



Mass Protest in Tallahassee to Defend Affirmative Action

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

Less than two months after 50,000 people demonstrated against the Confederate flag in Columbia, South Carolina, as many as 50,000 came out in Tallahassee, Florida on March 7 to protest Republican governor Jeb Bush's "One Florida" plan, which would eliminate affirmative action in university admissions and state contracting jobs. From the podium at the Tallahassee march, a veteran of the black Tuskegee Airmen's squadron in World War II told the overwhelmingly black protesters that he was not going back to the days when he could not set foot on a beach in the "sunshine state."

It was to signal white racist defiance of the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against segregation in public schools that the Confederate flag of slavery was first brought out again by the Democratic governor of Georgia in 1956. For the black population in the South, the fight for integrated education is deeply understood as crucial to the historic struggle for black equality. This is keenly felt in Florida, whose racist notoriety even in the Deep South is captured by references to the "Redneck Riviera" along the Gulf Coast and the "cracker belt" in the north.

Some 600 public school bus drivers from Miami took off from their jobs to travel 500 miles to Tallahassee for the protest. There, they joined labor contingents from across the state representing

ILA longshoremen, AFSCME government workers, Laborers, Teamsters and many other unions. Many of these workers defied threats of being laid off or fired in order to take the day off for the march. Among the many students were hundreds of high school students, including some who had been threatened with failing grades if they missed school to attend. Veterans of the civil rights movement recalled the bitter and bloody battles that were waged in the 1950s and '60s to break Jim Crow segregation.

The mass protests in Columbia and Tallahassee—the biggest demonstrations in the South against racist reaction since the civil rights movement—speak to renewed volatility among the black population in the area. The union presence in Tallahassee underlines the vanguard role to be played by black labor in the coming battles for black rights and to crack the "open shop" South. But that was not the purpose of the "Coalition of Conscience" protest organizers, which included the NAACP, black churches and the state AFL-CIO. On the contrary, their aim was to shackle the power of organized black workers, and channel the militancy and determination of the protesters behind the Democratic Party.

This was put baldly by black Democratic Congresswoman Corrine Brown, who told the crowd: "Don't be confused about why we're here today. It's about

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Burk/Florida Times-Union

Tallahassee, March 7: As many as 50,000, including many black trade unionists, turned out to protest racist rollback of affirmative action.

Racist Cop Terror and the Legacy of Slavery

We publish below an edited talk to a Workers Vanguard readers group in the San Francisco Bay Area which discussed the January 17 march in Columbia, South Carolina against the Confederate flag and the February 25 verdict in the Amadou Diallo case. The talk was given by Spartacist League and Labor Black League spokesman Don Cane.

The pre-Civil War Supreme Court declared in the 1857 Dred Scott case that the black slave had no rights that were

bound to be respected. The states of the Jim Crow South, in response to the black struggle against Jim Crow segregation in the 1950s and '60s, raised the Confederate battle flag over their capitols. This was their statement that the Dred Scott verdict is still the law of the land.

The whitewash "not guilty" verdict of the Albany, New York court of the four cops who killed Amadou Diallo is just the latest affirmation of the legacy of the Dred Scott verdict. Now Al Sharpton and

other black Democrats are calling for a federal "civil rights" prosecution of the four cops. But were Amadou Diallo's civil rights violated? This is the polite liberal way of explaining 41 bullets and 19 bullet wounds. This is the polite liberal lie that maintains that we are all Americans with rights. This is the polite liberal apology for a state power that kills without pause in the name of profits and the "American way."

Rev. Al Sharpton, former FBI fink and

charlatan hustler, proclaims, "Any man has the right to expect the police to protect him and not shoot him." Karl Marx spoke of religion as "the opium of the people" easing the pain of the here-and-now life of capitalist misery and cruelty. The "opium of the people" pushed by Sharpton is cut with baking soda. It brings no relief. It is counterfeit.

Let us be clear on this: right stands no higher than might. The highly class-conscious U.S. capitalist ruling class understands this well. Abroad they bully and bomb weaker nations from Iraq to the Balkans into submission, into acceptance of their imperialist diktat. At home the velvet glove of "democracy" is pulled off to reveal the iron fist—outlawing the New York Transport Workers Union's right to strike and the Charleston International Longshoremen's Association's right to picket.

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Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



NYC Transit: TA Sics Cops on Union Meeting

In an outrageous attack on Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, on March 1 the Transit Authority (TA) called in NYPD cops to bust up a shop-gate union meeting at the 240th Street transit barn in the Bronx, throwing 18 night-shift subway cleaners out on the street. Leveling bogus charges of "gross insubordination," the TA fired all the "provisional" workers outright and suspended the "permanents," including the union steward, without pay.

The cop attack on the union meeting came only a few hours after a discrimination complaint had been made against a shop foreman who has long been notorious for racist harassment. Transit workers told WV that no sooner had the union meeting started than the foreman crashed into the crew room, demanding that the workers end the meeting. A supervisor and another manager then appeared, followed by the cops.

The union should have immediately made clear to the arrogant TA bosses that not a single train would pull in or out of

the station unless all 18 cleaners were reinstated on the spot with full pay and no disciplinary action. But far from mobilizing the union membership, the Local 100 leadership under President Willie James did not even publicize the TA attack; weeks after the victimizations, even many workers at 240th Street were totally in the dark about what had happened.

Three weeks after the event, the "provisionals" remain fired and the "permanents"—who are also threatened with termination—are being dragged through the TA's arbitration machinery. As for the self-styled opposition to James within the Local 100 bureaucracy, New Directions (ND), on March 20 it issued a "207th St Report" demanding "that all 18 be returned to work with full back pay" and urging James to "organize system-wide protests" and "a massive publicity campaign." To what end? To pursue "a special effort at arbitration."

Reliance on arbitration—or the Feds' Equal Employment Opportunity investigators, who have also been called in—is

the kiss of death. These are agencies of management and the capitalist state. Meanwhile, ND has repeatedly resorted to court suits *against the union!* ND's practice of dragging the TWU into the capitalist courts opens the union to direct intervention by the class enemy, serving to subordinate the union to the capitalist state.

The failure of the union leadership—both James and ND—to fight management's attack with the weapons of class struggle can only embolden the TA's union-busting campaign. The anti-union assault at 240th Street comes less than three months after the police-state-style attack on the TWU on the eve of a threatened strike in December. Republican mayor Giuliani and Democratic Party state attorney general Eliot Spitzer brought down injunctions criminalizing not only strike action but even use of the word "strike," while an army of cops was deployed against the union to enforce these measures. This bipartisan union-busting vendetta underscored yet again that the capitalist Democratic Party promoted by the trade-union bureaucracy as a "friend of labor" is an enemy of labor and minorities.

The TWU has the power to shut down New York City, the center of world finance capitalism. But instead of wielding that power, the James bureaucracy bowed to the government's strikebreaking threats and enforced the injunctions against the union membership. This was to be expected, as James has not only worked hand in glove with the city administration and TA management but literally invited cop spokesmen onto the platform at the huge union rallies during contract negotiations.

At a December 15 rally the day after the injunctions were imposed, ND likewise urged the ranks to observe the court order while an ND spokesman appealed to the cops as "heroes" who also deserved a pay raise. These are the same cops who

rampage through the inner cities and serve as enforcers of capitalist strike-breaking against the unions. And both James and ND support the presence of TA "property protection" security cops in the union. The cops and courts are direct agents of the capitalist class enemy; they have no place in the labor movement. Cops out of the TWU!

The mostly black, Hispanic and women cleaners, treated as lowest of the low by the TA, have repeatedly gotten the shaft. In 1996, James pushed through a contract provision mandating the replacement of hundreds of unionized cleaners' jobs by "workfare" recipients. In recent weeks, there has been a marked increase in the number of "workfare" cleaners on the platform at the 242nd Street station next to the transit barn. The use of welfare recipients to work as slave labor is a union-busting measure against the TWU, aimed at pitting the union against its potential allies in the ghettos and barrios. Down with "workfare"! The TWU must organize these workers into the union with full union wages, benefits and job protections. Such action would be a powerful statement by this heavily black and Hispanic union that it stands in the defense of the impoverished ghetto and barrio masses.

Both wings of the TWU Local 100 bureaucracy act to shackle the union to the capitalist state and the capitalist political parties, chiefly the Democrats. As the latest management/cop attack underlines, defense of the union itself cries out for a new, class-struggle leadership of the TWU, a leadership forged in the struggle for a workers party opposed to the capitalist parties and the whole capitalist system. Emboldened by the capitulation of the union tops last December, the TA bosses hope to pick off sections of the workforce in order to send a message of intimidation to all transit workers. An injury to one is an injury to all! Reinstatement all the cleaners with full back pay! ■

Imperialism and War



TROTSKY

Since the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, rivalries among the major capitalist powers—centrally, the U.S., Japan and Germany—have intensified and come to the fore, pointing to the threat of a new inter-imperialist world war. From promoting the "human rights" cover for the U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia last year to hailing the chauvinist, anti-Communist WTO protest in Seattle in December, the reformist "socialists" line up behind their imperialist



LENIN

rulers, following in the footsteps of the Social Democrats who mobilized the workers for the slaughter of World War I. Attacking such class traitors in a speech to the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets in June 1917, V.I. Lenin explained that the root cause of World War I lay in the world imperialist system, which can be destroyed only through proletarian revolution.

