relaxing of guidelines along with massive white flight to parochial schools and the suburbs made desegregation efforts all but a dead letter. The rump of the busing program now shuttles minority students from one side of town to another, but integrates nothing. Even this pathetic pretension is under attack as Kelly promises to press forward his agenda of openly segregated "neighborhood schools."

The assaults on affirmative action and busing in Boston are but one still frame from the horror movie playing nationwide. The *New York Times* speculates that as many as 1,000 pending court suits are seeking to throw out already attenuated school busing orders. Desegregation programs have already been eliminated in Norfolk, Virginia and Oklahoma City. Recently a federal judge in Denver not only reversed a 21-year-old program for school desegregation, but upheld an amendment to the Colorado Constitution prohibiting any school busing to achieve racial balance. In the case of *Missouri v. Jenkins*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated a desegregation order imposed on the Kansas City school system with Clarence Thomas delivering a consenting opinion.

The capitalist class puts only as much money into education as it thinks it can get back from an exploitable workforce. The vicious and gratuitously racist cutbacks in education, like the genocidal cutbacks in welfare and health care, are coldly calculated to reduce the cost of one of capitalism's most important commodities, labor power, the cost of a new generation of wage slaves. With virtually no jobs available, the bourgeoisie sees no reason to spend a cent for black people, and reverts to its historically normative animus against the very prospect of black equality. As we said in a leaflet protesting the University of California's knifing of affirmative action in admissions, "Having eliminated millions of manufacturing jobs, effected genocidal cuts in welfare and gutted the public health care system, the ruling class now wants to declare that they never have to hire a black person again" (or provide him or her with anything approaching an education).

Even before the takeover of the federal judiciary by nutty ultraright Reaganite conservatives and the rise of racist Clinton/Gingrich reaction, the American bourgeoisie, a class in decay, had proven itself manifestly incapable of fulfilling as basic a democratic right as equal access to a decent education. The fight for quality integrated schooling as part and parcel of the struggle to desegregate every aspect of social life in this country will take nothing less than a socialist revolution. For this monumental task we need a revolutionary workers party that can lead the integrated working class to burn the racism out of American society. ■

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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 |
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L.A. Cuts...

(continued from page 12)

country club set, but stiffed largely minority L.A. County.

Buried in the voluminous media coverage of the crisis is the fact that the county's contract with Local 660 expired on September 30. Instead of hanging the health care workers out to dry, what's called for is a strike by all L.A. County workers to spike the threatened layoffs. Such an action would have a broad appeal to all public employees who face the government's austerity ax and to the millions who depend upon public health care. County workers understand that without a job, they will face the same impossible situation that public hospital patients do today.

Many of the rank and file who have turned out in the thousands for protests over the past few months don't buy the roll-over-and-play-dead approach of the union leadership. When Local 660 general manager Gilbert Cedillo tried to tout his "partnership" idea to a demonstration of 500, he was drowned out by chants of "no privatizations." SEIU 660, with its highly integrated membership, was one of the most prominent unions in last year's campaign against Prop. 187. Then as now, the union leadership funneled the just outrage against this racist measure into the Democratic Party, using the demonstrations to solicit volunteers to get out the vote for Kathleen Brown, who was calling to militarize the border.

The health care crisis has sharply highlighted the union leaders' slavish loyalty to the Democratic Party. SEIU International chief John Sweeney, who is running for AFL-CIO president, has intervened in L.A. seeking to demonstrate his claim to represent "new blood" to revive the federation. Sweeney, who is a member of the Democratic National Committee, wangled a private meeting with Clinton, who coughed up some federal funds, resulting in the "victory" of 2,800 layoffs! And while the Local 660 leadership concentrates its fire on Republican governor Wilson, whose presidential primary bid based on anti-immigrant racism just bombed out, it is in fact the Democratic majority on the County Board of Supervisors which is implementing these deadly cuts.

When pink slips were issued for the originally slated layoffs on September 15, the County Sheriff's Department provocatively announced a "tactical alert" showing that the state intends to enforce its austerity program with its racist thugs in blue. L.A. rulers remember only too well the massive outpouring of rage at the 1992 acquittal of the cops who

nearly beat Rodney King to death. In a city which has a gap between rich and poor that ranks third behind Calcutta and Rio de Janeiro (*Nation*, 19 September), the ruling class relies on racist cop terror from the likes of Mark Fuhrman and his cohorts to contain any manifestation of social protest. While L.A. mayor Riordan moans about "belt tightening," he still managed to hire 600 more cops in the past year!