Imperialism is a definite stage in the development of world capital. Capitalism, which has been developing for decades, created a situation in which a small group of immensely rich countries—there are no more than four: Britain, France, Germany and the U.S.A.—amassed wealth amounting to hundreds of thousands of millions, and concentrated vast power in the hands of the big banks and big capitalists—there are only a couple or half a dozen of them at most in each of these countries—immense power encompassing the whole world, and literally divided the whole globe territorially by setting up colonies....

What is the practical way out of this war as we see it? We say: the way out of this war lies only through revolution. Support the revolution of the classes oppressed by the capitalists, overthrow the capitalist class in your country and thereby set an example to other countries. That alone is socialism. That alone means fighting the war. Everything else is empty promises, phrase-mongering or pious wishes. Socialism has been split all over the world. You continue to confuse things by associating with socialists who back their governments. You forget that in Britain and Germany, the true socialists, who express the socialism of the masses, are isolated and have been thrown into gaol. Yet they alone express the interests of the proletarian movement. But what if in Russia the oppressed class found itself in power? When asked how we shall break out of the war by ourselves, we answer: you cannot break out of it by yourself. All our Party resolutions and all speakers at our public meetings call it absurd to say you can break out of this war by yourself. This war involves hundreds of millions of people and hundreds of thousands of millions in capital. The only way out is the transfer of power to the revolutionary class which must really break imperialism, its financial, banking and annexationist threads. Until this happens nothing will have been done.

—V.I. Lenin, "Speech on the War" (June 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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24 March 2000

Charges Dropped Against Chicago Anti-Nazi Protesters

On March 8, the Cook County State's Attorney dropped all charges against three Chicago trade unionists—Bernard Branche, Daniel Smith and Marc Vesecky—who were arrested on January 21 when 200 demonstrators drove Nazi Matthew Hale off Northwestern University campus in Evanston. Last summer, a member of Hale's "World Church of the Creator," Benjamin Smith, went on a shooting spree targeting Jews, blacks and Asians, killing Ricky Byrdsong, a black man and former NU basketball coach, and Korean student Won Joon Yoon.

Hale's appearance at Northwestern was aimed at recruiting more fascist killers like Smith. Armed with metal poles, Hale and his stormtroopers went straight for black protesters who had mobilized together with the Spartacist

League/Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black Struggle League in calling to stop these fascist killers. When protesters disarmed the Nazis, police moved in and arrested the three anti-Hale protesters. While under protection of a phalanx of riot-equipped cops, Hale, his lip split and swollen, was surrounded by 200 outraged protesters, pelted with snowballs and forced to beat a hasty retreat under police protection.

In a February 23 protest letter to the State's Attorney, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, of which Branche is a member, stated: "Far from being a 'crime,' this successful defense against racist attacks, which sent Hale packing, was a victory for working people and minorities in the Chicago area."

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NYPD Murder Machine Strikes Again

Shortly after midnight on March 16, Patrick Dorismond, a 26-year-old black man and father of two, was minding his own business, talking on his cell phone while trying to hail a cab in Midtown Manhattan. Within minutes, he was blown away by an undercover narc for the crime of being black in racist America.

Dorismond had just emerged from the Wakamba Cocktail Lounge in the garment district, where he went to have a couple of beers after his shift as a security guard for the 34th Street Business Improvement District. Seeking to entrap Dorismond, Detective Anderson Moran, one of a three-member team of the NYPD's "Operation Condor" narcotics squad, approached him and his co-worker Kevin Kaiser, asking where he could buy "some smoke." When Dorismond told Moran to go away, the cop punched him and signaled for his two partners. Detective Anthony Vasquez rushed in with his gun drawn, thrust the weapon into Dorismond's chest and fired. The narc squad had already hauled in eight people that night under their "buy and bust" m.o. Now they gave the racist "war on drugs" a grotesque twist by killing Dorismond in cold blood because he didn't have any drugs.

Dorismond's killing came just two weeks after the police, celebrating the acquittal of the four cops who killed Amadou Diallo, put a bullet through 23-year-old Malcolm Ferguson's head at pointblank range in the same Bronx



Sturkey family

Latest victim of NYPD terror: Patrick Dorismond, with girlfriend Karen Sturkey and their daughter.

neighborhood where Diallo had been shot down. Just as they did after Ferguson's killing, top cop Howard Safir and racist NYC mayor Giuliani immediately jumped in front of news cameras to say Dorismond deserved to die because he had a criminal record—which turned out to be a couple of "disorderly conducts" for throwing a punch and getting in a heated traffic dispute. Giuliani even had the cops open a juvenile file on Dorismond, sealed by law, which allegedly documented an offense at age 13! Vasquez, lauded by Giuliani as a "distinguished undercover officer," had himself been arrested on disorderly conduct charges for drawing his gun after starting a barroom brawl in Pennsylvania in 1997. But Vasquez' badge gave him a license to kill Patrick Dorismond.

As we wrote in "Capitalist 'Justice' Means Racist Murder" (WV No. 731, 10 March):

"The Diallo case starkly illuminates that there can be no justice for black people and working people under this capitalist system—for the simple reason that it is organized against them. By the standards of bourgeois legality, the cops were not guilty of any crime when they gunned down the 22-year-old unarmed black man. They were doing the job they are paid to do under racist capitalism."

On March 18, hundreds rallied in Manhattan to protest the latest killing, chanting "NYPD murderers!" The protesters were assaulted by the cops, and eight were arrested. We demand: Free all protesters now! Drop the charges!

Ever since widespread anger broke out over the killing of Amadou Diallo 13 months ago, Al Sharpton and other Democratic politicians have worked to channel this outrage into police "reform" schemes and Democratic Party pressure politics, particularly Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign against Giuliani. While criticizing Giuliani's "rush to judgment,"

Clinton rushed to spike outrage over the Dorismond killing, telling New Yorkers to wait for a "full investigation." Sharpton has called for a "spring offensive" of civil disobedience to demand the federal government "take over the Police Department," as though the Feds who carried out the 1993 Waco massacre would be any less brutal. "Operation Condor" is itself federally funded. Sharpton & Co. say that things would be different if there were more minority cops. But this didn't make things different for Dorismond and Ferguson, killed by Hispanic cops, or for LaTanya Haggerty and Robert Russ, killed by black cops in Chicago last year.

A few years back, Sharpton and other self-anointed "leaders of the black community" enrolled as foot soldiers in the "war on drugs" which spawned outfits like the Operation Condor assassins. Today Sharpton trades in the blood of the victims of the "war on drugs" to push Hillary Clinton's campaign and to promote "reform" schemes aimed at preserving the authority of capitalist "law and order" when the deadly workings of that system have created escalating anger in the ghettos, barrios and workplaces.

The cops can't be reformed; their job is to be the armed enforcers of the rule of the racist capitalist class. There will be no end to police brutality until the capitalist system it serves is swept away through proletarian socialist revolution. It is the purpose of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League to build a party that represents the interests of the working class—championing the cause of black freedom and of all those consigned to the bottom of this society—and leads the necessary hard-fought struggle to establish proletarian class rule. ■

Mexican Militants Added to PDC Stipend Program

Dig Deep to Help Jailed Student Strikers!

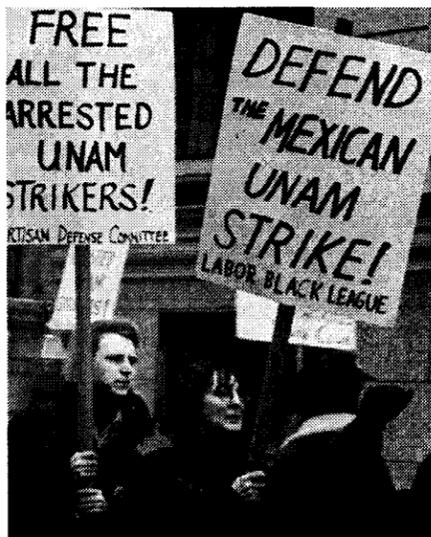
The International Communist League is raising funds for legal defense of student militants who still languish in Mexico's prisons. These activists were among the up to a thousand who were arrested in the Mexican government's drive to crush the ten-month-long, hard-fought strike at Mexico City's UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico) and high schools around the country.

After the mass arrests at Prepa 3 high school on February 1 and at UNAM on February 6, the ICL initiated international protests demanding "Free all arrested UNAM strikers! Defend public education!" (see WV No. 729, 11 February). These protests and the current fund drive are the kind of concrete actions that the workers movement and the left must take to demonstrate that the victimized

UNAM strikers do not stand alone. Having released some of the arrested strikers, the government hopes to lull the student protesters into submission and isolate the core of the strike leaders who remain behind bars. But protests demanding the release of *all* the student militants persist and many women strikers have valiantly refused to accept bail in solidarity with their comrades who are being held without bail, charged with being "dangers to society." This charge is infamous for its use in 1968 as the Mexican bourgeoisie carried out the Tlatelolco Massacre of students.

The Partisan Defense Committee has added Alejandro Echevarria Zarco ("El Mosh") and Alberto Pacheco Guizar ("El Diablo") to its class-war prisoners stipend program. The monthly stipend of US\$25 alleviates some of the hardships of imprisonment and represents a living link between imprisoned activists and the international workers movement which champions the struggle for their release.

The UNAM strike, provoked by the government's aim to deny poor and working-class youth the basic right to an education through tuition hikes and more restrictive admissions, grew into a wider social struggle, spreading from Mexico City around the country. The tens of thousands of courageous students and workers who have taken up this struggle are fighting on behalf of all those oppressed and dispossessed by capitalism. It is our revolutionary internationalist duty to raise funds to help get the imprisoned strike militants out of Mexico's dungeons. Every dollar you send could make a difference! Send contributions, earmarked "UNAM strikers," to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



WV Photo

February 7 NYC protest outside Mexican consulate.

24 MARCH 2000

Spartacist Forums

Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism! ANC Government Escalates War on South African Workers

Saturday, April 8, 7 p.m.

University of Illinois at Chicago
CCC Building, Room 613
750 S. Halsted

For more information: (312) 454-4930

CHICAGO

Defend China Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Friday, April 7, 7 p.m.

City College of San Francisco
Science Building Room 200
50 Phelan Avenue

For more information: (510) 839-0851 or
(415) 395-9520

BAY AREA

Saturday, April 8, call for time

Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue, Hollywood
(one block east of Vermont)

For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Women and the French Revolution—A Marxist Analysis

Thursday, March 23, 7:30 p.m.

NYU School of Law, Vanderbilt Hall
Rm. 218, 40 Washington Sq. South
(near Sullivan St., take any train to W. 4th St.)

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, March 25, 3 p.m.

The New St. Clair Restaurant
93 Smith St., Brooklyn
(at Atlantic Ave., take any train to Borough Hall)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

The Fight Against Capitalism in Racist North America

Saturday, April 15, 7:30 p.m.

Trinity St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. W.
(west of Spadina station)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

Friday, April 7, 7 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street
(off Commercial Drive)

For more information: (604) 687-0353

VANCOUVER

Legacy of Slavery...

(continued from page 1)

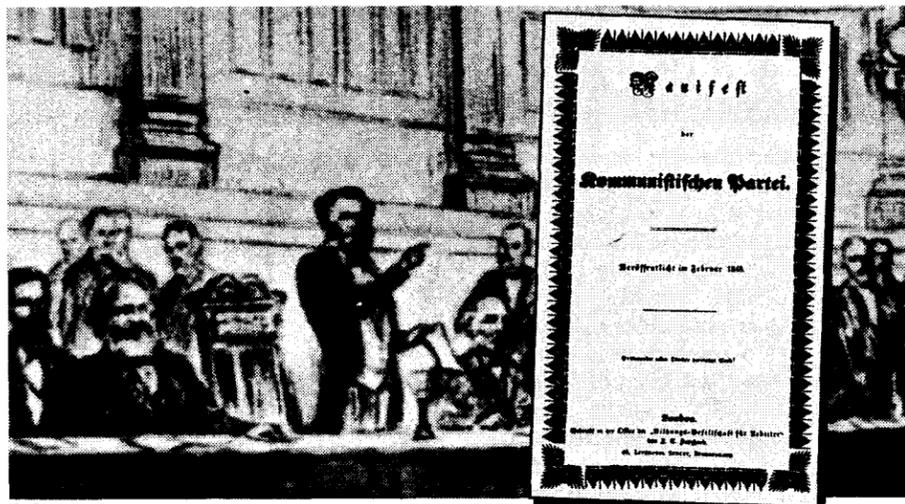
On October 23 in New York, the ruling class mobilized a legion of forces against the right of the working people to keep their city's streets clean of fascist Klan scum. On October 23, we saw with the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black anti-Klan mobilization a multiracial workers party in action. Acting as the tribune of the people, this party gave voice to at least 8,000 New Yorkers who proclaimed their right to stop the fascists in defense of their homes and families.

In Hidalgo, Mexico in February, downtrodden villagers disarmed 68 strikebreaking cops in defense of striking students of the local Rural Normal School. We salute these brave villagers who understood that the only rights the oppressed have are those they willingly take as their own.

Amadou Diallo's rights ended when his life was taken by killer cops. It is too late for justice, but his death will be avenged. We Spartacists have a slogan, "It's time to finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state!" This slogan encapsulates the understanding that "there will be

one class by another class. This includes the "American democracy" that the reformists appeal to for justice and threaten with "no peace." This democracy is a two-party dictatorship of capital over the multiracial working class. What justice this dictatorship offers the oppressed is partial and conditional. Justice for the rich is bought and paid for. The armed bodies of men that compose the capitalist state—the cops, courts and prisons—suppress the outrage of the workers and oppressed and thus provide relative social peace for the exploiters. For those that they exploit they offer the peace of the graveyard.

The Democratic Party has gone through many transformations. The original political party of the Southern slave-masters and their Northern collaborators, at the next stage it became the party of post-Reconstruction racist reaction—the Dixiecrats. At the next stage, it became the party of the 1930s New Deal working through the labor fakers to cripple the new CIO unions, offering a few more crumbs and a heavy dose of anti-Communism and racism. At the next stage, it became the party of the 1960s "War on Poverty" as America's ghettos exploded, recruiting a new generation of black front men. At this current stage, it is the New Democrats of Clinton/Gore, waging war on the poor, blacks, immi-



E. Schumann
Karl Marx (seated second from left), co-author with Friedrich Engels of *Communist Manifesto*, at 1864 inaugural meeting of the First International, which rallied European workers to support war against slavery in U.S.

eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!" ("Their Morals and Ours" [1938]).

Confederate Flag—"Heritage" of Slavery, Klan Terror

The *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848, states:

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

This materialist interpretation of history runs counter to the idealist interpretations of bourgeois scholars. The struggle for material interest replaces concepts such as "national unity," "common welfare" and every other "eternal moral truth" as the driving force of history. The conflict of classes based on particular modes of production replaces the view of history as disconnected events and individual heroes and villains.

I would like to share with you two different songs of struggle that came from opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean. One is the song "John Brown's Body," the favored marching song of black Civil War troops. The other is the "Internationale," written in honor of the 1871 Paris Commune, the first workers revolution. Both songs give voice to oppressed classes in struggle against an oppressor class. In searching for the words of these songs I also found a poem called "Those Rebel Flags." Written in the period of post-Reconstruction Jim Crow reaction, the disenfranchisement of the freedmen and the beginning of the Black Codes, this poem lays bare why yesterday, today and tomorrow, racists defend the blood-soaked Confederate flag as "heritage," the Confederate army as "good ole boys" fighting for independence and Robert E.

Lee as the most admired general in American history.

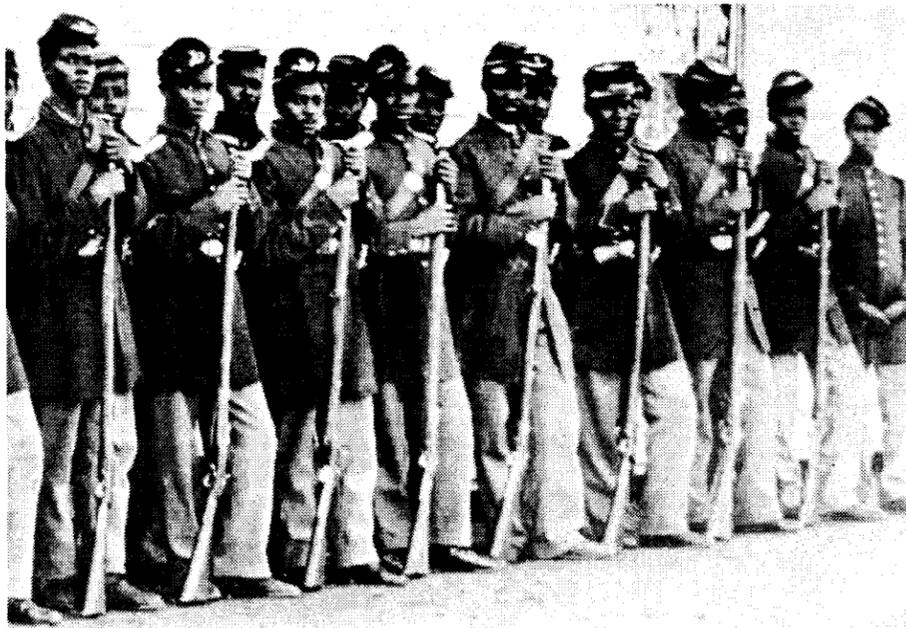
The Northern Civil War victory over the retrogressive slave system of the South consolidated bourgeois class rule on the North American continent. This in turn led near the turn of the century to heightened imperialist ambitions—the drive to lop off chunks of the world markets at the expense of other imperialist powers, at that time the principal target being the holdings of a greatly weakened Spain. Such ambitions demanded that capitalist wage slavery and private property at home were well protected against insurgent labor.

The *Communist Manifesto* begins, "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre." On the North American continent after the Civil War, this holy alliance consisted of Northern capitalists and chastised former slave-masters (who were still master over the land). This alliance was directed against labor becoming self-aware, conscious of its interests as a class in opposition to the capitalist class. In the South black labor, no longer chattel, was the main producer; in the North it was largely Catholic immigrants. The ideology of the old slave system was put to use—the old Slave Code became the Black Code, the old overseer/slavecatcher became the Klan. The stench of the old South once again began to creep across the land.

In "John Brown's Body," it says, "John Brown died that the slaves might be free." Chattel slavery came to an inevitable end. In the epoch of imperialist capitalism, these words are transcended by those of the "Internationale" (in its original form): "Servile masses arise, arise! We'll change henceforth the old tradition/And spurn the dust to win the prize."