To wage a real fight against these racist genocidal plans requires a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and break with the Democrats. What's desperately needed is to build a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a revolutionary workers party that will unite the oppressed behind the social power of the working class to sweep away the decaying capitalist system which is visibly destroying health care as it intensifies state repression. ■

Boeing...

(continued from page 12)

the workforce from 166,000 in 1989 to 105,000 today—slashing more than 15,000 machinist jobs in Washington state alone. Workers "have watched their colleagues vanish as work previously done in Renton or Everett has been moved to Mexico, Poland, China, or Alabama," according to the *Seattle Times* (8 October). The company now wants over half of its airline production work done by outside contractors. The *Asian Wall Street Journal* (16 October) reported Boeing plans to produce as many as 1,500 tail assemblies in China.

Boeing workers were especially infuriated by company pleas that "our customers—airlines and governments alike—tell us our products simply cost too much," as Shrontz and Boeing president Phil Condit whined in a pre-strike letter to employees. Shrontz pulls down a cool \$1,500,000 and Condit over \$800,000 each year in salary, not counting the millions in bonuses its top executives "earned" when Boeing's stock soared last year. But while the bosses play hardball, IAM International president George Kourpias "tours" the picket lines boasting of meeting with Clinton to beg for "national policies to respond to international competition in ways that strengthen domestic production."

Boeing is counting on the IAM bureaucrats to divert the power of the striking membership into the trap of protectionism. With their blanket theme of "American work for American workers," the IAM misleaders are channeling workers' anger against "cheap foreign labor" instead of against the greedy bosses. At an October 11 rally outside Boeing's Seattle headquarters, strikers

carried signs with flag-waving appeals, such as "Boeing—Stay in the U.S.A." and "Export Planes—Not Our Jobs."

One striker who has worked at Boeing since 1966 told the *New York Times* (14 October), "Our biggest competitors are not McDonnell Douglas and the Airbus consortium of Europe. It's workers in Mexico and Poland." With 70 percent of its sales made overseas, Boeing is the nation's largest exporter and increasingly uses foreign labor to drive down the cost of production and increase profits. But protectionism only protects the bosses' profits, scapegoating foreign workers for the destruction of jobs at home and whipping up anti-foreigner racism. The union tops are especially targeting workers in Japan, where the entire fuselage and other major components of the new 777 are made.

There is no doubt that the strikers are determined to beat back the arrogant aerospace giant's union-busting attack. But doing so requires unleashing the IAM's considerable power, which alongside other unions can shut down production at Boeing and choke off its profits. The strikers need a fighting alliance of Boeing workers in the U.S., Japan and everywhere else that jet parts are being produced—international workers solidarity, not the bleating of chauvinist union tops. The IAM bureaucrats are running this strike like a script from Clinton's Japan-bashing White House, and that's the same protectionist class collaboration the UAW tops have pushed while giving up hundreds of thousands of auto workers' jobs since the 1970s. Last year alone, Boeing dropped the ax on some 12,000 workers.

The last Boeing strike in 1989 was ground down after 48 days by the IAM tops, who let supervisors finish the planes and ship them out. Now once again they are content to let scabs go through the picket lines while appealing to the NLRB, the capitalist government's anti-labor board. To win this strike it's necessary to mobilize the massive power of Boeing's workers to shut down the flow of profits. Bring out the more than 20,000 members of the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association, whose leaders tell their members to cross the picket lines. Their contract expires in December, but engineers better understand that their fate will be sealed with the outcome of this strike. Teamsters should refuse to touch anything to do with Boeing, incoming or outgoing. Boeing has billions tied up in high-tech production facilities and 777 jumbo jets in production; put them in union hands by occupying the plants, backed up by mass picket lines.

Workers must sweep out the current gang of union bureaucrats who are dyed-

in-the-wool defenders of the profit system. Today, every worker in the country says the union-busting assaults began with the defeat of the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981, but Machinists then-president William Winpisinger ushered in this avalanche of defeats by refusing to call out the IAM airline mechanics locals who had the power to shut down the airports and defeat the anti-labor offensive. A leading light of the Democratic (Party) Socialists of America (DSA), Winpisinger once said, "We've stuck by the Democratic Party through thick and thin, whether the candidate was a dog, a dead horse, or a winner."