Karl Marx on the Civil War

Recently one of our Spartacus Youth Club members reported comments made in a UC Berkeley political study group



Library of Congress

Black soldiers were key to Union victory in Civil War. Company E, 4th U.S. Colored Infantry standing in defense of Washington, D.C. against Confederate threat.

no end to police brutality short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as armed guard dogs," as we wrote in the current WV [No. 730, 25 February].

The reformist left chants, "No justice, no peace." We live in a class society—the questions must be asked, justice for whom and peace on whose terms? The answer is this: the state, i.e., the government, is a tool of suppression of

grants, women and the labor movement. Throughout this history, the Democrats maintained continuity—they are still a party of the slavemasters, old and new. The multiracial working class must mobilize politically and independently of the capitalists' state and parties in order to break the social chains of racism and chauvinism that bind it.

The charlatan Sharpton advises those outraged about the Diallo verdict, "let not one brick be thrown. Do not confuse us with the violent ones." This simple statement reveals the true soul of American capitalism's black front men. An army of New York cops is organized to violently smash any and all mass protest. But "we," the oppressed, must not be the violent ones. The pacifist M.L. King supported the National Guard being called out against the ghetto rebellions of the '60s. The entire spectrum of black middle-class opinion—from the sinister Louis Farrakhan (the man who wanted Malcolm X dead) to Rainbow Coalition liberal Jesse Jackson (the man who embraced arch-segregationist George Wallace)—this entire spectrum united around Farrakhan's 1995 "Million Man March" to lead the long-suffering black masses in dropping to their knees in "atonement" at the feet of their racist oppressor. Leon Trotsky, a great workers' leader, had this to say to similar moralists of his day: "A slave holder who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning and violence breaks the chains—let not the contemptible

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Thomas Nast cartoon depicts victory of racist reaction as Northern capitalists betray post-Civil War Reconstruction.



that postulated that Karl Marx, a European, could not have possibly "felt" what it was like to be black. It follows from this that Marx is irrelevant to American blacks and American black history. I will show that this is far from the truth. But first I want to address those sensitive souls concerned about feelings. Karl Marx, a German Jew, denounced in colorful language the "Negro-haters" of his day. As always, he took the side of the oppressed against the oppressor. He didn't grow dreadlocks or dye his hair circus colors to show his anti-racist commitment. He did something much more important. He wrote pages and pages of insightful analysis of the events of his day, a legacy of scientific method of value to future generations of class fighters.

Based on a scientific approach to social questions, Marx covered both the political and military aspects of the American Civil War. When the Confederate army seemed undefeatable, Marx understood and wrote that the slave system would fall. When Lincoln and his advisers sought out constitutional means of struggle, Marx predicted that tomorrow they would be forced to adopt revolutionary means of struggle. When leading Northern generals advocated a strategy of con-

could be satisfied only by the acquisition and the prospect of acquisition of new territories. Senator Toombs, a Southern spokesman, summed up the economic law of the slave system: "In 15 years more, without a great increase in Slave territory, either the slaves must be permitted to flee from the whites, or the whites must flee from the slaves."

Further slave territorial expansion was meeting increasingly stiff and violent resistance within the old Union. The slave owners launched a war of conquest. If it was not answered fire with fire, Marx wrote of the following results ("The Civil War in the United States," November 1861):

"Were it to cede the contested territory peacefully to the Southern Confederacy, the North would surrender to the slave republic more than three-quarters of the entire territory of the United States. The North would lose the whole of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, except the narrow strip from Penobscot Bay to Delaware Bay, and would even cut itself off from the Pacific Ocean. Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, Arkansas and Texas would draw California after them. Incapable of wresting the mouth of the Mississippi from the hands of the strong, hostile slave republic in the South, the great agricultural states in the basin between the Rocky Mountains



January 17: Columbia, South Carolina march against Confederate flag of slavery and Klan terror was largest Southern black protest since civil rights movement.

tainment, Marx denounced this as a strategy of appeasement and put forth the elements of the strategy that did eventually lead to Northern military victory under General Ulysses S. Grant: the South must be sliced in half and sliced again and again until its army has nowhere to run and it is completely destroyed as a fighting force.

Part of the "heritage" doubletalk is the lie that the South just wanted to be independent and the North would not allow it. In other words, it was a case of a bad divorce. Let me point out to you that the war emanated from the South, with the North originally and for some time thereafter on the defensive. It started with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, a Union-held fort under siege with only three days' provisions left at the time the bombardment began. The Confederates were fully aware of this fact, that Fort Sumter would fall soon of hunger.

The Confederate offensive was a last desperate bid of the slaveowner class to reorganize the Union itself and decide who would be master: Will it be a bourgeois-democratic republic or a slave republic? Political systems are not suspended in midair, but are propped up by economic systems. The export-oriented economic system of Southern slavery, agriculturally based, had the land appetite of a malignant cancer devouring resources and labor and bringing progress to no one. Many millions of "poor whites" were dispossessed by the increasing concentration of land. The interests of the tiny slaveholding class of 300,000

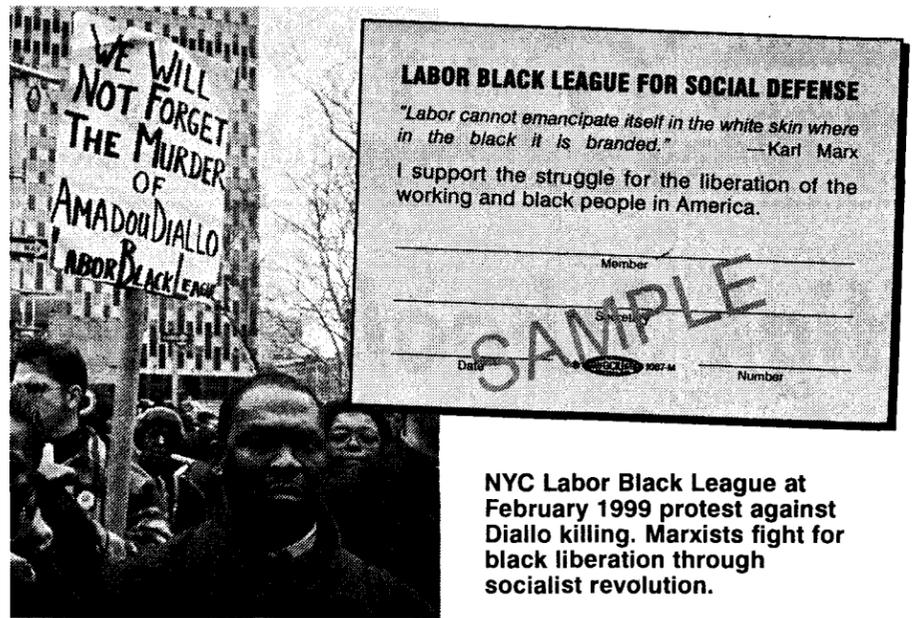
and the Alleghenies, in the valleys of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, would be compelled by their economic interest to secede from the North and enter the Southern Confederacy. These north-western states, in their turn, would draw after them into the same whirlpool of cessions all the Northern states lying further east, with perhaps the exception of the states of New England."

This huge land grab on the part of the slavemaster class was the desperate act of a dying class.

The Second American Revolution

This war reveals another great historical event—the liberation of an oppressed class of four million slaves. It could not have been otherwise than that this act of liberation would have a profound effect on the development of American capitalism and its working class. It is here that all the dimensions of the American Civil War as the Second American Revolution can be seen. The arming of the slaves was the turning point from constitutional means of struggle to revolutionary means of struggle. No one understood this better than the slavemasters who lived in dread of slave insurrection.

Now I will talk to you about two documents: one is Confederate War Department General Order No. 60, dated 21 August 1862, and the other is Union War Department General Order No. 100, dated 24 April 1863. The blood-drenched Confederate flag was awash with the blood of former slaves who flocked to the Union Army and were trained and armed there as soldiers. The overwhelm-



WV Photo

NYC Labor Black League at February 1999 protest against Diallo killing. Marxists fight for black liberation through socialist revolution.

ing majority of these black troops, freed slaves, were directly recruited and based in the South. Confederate General Order No. 60 was the official call for counter-revolutionary terror. This order sanctioned the Confederate army practice of giving "no quarter" to black Union soldiers and their white officers. In other words: No prisoners! Kill them all! Some 200-300 mainly black soldiers were murdered at Fort Pillow when it surrendered to Confederate forces. The future founder of the KKK, Nathan Bedford Forrest, was the Confederate general who directed this massacre. If by chance a captured black soldier survived such murderous terror, he was sold back into slavery.

Matching terror with terror, General Grant was of the opinion that the Confederate government should be informed that for every murdered black soldier a Confederate officer prisoner of war would be executed. Union General Order No. 100 embodied Grant's sentiment, which was widely shared. In response to the Confederate order allowing captured black Union soldiers to be sold into slavery, the Union order said: "The United States cannot retaliate by enslavement; therefore death must be the retaliation for this crime against the laws of nations." General Sherman suggested that the troops be left to their own devices to settle scores with the Confederates.

To give one example of these devices, many black regiments took oaths not to surrender but to fight to the last man and to give "no quarter" to the Confederates. "Remember Fort Pillow!" was their battle cry. Here is a description of black troops in action at Brice's Cross Roads, a Union defeat: "Colored troops engaged there kept firing until their ammunition was expended, then fought with bayonet and clubbed musket, and finally either picked up new weapons and ammunition from the road along which the rest of the Union forces were fleeing, or died" (Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army* [1990]). It was determined black troops who broke Robert E. Lee's last line of defense, forcing him to abandon Richmond and leading him to eventual surrender.

It is our task to carry out the third American Revolution, the socialist revolution ending the rule of the capitalist class and beginning the rule of the working class. This will be the first step toward a classless society, "an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all," in Marx's words. The short window of promise of black freedom that was Radical Reconstruction was closed by a capitalist power entering the final stage of capitalism, imperialist decay. Blacks remained an integral part of the American capitalist economy, but segregated at its bottom rungs. Anti-black racism became the lubricant greasing the wheels of American capitalist society.

The American capitalists sit on a powder keg of social contradictions. Riding an economic boom after World War II, they proclaimed the "American Century," promising white workers and the middle class increasing prosperity. In response to the '60s ghetto rebellions, they funded the expansion of the black middle class as a buffer against the impoverished ghetto. All has come to nought.

The black middle class, no matter how much they grovel, are being turned away from the capitalists' table. Liberal integrationism, the idea that black people in the U.S. can achieve full equality under capitalism, is fully revealed as a fraud. The ghetto masses as a whole faced this reality plainly—cop terror, degrading welfare (and now no welfare), poor education and "the last hired, first fired" remained their lot. As for white workers, the union-hating employers have dropped all pretense and treat them no better than "poor white trash."

Our program of revolutionary integrationism is the only road forward. It is necessary to mobilize the working class in struggle against all manifestations of racist oppression, based on the understanding that the struggle for black freedom and proletarian revolution are inseparable in this country. The multiracial working class, with its strategic black component, must rule in a socialist egalitarian society or sink with the capitalists in the racist cesspool called American society. ■

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Young Spartacus

High School Students Protest Against Racist Cop Terror

Why PL Doesn't "Fight for Communism"

In the wake of the racist verdict acquitting four white cops of the murder of West African immigrant Amadou Diallo, hundreds of high school protesters have taken to the streets in New York and New Jersey. On February 29, some 100 students walked out of Lincoln High School in Jersey City. On March 1, over 400 mostly black students walked out of Snyder High School, also in Jersey City. They marched to Lincoln High to call out their classmates there, but were confronted by security and cops who had barricaded the school shut. The 400 demonstrators then marched to City Hall to protest the cop killing of 15-year-old Michael Anglin, a black student at Snyder shot down by the cops this January.

In New York, a multiracial student demonstration from Stuyvesant High School marched across the Brooklyn Bridge on March 3. They demonstrated with students from La Guardia, Wingate, Murrow and other high schools at the federal courthouse—where a jury was deliberating over the verdict of the cops who sexually tortured Haitian immigrant Abner Louima—then marched back across the bridge to demonstrate at City Hall. That same day, some 120 students from Hunter High School marched to a rally by Central Park. And on March 8, students walked out of several Brooklyn high schools to rally at Fulton Mall in downtown Brooklyn, then marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to protest at City Hall. The Spartacus Youth Club salutes the students who came out in the face of the cops and the school administrators who threatened them with truancy charges and worse.

The Diallo verdict has amply shown what many already know: The cops are the racist enemies of blacks, minorities and workers! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! The cops who killed Diallo in cold blood were not convicted because in the eyes of the bloated, filthy rulers of this country they were only "doing their job" as a racist occupation



Lara/Jersey Journal

Jersey City: Lincoln High students protest Diallo verdict, February 29 (above). Cops face Snyder High students on March 1 as they try to mobilize Lincoln High to join walkout.



Jersey Journal

force in the ghettos and barrios. Less than five days after the verdict came down, the NYPD struck again, killing young Malcolm Ferguson. And on March 16, they blew away another unarmed black man, Patrick Dorismond, in midtown Manhattan under the guise of a "drug bust."

The cops—as well as the courts and the prisons—are part of the capitalist state. They exist to enforce the rule of the capitalist masters who run this country. Their brutality and terror cannot be eliminated without eliminating the very system of capitalism they work for. That means a socialist revolution, where the multiracial working class, the only class with the power to challenge the capitalists and their profit margins, leads all the oppressed in destroying the capitalist system and the entire capitalist state.

What is necessary is to link the social power of the labor movement with the anger and outrage of the ghettos. If, for example, New York transit workers had shut the entire city down in protest against cop terror, it would have given the racist cops some pause and shown the workers how their enormous social power could be mobilized on behalf of all the oppressed. This is the kind of perspective the Spartacus Youth Club fights for.

Active in the high school protests is a group by the name of Progressive Labor Party (PL). Compared to spineless "leftist" groups like Workers World and the International Socialist Organization who never tire of groveling at the feet of capitalist politicians, PL sounds plenty radical with its calls to "fight for communism." In their newspaper, *Challenge* (16 February), they write that cop terror "will end only when an armed and communist-led working class seizes state power." That's right! But the question is, how do you get there?

Revolutionary consciousness—the idea that the working class must be imbued with the understanding of its social power and historic interest to combat and overthrow the entire capitalist system—must be brought to the working class through the intervention of a revolutionary party committed to that task. But PL appeals to the most backward consciousness in the American working class and population in general. PL stands for the reinforcement of one of the most oppressive institutions of capitalism, namely the family, which is the main source of oppression for youth, women and gays. For example, you will never see an article by PL in

defense of abortion rights; nor will you see one in defense of gay rights. In fact, PL claims that homosexuals are "sick." While refusing to defend affirmative action and sneering at education under capitalism, PL has no qualms "building a base" in the Parent-Teacher Associations. But PL doesn't stop there. A couple of years ago, when the sinister, right-wing Promise Keepers religious group held a rally, PL was there distributing their paper and "building a base" for communism!

PL has no confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class, and despairs of any movement of the working class against the bosses. For example, in an article titled "Victory for Whom?" (*Challenge*, 10 September 1997), PL reduced the victorious 1997 UPS strike, which fought against the multi-tier wage system that particularly targets young and minority workers, to "a war between factions of the ruling class"! In the same article, they continue: "The unions have no intention of fighting to end exploitation. Their goal is to maintain capitalism." Having no program to mobilize the working class, PL flip-flops between writing off the unions completely to building "left-center" coalitions with supposedly "progressive" union bureaucrats who chain the working class to the capitalist political parties, especially the Democrats.

Coming in from a different angle is another group called Refuse & Resist! (R&R). They are no more revolutionary than any of the liberals who have been running around trying to pacify the protesters and reinforce their illusions that the police can be reformed. They say the same thing; only they like to give a street-fighting cover to it. For example, an R&R leaflet distributed at the protests following the verdict demands: "Jail Amadou's Murderers!" The protesters might want to ask R&R, who is supposed to put the cops in jail? The cops' bosses?

In August 1995, R&R went so far as to offer to "debate" the racist killers of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) over the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal! The way the F.O.P. "debates" can be seen in the brutal murders of scores of Black Panthers and other activists and radicals over the years. It can be seen in the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal himself. R&R's militant posturing cloaks deadly dangerous illusions in the capitalist state.

Both PL and R&R appeal to "rage" against the system. But rage is not enough. To effect genuine change, you must have social power on your side. The working class has the numbers, organization, discipline and interest to fight. And by virtue of the fact that it makes capitalism run, the working class can also stop it dead in its tracks. What is necessary is a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that fights to render the working class conscious of the necessity for socialist revolution. If you want to fight to fundamentally change society, check out the Spartacus Youth Club. We were the ones who helped to organize and build the thousands-strong labor/black mobilization last October 23 that stopped the racist Klan killers in New York City. This mobilization showed what a workers party in action could do, unleashing labor's social power in defense of blacks, immigrants, Jews, gays and all the oppressed. The Spartacus Youth Club goes to the campuses, the neighborhoods, the trade unions distributing *Workers Vanguard* and fighting to win a generation of young militants to struggle for the socialist revolution that will forever put an end to racial oppression, cop terror and capitalist exploitation. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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Thursday, April 6, 7 p.m.

Stalinism, Gravedigger of Revolution: The Trotskyist Fight for Proletarian Internationalism

UC Berkeley, Dwinelle, Room 179
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
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CHICAGO

Saturday, March 25, 3 p.m.

The Revolution Betrayed—Trotskyists Defend the Deformed Workers States!

328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
(near Clinton stop on Blue Line)
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK

Tuesday, March 28, 7 p.m.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

NYU, Thompson Center, Basement
238 Thompson St. (near W. 3rd St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Thursday, April 6, 7 p.m.

Building a Party of the Bolshevik Type

U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)
For room and information: (416) 593-4138
or spartacan@on.aibn.com

Paris: Campus Occupation at Saint-Denis

Full Citizenship Rights for the Immigrant Students!

Since January 20, immigrant students enrolled at the University of Saint-Denis in Paris have been occupying a campus building as part of their fight to obtain legal residency papers. With the prefecture refusing to give them papers, they will lose their right to be students and are threatened with deportation by the capitalist government headed by the so-called Socialists (SP).