Today, IAM chief Kourpias continues to tie the fate of the union to the Democrats. As with the rest of the sellouts running the AFL-CIO, this has spelled defeat. As we wrote at the end of the strike in 1989 (*Workers Vanguard* No. 491, 8 December 1989): "From PATCO to Eastern to Boeing, it's the workers who pay the price for the class collaboration of these labor lieutenants of capital. Break with the Democrats! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government!" ■

Lynch Law...

(continued from page 5)

Capitalist America is Philly writ large for black people. There can't be any real civilian "review" of the police because they are the armed fist of state repression: they have the guns, and the courts, and the jails. Hiring minority cops, appointing "independent" commissions to investigate, establishing powerless review boards to review, electing liberal Democrats and black mayors won't change this fundamental fact.

Today's pious media hand wringing seeks to pin blame on a few "rotten apples" for the most hideous abuses. But while liberals tout civilian review boards as a means to rein in "rogue cops," as Marxists we know that the Mark Fuhrmans are no aberration in a society founded on exploitation and impoverishment of the working masses by the ruling class. Liberal calls to reform the police are dangerous illusions meant to keep the lid on their victims' righteous anger.

To avenge the deaths of Anthony Rosario, Hilton Vega, Joseph Gould, William Hankston—and so many hundreds of others—and win justice for all the victims of police terror will take a workers revolution to dismantle capitalism's machinery of repression. Then we can set about building a classless society eliminating all forms of social oppression and establishing genuine equality, and racist police terror will be consigned to the history books. ■

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

As expected, the "prosecutor in robes," Judge Albert Sabo, ruled on September 15 against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's petition challenging his 1982 conviction and death sentence. Sabo's decision flagrantly disregarded the massive evidence presented of a police and prosecution frame-up. Mumia, a former Black Panther, courageous journalist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group, is now closer to a legal lynching. A notice of appeal to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court was filed on October 10. As the legal battle goes forward, we must redouble our efforts to fight for Jamal's freedom. As Mumia himself said after winning a stay of execution on August 7, the stay was an attempt by the state "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

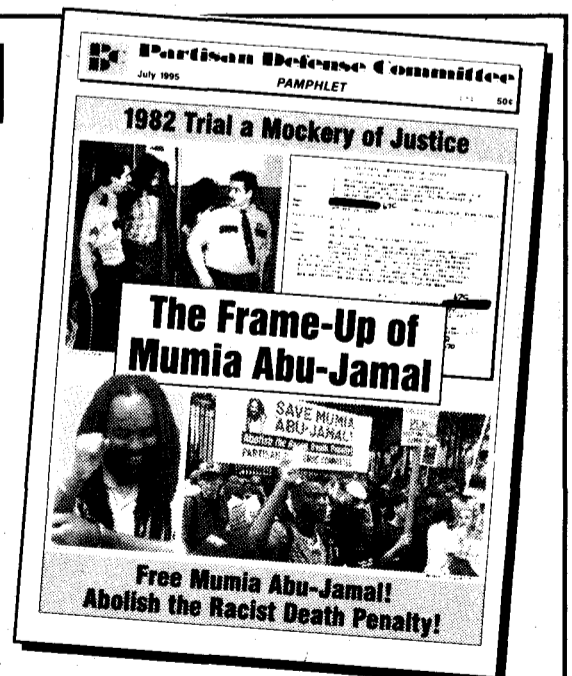
1 Organize protest! Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the PDC

pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for \$10. For only \$1, buy the PDC's button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for \$30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of \$5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 787-2500; fax (717) 783-3369.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.



Spread the word: order bundles of the PDC pamphlet!

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fight L.A. Hospital Cuts— Deadly Attacks on Immigrants, Poor

LOS ANGELES—"Bad things are going to happen. I think people will begin to die." This was the grim diagnosis of Dr. Brian Johnston, Director of Emergency Services and Chief of Staff at White Memorial Medical Center in East L.A., as he commented on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors' proposal to close six comprehensive health centers, 28 of 39 neighborhood clinics, slash 75 percent of outpatient services at county hospitals and lay off, demote or transfer more than 5,200 health care workers in the nation's second largest public health system.