The campus administration the students confront is run by the Communist Party (CP), which is part of the SP-led government along with a number of capitalist parties. Unlike the United States, where there is no major party claiming to represent the workers as a class, in France and throughout Europe large social-democratic and ex-Stalinist parties have the allegiance of most of the working people. Revolutionaries seek to split the working-class base of these parties away from their pro-capitalist leaderships. In France today and in most other European countries, "popular fronts" (consisting of pro-capitalist reformist workers parties in bloc with smaller capitalist parties) are in

power and pose as "left" governments.

Saint-Denis is a plebeian university in a working-class suburb of Paris. Last October at Nanterre, another such suburban university, *sans-papiers* students on a hunger strike to obtain residency papers

were savagely repressed by private security guards and three days later by the CRS riot police. Among those defending the rights of the *sans-papiers* students at Nanterre was the AGEN (General Assembly of Nanterre Students), who also



Le Bolchévik

March 2: Demonstration in front of Saint-Denis mayor's office. Banner reads: "Committee of the Struggle of the Sans-Papiers Students of Paris VIII. Student Card = Student Visa."

became a target of the campus administration. Members of the Nanterre AGEN have been active in the current struggle at Saint-Denis. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the ICL, has also been participating actively in support of the Saint-Denis immigrant students.

As our French comrades wrote in a February 18 leaflet:

"The Spartacist Youth [JS], youth group of the LTF, supports the struggle of the *sans-papiers* of Saint-Denis. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for full access to free education without social and racial discrimination and with a living stipend and free housing for all. But these just demands mean a struggle against the capitalist system of production as a whole. Socialist revolution will sweep away capitalism and lay the basis for an egalitarian society. We seek to build the Leninist workers party, as defender of all the oppressed, which will lead the working class to power.... We have no confidence in the university administration or the capitalist government, our class enemies. We fight to mobilize the workers and oppressed independent of the bourgeoisie to defend the *sans-papiers*."

At Saint-Denis there are officially 167 students without papers, out of 6,000 students who are immigrants (there are over 25,000 students on the campus). Many other students are second-generation youth of North African and African descent. The "Committee of Struggle of the Sans-Papiers Students" has been occupying "Amphi X" for two months. The daily general assemblies of *sans-papiers* students and supporters draw up to 300 participants. In late February, the administration threatened to

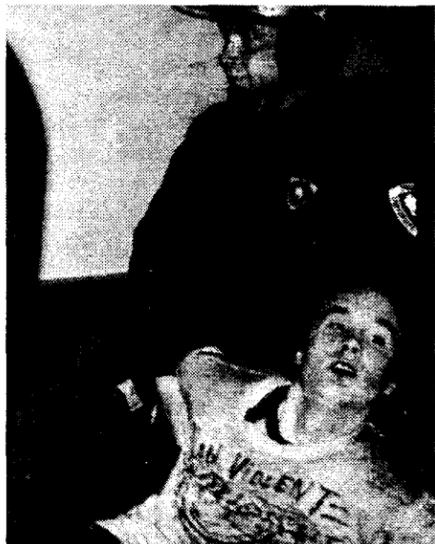
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Drop All Charges Against Madison Anti-Sweatshop Protesters!

CHICAGO—On February 20, 58 anti-sweatshop protesters occupying the Bascom Hall administration building at the University of Wisconsin-Madison were arrested in a brutal pre-dawn raid. Some 50 campus and city police in full riot gear stormed Bascom Hall for the purpose of squelching student protest and political activity in general on campus. We demand: Drop all the charges against the 58 anti-sweatshop protesters!

College-based groups operating under the aegis of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) have entered into negotiations with their administrations to convince the universities to pull out of the Clinton-backed Fair Labor Association (FLA) and join the USAS-initiated Worker Rights Consortium (WRC), both sweatshop "monitoring" organizations. This campaign involves many students motivated by a felt solidarity with workers around the world.

The organizers of USAS met at the AFL-CIO's Union Summer program, which has brought together over 2,000 youth since 1996 who by and large view the working class as an ally in the struggle for a better society. But the primary lesson the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucrats taught the Union Summer youth was in class collaboration, the fantasy that workers could win gains through voting for and pressuring the Democratic Party, rather than through class struggle. In reality, the Democrats, one of the twin parties of American capital, are for the spread of sweatshops, such as the increase in *maquiladoras* that has followed the passage of NAFTA. The



Krueger/Daily Cardinal

February 20: Cops made pre-dawn raid on building occupation by anti-sweatshop protesters, arresting 58 students.

WRC would have university administrations, campus representatives of the capitalist ruling class, define and enforce "expected standards" for sweatshop working conditions.

USAS's strategy is premised on the illusion that the university administration can be something other than a representative of the capitalists. One small illustration of the danger of this faith is seen in the violent breakup of the sit-in, which the liberal student group Alliance for Democracy initially planned in collaboration with the chancellor! At a rally on February 21, the day after the raid,

the sit-in organizers, including the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), had no answer other than begging the chancellor to "come out and apologize" for renegeing on his promises. Lacking any confidence in the ability of the working class to act in its own interest, these "socialists" express surprise at "betrayals" and entreat those in power to change their ways. With its endorsement of the WRC—used to make it appear that the capitalists can be pressured to be more "humanitarian"—the ISO actively panders to and thus reinforces liberal illusions in U.S. imperialism, roping youth into the fold of the Democratic Party and chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy.

The WRC is premised upon the possibility of social harmony between opposing classes, all to uphold the "reputation" of the university and assuage the guilt of liberal students. As a veteran of the Madison anti-sweatshop movement enthused in the midst of the sit-in, "When this occupation is successful, hopefully we can all finally be proud of our university and wear its apparel without shame for its labor abuses" (*Badger Herald*, 18 February). The ISO joins the liberals in worrying about the image of the university in "the fight to rid the university of sweated clothes" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 March). Along with students and members of "human rights" groups in the governing structure of the WRC are Democratic Party politicians, university administrators, and pro-capitalist bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO and Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees

(UNITE). While the FLA is a cynical cosmetic measure engineered by the Democratic Party and factory owners, the student-initiated WRC is no alternative. It can't ameliorate, much less end, the vicious superexploitation of sweatshop workers. In the candid words of one DePaul student WRC enthusiast, "The WRC does not demand that corporations abandon the opportunity to exploit cheaper labor" (*The DePaulia*, 24 February).

We Marxists in the Spartacus Youth Club recognize there is no such harmony in capitalist society, which is divided fundamentally between those who must sell their labor power merely to survive and those who exploit that labor. Any serious struggle to alleviate the sweatshop conditions endemic to capitalism eventually collides head-on with the entire imperialist system, the "highest stage of capitalism" in which the drive for profits impels competition for markets and spheres of economic influence. To present the U.S. rulers as defenders of poor oppressed workers overseas is simply obscene. All over the world, U.S. imperialism has installed, trained and financed regimes of bloody torturers (such as Chile's Pinochet, Nicaragua's Somoza and Indonesia's Suharto) to repress the working people and keep them from organizing unions and fighting for a better life.

While many of the students involved in the anti-sweatshop protests are motivated by a genuine solidarity with superexploited workers around the world, there is a great leap involved in moving from simply identifying with the working class

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No to "Made in U.S.A." Chauvinism—For International Workers Solidarity!

Madison...

(continued from page 7)

as one of the victimized sections of the population to seeing it as the key agency for revolutionary change. The working class, which wields an unparalleled social power derived from its numbers, organization, and role in producing all wealth, is the only agent that can end capitalist exploitation. In smashing the rule of capital through socialist revolution, the working class would liberate all from the multiple forms of oppression rooted in class society. It is the duty of revolutionaries to make the working class conscious of its historic tasks.

At the heart of the anti-sweatshop campaign is a flagrant national chauvinism fueled by the union misleaders that promotes the interests of U.S. imperialism at the expense of workers everywhere. The Madison protest following the police raid was riddled with such chauvinist signs as "This Is Not Indonesia, Mexico, or Nigeria" and "Welcome to China." The main Madison sit-in flier, entitled "Why

We Occupied the Chancellor's Offices," blamed "competition from workers abroad" for the loss of American jobs.

The AFL-CIO and UNITE bureaucrats have chained the working class to the capitalist class enemy and its parties, particularly the Democrats, subverting class struggle here and abroad. They push a deadly "Made in the U.S.A." protectionism, on full display at the Seattle anti-WTO protests, that only serves to pit workers of different countries against each other rather than against their true enemy, the capitalists. UNITE is more interested in peddling "Buy America" poison in order to remain loyal to the Democrats than in eliminating sweatshops. Many of the shops it has organized are in violation of the "Codes of Conduct" it promotes for foreign sweatshops. Its primary objection to the current African Growth and Opportunity Act, which would heighten the already enormous neocolonial imperialist plundering of the continent, is that this legislation would eliminate all tariffs on imported African textiles.

When directed at China, this protec-

tionism furthers the imperialist goal of capitalist restoration in the Chinese deformed workers state, which would plunge one-fifth of the world population into full-blown capitalist infirmisation. The 1949 Revolution expropriated the capitalists and created a collectivized economy that is under siege today; Trotskyists call for unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. We fight for a workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and put political power into the hands of the working class. So UNITE serves only the imperialists in decrying Chinese "prison labor." The AFL-CIO last month even began airing television ads with footage of imprisoned Chinese pro-capitalist dissidents and Chinese garment workers to galvanize American public opinion against China. In fact, UNITE left the FLA last year because UNITE wanted China to be off-limits to collegiate-garment factories. The WRC literally was forged from anti-communist hostility to China.

At the Madison February 21 protest

against the arrests, where the SYC was denied a speaker, we carried signs such as "Defend China Against Imperialism and Domestic Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!" In response to this sign, the ISO joined a "Free Tibet!" chorus. Today, the CIA-backed "Free Tibet" cause is one lever available to the imperialists to force capitalist restoration in China. The supporters of the Dalai Lama glorify a vicious clerical aristocracy that enslaved large swathes of the population prior to the entry of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in 1959.

In contrast, the SYC looks to the Russian Revolution of Lenin and Trotsky who led the Bolshevik Party to make the first successful workers revolution, which was based on the common interests of the workers of the world. The SYC stands for international working-class solidarity, for organizing the unorganized workers and for class struggle here in defense of workers abroad, in the fight for workers revolution throughout the world—the only program for ending capitalist exploitation and its sweatshops. ■

Saint-Denis...

(continued from page 7)

forcibly evict the occupying students. On March 2, in the face of the threatened cop intervention, 500 Saint-Denis students and professors marched from campus to the mayor's office to show their support for the *sans-papiers*. But the occupation still confronts the danger of a crackdown and mass arrests which could happen at any moment.

Saint-Denis is located in the old CP-loyal "red belt" on the outskirts of Paris. These municipalities, where working people live, have been administered by the CP for decades. Of course, the bourgeoisie's racist "law and order" is enforced here the same as anywhere else, with the cops rousting and attacking immigrants. As part of the present Jospin government, the big reformist parties (CP and Socialists) are up to their necks managing the apparatus of the bourgeois French state on the national level as well.

In their newspaper, *Le Bolchévick*, the LTF explained:

"The principle of opposition to class collaboration has always been the ICL's position: the absolute necessity for the independence of the working class from its enemy, the bourgeoisie. Throughout history, class-collaborationist formations serve as an obstacle to workers revolution, disarming, demobilizing and demoralizing the working class. Indeed, the whole history of Leninism and Trotskyism is the history of determined struggle against class collaboration and to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party. That's the meaning of Lenin's bitter struggle against the Mensheviks who supported the bourgeois provisional government in 1917....

"In France, the popular front is the historic mechanism of capitalist domination in the form of class collaboration.... The pact with bourgeois elements is the guarantee to the 'big' bourgeoisie that the

popular front won't threaten its domination; and it gives the reformists (both those inside the coalition and their little hangers-on outside) an alibi so that they can claim they are on the side of the workers. Of course their platform isn't just an electoral gimmick; they are truly devoted to the preservation of capitalist property forms. The reformists (including those called the 'far left' in France) are opposed to the program of proletarian revolution. Their fundamental role is to support the decadent capitalist order by administering the bourgeois state. In France, class collaboration traditionally takes place through the popular front—a 'power sharing' with bourgeois parties. In Britain, the Labour Party has held power in its own name, alternating with the Tories. One way or another, these are mechanisms of class collaboration whose purpose is to persuade the working class that 'this is your government,' and to get them to swallow attacks which would probably provoke fierce resistance if imposed by open representatives of the class enemy."

—*Le Bolchévick* No. 151,
Winter 1999-2000

The present SP-led French government took over after an open rightist regime was stymied by a massive December 1995 strike wave which blocked its efforts to impose "rationalization" of employment by attacking such things as retirement pensions. The new government took over the dirty job of making French capitalism more profitable. In the fall of 1998, working-class high schools erupted, demanding more teachers and equipment in the context of austerity cutbacks in every sphere. These protesters, especially those of the second generation (North African and black youth born in France to immigrant parents), were viciously violence-baited, subjected to racist dragnets and arrested for petty and imaginary crimes; one youth was sentenced to probation for picking up a pack of cigarettes off the ground.

Now, working-class discontent with the "left" government is being demonstrated on an almost daily basis, with one strike or work action after another against implementation of the "35 hours" Aubry Laws, which in the guise of reducing the workweek actually constitute a giant speedup.

The "Left," the "Far Left" and the Revolutionaries

Unlike in the U.S., sizable organizations to the left of the SP/CP exist in France. These groups helped the "left"-led government get elected. They are now heavily represented in the trade-union bureaucracy and receive large-scale funding from the capitalist state. Now such groups are in an excruciating situation as the workers and oppressed turn away in disgust from this government of austerity and racism. They are walking a tightrope, seeking to appear to their base as opponents of the govern-

ment they support. So they seek to place themselves at the head of anti-racist youth in demonstrations for the *sans-papiers* and pretend to oppose the Aubry Laws. As always the "far left" works to pressure the CP and SP while laying the blame for all of capitalism's reactionary policies at the feet of the rightists.

The real "maximum program" of these supposed socialists is not to build a fight for socialism but to help run the capitalist state while applying "pressure from the base" to try to resurrect the "welfare state." But even this timid perspective of a more "humane" system of capitalist exploitation is a hopeless quest. The February 18 JS leaflet explained that "the origin of the social-democratic 'welfare state' and the reason for its maintenance was that European imperialism needed to assure the support or at least the neutrality of its working classes in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. But today, the European bourgeoisies cut back superfluous social services and try to maximize the rate of exploitation.... Demagoguery and anti-immigrant terror are used to divide the working class and deflect it from united struggle against the current capitalist offensive." While fighting against these anti-working-class attacks, our program is not a new "welfare state" but a socialist society, which alone can provide jobs and education for all.

Integral to the LTF's defense of the immigrant students is the task of combatting the influence of the big reformist parties and their smaller reformist and centrist tails, who seek to keep militants tied to illusions in the benevolence or at least neutrality of the capitalist state and its agents like the campus administration. In our leaflet and interventions on campus, the JS has exposed the role of the "far left" groups, including those who call themselves Trotskyists, in drumming up support for the popular front in the last elections, with slogans for "fighting the right" or by falsely claiming this was a way to oppose the growth of Le Pen's fascist movement.

The JS leaflet polemicalized also against the AGEN, which defends the Saint-Denis *sans-papiers* but seeks to combat the open pro-capitalist sellout artists of the CP by championing its own brand of Maoist-Stalinist ideology. This is worse than ironic. The CP which today attacks immigrant students at Saint-Denis is the decomposition product of three-quarters of a century of Stalinist betrayal. While able to play to a more militant constituency than the social democrats of the Second International thanks to its continuing false association with the Russian October Revolution, and with its loyalties somewhat divided between following the dictates of the Kremlin bureaucracy and directly serving the interests of

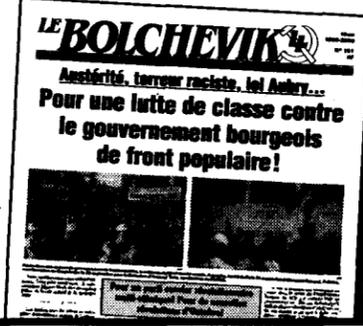
its "own" bourgeoisie in France, the French CP functioned as a prop for stabilizing capitalist rule.

In the tumultuous working-class struggles of the 1930s, the CP worked overtime to head off a fight for workers power and rope the proletariat into support for parliamentary popular fronts. In 1945, true to its policy of opposing national liberation struggles in the colonies of the "democratic" imperialist powers during World War II, the French CP was in the government when it massacred thousands of Algerians in Sétif. At the end of the war, in France and Italy especially, the Stalinists were instrumental in disarming the anti-fascist partisans and helping U.S. imperialism restabilize capitalist rule in Western Europe. In 1968 the CP again saved the French ruling class by selling out a prerevolutionary situation when a student revolt ignited a proletarian general strike. These betrayals preserved the imperialist encirclement of the USSR, until finally Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin simply handed over the Soviet Union to imperialist-backed counterrevolution.

The AGEN at Nanterre is well known for resorting to physical gangsterism to protect its politics from exposure. The JS leaflet noted that by assaulting a JS speakout in defense of students facing repression in Indonesia in May 1998, the thuggery of the AGEN "served the interests of the administration [and] furnished a pretext for the capitalist state and campus security to intervene. We demand: Cops off campus and out of the unions!" At Nanterre and Saint-Denis, the JS defends the AGEN against bourgeois repression: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

The defense of "illegal" and "legal" immigrants against state violence and deportations is incumbent on revolutionaries as part of fighting for the unity and integrity of the proletariat and its ability to defend itself and to struggle for its historic class interests. As the JS leaflet notes, "immigrant workers form a strategic part of the industrial proletariat of France and a living bridge to the workers of Africa and Asia."

The reformist "left," following its racist capitalist masters who make immigrants a scapegoat for the economic crises inherent in the system, divides the layers of the workers and oppressed against each other as it pursues "unity" with sections of the ruling class. The revolutionaries of the LTF and JS fight for the unity of the working people independent of and in struggle against the bourgeoisie. We must build a revolutionary party to politically destroy the influence of the reformist formations and their "far left" tails and lead the working class in the fight for socialist revolution. ■



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Kosovo...

(continued from page 12)

the Kosovo Albanians and calling for "solidarity" with NATO's UCK pawns, was an expression of their support for the war aims of their own imperialist rulers. It did not take a crystal ball to discern that NATO's professions of concern for the plight of the Kosovo Albanians was a cynical cover for a war of domination. In an article in the Autumn 1999 *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, British leftist academic Peter Gowan writes:

"NATO said it was bombing Yugoslav/Serbian forces to prevent them from attacking the Kosovar Albanian population. Yet the means NATO employed for this supposed purpose—an alliance with the KLA [UCK] combined with high altitude bombing of Kosovo when weather permitted—had an effect opposite to the declaratory aim: Serbian security forces launched a full scale offensive against the KLA and forcibly expelled hundreds of thousands of Albanians from Kosovo. This was an outcome which Pentagon chiefs had foreseen as likely, before the war was launched."