The killer cuts were originally slated to take effect October 1. At the last minute, hoping for a political payoff in the '96 elections, President Clinton rechanneled \$354 million in federal funds to the beleaguered L.A. County public health system. The closure of most facilities was temporarily suspended, but even with the federal funds, the "restructuring" continues. The Board of Supervisors has taken deadly aim at the highly organized and integrated workforce, ordering 2,800 layoffs to begin October 15. In addition, it is implementing a union-busting drive to privatize clinics that remain open, while reducing by one-quarter outpatient services at county hospitals and decreeing a 5 percent pay cut for all county workers.

These cuts will have catastrophic effects on the well-being of millions of largely black and Latino poor and working people for whom county facilities provide their only access to even minimal health care. The public clinic system handled more than two million patient visits last year, providing lifesaving medications, chemotherapy,

monitoring of high-risk pregnancies, biopsies, immunizations, AIDS testing, dialysis and a host of other services. The racist rulers of this decaying capitalist system have made it clear that they increasingly see the ghettoized poor as a surplus population which they have no intention of employing, educating, housing, feeding or providing health care for.

care" to undocumented workers and their families while requiring that health care workers notify immigration authorities of "suspected illegals." The passage of Prop. 187 triggered a 20 percent drop in patient visits to clinics serving this population and resulted in a number of senseless deaths.

The cutback crisis in Los Angeles

York to L.A., local officials are mounting a drive to simply eliminate public health facilities through privatization, creating a for-profit system in order to eliminate care for millions of the uninsured (2.6 million in L.A. County alone) and bust the unions of the highly organized public sector.

In the Los Angeles area, more than 200 private concerns have bid to operate the clinics. Fearing a proliferation of "medical mills" dispensing inferior health care, one prominent expert said of those bidding for contracts, "We have had some providers that, very frankly, I wouldn't allow to touch a patient" (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 September). Yet rather than opposing this union-busting privatization outright, the leadership of Service Employees International (SEIU) Local 660 is calling for a "public-private partnership" in a "restructured" health system.

For the last several months, L.A. County workers have rallied in angry protests outside meetings of the Board of Supervisors. During the summer, sickouts by 900 workers closed many offices of the Department of Social Services. In September, spontaneous sickouts by nurses at County-USC Medical Center, a primary target for downsizing or possible closure, repeatedly shut down the trauma unit and emergency room. Yet faced with the loss of thousands of jobs, the response of the Local 660 tops has been to beg for funds from Washington and Sacramento. To no one's surprise, the state came up with the funds to bail out affluent Orange County, which for years sunk its funds into stock market speculation to avoid taxing the

continued on page 11



Hospital workers protest mass layoffs and deadly cuts in Los Angeles' public health system.

Their message: "Drop dead."

Servicing a huge immigrant population, the county health care system has been tops on the racist rulers' hit list since California's Proposition 187 was passed last year. This immigrant-bashing measure seeks to deny "non-emergency

takes place as Democrats and Republicans nationally take the knife to medical benefits, arguing over just how many billions to cut from health care. (The House Republican proposal would slash over \$450 billion from Medicare and Medicaid over seven years!) And from New

Machinists: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Victory to the Boeing Strike!

OCTOBER 16—Over 32,000 Boeing workers in the Seattle area, Portland, Oregon and Wichita, Kansas walked off the job at midnight, October 6, after voting down an insulting company "offer" demanding hefty givebacks on health insurance and the right to contract out union work. Members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) voted three-to-one to strike after the union's negotiating committee recommended turning down the contract. On October 3, hundreds of angry sheet metal workers, riveters, crane operators, toolmakers, electricians and others marched through Boeing's giant Everett, Washington jumbo jet plant at lunch time chanting "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

Boeing, the world's largest producer of commercial aircraft for over three decades, hopes to jack up its profit rate by

gutting the strength of the IAM during a lax period of production. Boeing CEO Frank Shrontz boasted to the *Wall Street Journal* (5 October) of "pre-positioning of inventory and building ahead" to prepare for a strike. Outlining the employers' strategy, *Aviation Week* (9 October) observed: "Management personnel could finish in-process aircraft to meet urgent delivery deadlines. Other airline customers might welcome a few weeks' delay in the delivery of the costly equipment." In fact, one week into the strike Boeing delivered the first of thirty 767 freighters to United Parcel Service in Seattle.

Despite a temporary decrease in aircraft orders, enormous profits continue to roll into Boeing: \$856 million in 1994 and over \$1.2 billion the year before. It is mainly through "outsourcing" that Shrontz & Co. have already reduced

continued on page 11



Striking Boeing workers rally on October 11 in Seattle. Occupy the plants! Down with protectionist poison!