Gowan concludes: "Thus the declaratory aim of the air war could not have been its operational aim.... The only certain coherent link between evident NATO means and goals, is that between the bombing campaign against the Yugoslav state and the goal of gaining eventual NATO occupation of Kosovo."

Gowan also underlines how the Kosovo Liberation Army acted as NATO auxiliaries during the bombardment, writing: "The logic of the war, as NATO experts acknowledge, gave an increasingly important role to KLA ground forces, whose task was to target Yugoslav troop concentrations for NATO air strikes and to draw Yugoslav military forces into open combat thus making them vulnerable to air strikes."

Yet at the start of the war, the British Workers Power (WP) group, in a statement distributed at a 30 March 1999 public meeting in London, demanded that the U.S. and Britain "give the KLA the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops." In short, WP appealed to the NATO imperialists to arm NATO's Albanian auxiliaries!

While giving absolutely no political support to the nationalist UCK, we have defended the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians against the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. But when the imperialists began to gear up for war against Serbia (while simultaneously giving secret military training to the UCK), we said that the question of self-determination had become subordinated to the military defense of Serbia against the U.S./NATO imperialists.

War is always a decisive test for revolutionaries. We opposed "our" rapacious imperialist rulers and called for military defense of Serbia, while giving not an iota of political support to the capitalist Milosevic regime. We gave concrete expression to our proletarian internationalism by joining in the campaign initiated by the syndicalist-influenced Italian COBAS trade unions to provide financial assistance to Yugoslav workers whose factories had been bombed by NATO. Above all, we stressed the need to forge Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat in overthrowing the imperialist rulers through socialist revolution.

"Socialist" Drummer Boys for Imperialist War

Acting as an adjunct to NATO's ministry of disinformation, the fake socialists retailed outlandish accounts of Serbian "genocide" of Albanians, serving to promote war fever among the working people in the imperialist countries. The fact is *there was no genocide*. While U.S./NATO mouthpieces trumpeted claims that 100,000 or more Albanians had been slaughtered by Serbian forces, not long after the war ended the UN's International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia reported the total number of Albanian dead as some 2,000, of which only 350 had been killed by Serb pogromists. Meanwhile, as many as 2,600 Yugoslav

civilians were killed by U.S./NATO terror bombing!

It is a sign of how far the opportunist left has gone in embracing the imperialist order that one of the panel discussions featured at the annual "Socialist Scholars Conference" to be held later this month in New York City is titled, "Is U.S. Intervention (Ever) Justified?" One of the speakers is Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) head Bogdan Denitch, who at the height of the air war last year railed, "The bombing should stop only when Belgrade agrees to pull out or is pushed out of Kosovo" (*Nation*, 26 April 1999). When Denitch decreed at the start of last year's Socialist Scholars Conference that there would be no discussion of the war, his fellow "socialist" panelists dutifully kept silent, including self-styled "antiwar radical" Noam Chomsky. In this gathering of a thousand supposed socialists, only the Spartacist League rose in proletarian revolutionary opposition to the U.S.-led bombardment. Our comrades also raised signs demanding "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!"

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we were presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. In the U.S., the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) sold

among the handful of big powers which inevitably produces wars to redivide the world. The only way to end the threat of war is through international proletarian revolution.

Reformism and opportunism is always nationally defined. Thus the fake-left groups in Europe capitulated to the interests of their respective national bourgeoisies. The ISO's parent organization, the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), promoted illusions in the "left wing" of the very Labour Party which prosecuted the war for British imperialism. They built an "antiwar" coalition with Labour left Tony Benn, a "little England" nationalist who complained that the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia hadn't been authorized by the UN. Leading SWP spokesman Alex Callinicos even signed onto a call in the *New Statesman* (10 May 1999) for the UN or the OSCE to militarily intervene in Kosovo—in effect, siding with the European imperialists who chafed under the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance.

The French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), flagship section of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," endorsed a similar call for "a multinational police force ... under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord" (*Rouge*, 1 April 1999). This was the nationalist, anti-American line pushed by the French and German governments, both dominated by social democrats, in an attempt

harboring a spy for Serbia at NATO's headquarters during the bombing. The growing rivalry has also been evident on other fronts, as seen in the recent wrangle between the U.S. and Germany over who would head up the International Monetary Fund.

For their part, the American rulers' imperial arrogance is boundless. They don't want any American soldiers to come home from Kosovo in body bags, especially during an election year. Moreover, they expect their European imperialist rivals to foot the bill for the Kosovo occupation and to provide substantial military manpower under U.S. control. Since the retreat of U.S. soldiers from stone-throwing Serbs in Mitrovica, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have placed restrictions on how American soldiers in Kosovo can be deployed, even though they are supposed to be under joint (i.e., European) NATO command. Last month, the Pentagon flatly rejected a demand by NATO's American supreme commander, General Wesley Clark, for the dispatch of thousands more soldiers, insisting that reinforcements would have to come from the West European powers.

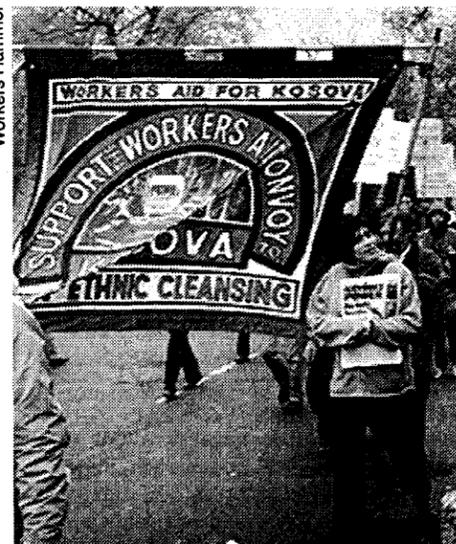
Our proletarian-internationalist opposition to the U.S./NATO war against Serbia was part of the fight to overthrow capitalism around the world. The indispensable instrument for this is a revolutionary proletarian party. The bloodstained American imperialists who tried



WV Photos

ICL fought for proletarian revolutionary opposition to imperialist war against Serbia. NATO "socialists" like British Workers Power, seen here at April 1999 London pro-war march, pushed "human rights" cover for U.S./NATO war of domination.

Workers Hammer



its press at a Los Angeles demonstration replete with signs reading, "NATO All the Way." In Britain, Workers Power provided a platform for UCK spokesmen who openly praised NATO's war, and participated in a 10 April 1999 London demonstration featuring Albanian and NATO flags and slogans like "NATO Good Luck!"

During the war, the ISO pleaded with the bloodthirsty U.S. rulers to "stop the bombing." After the bombing stopped, the ISO bemoaned the "Cruel Aftermath of NATO's War" (*Socialist Worker*, 30 July 1999). Yet in article after article before and after the air war, these fake socialists didn't even call for NATO to get out of the Balkans, let alone for the military defense of Serbia! Even now, nine months into the NATO occupation of Kosovo, *Socialist Worker* (3 March) refuses to call for the withdrawal of imperialist forces, chastising the Western rulers only for having "accepted the logic of the nationalist leaders who went to war against each other in the Balkans."

These social democrats would have you believe that by pressuring the imperialist bourgeoisie, the capitalist system can be reformed into a just and peaceful order. During the war, the ISO lamented that the "vast sums wasted on bombing Serbia could be used to remove many of the underlying causes of conflicts in the world" (*Socialist Worker*, 9 April 1999). But imperialism is not a "policy" that can be made more humane. V.I. Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, called it "the highest stage of capitalism": a system based on ruthless plunder of the colonial and ex-colonial world, grinding exploitation of the proletariat at home, and a constant battle for markets and spheres of exploitation

to minimize a direct U.S. role in the Balkans. Again, after the war the LCR openly lined up behind the European Union (EU) imperialist powers, declaring that "the 'peace accords' establishing a protectorate in Kosovo under UN mandate allowed the EU governments to get back in the saddle, avoiding the absolute hegemony of the United States and NATO. They represent a lesser evil, at least assuring the massive return of the Albano-Kosovar populations, which would have been unthinkable without an international interposition force" (*Rouge*, 2 September 1999).

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War

NATO leaders celebrated their unity in the war against Serbia, but behind this façade the war accentuated tensions among the imperialist powers, which have been intensifying since the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Thus in the final days of the war Germany and France maneuvered to undercut American domination over the imperialist occupation forces, insisting that these be under a UN imprimatur. Faced with huge antiwar demonstrations among the proletariat, Italy and also Greece broke ranks during the war to call for a bombing pause.

As soon as the bombing ended, Germany and the other West European states announced plans to build a military force independent of Washington to match their increasing economic rivalry with the U.S. Next month the EU's Eurocorps is sending a 350-strong force to Kosovo. By 2003, the Eurocorps is supposed to be expanded into a 60,000-strong rapid-reaction corps. Meanwhile, the U.S. has charged its West European allies with

to bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age, who slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 "Desert Storm" and continue to bomb that country incessantly, are the same racist rulers who carry out a relentless war at home against workers, blacks, immigrants and other minorities. The fake-socialist drummer boys for NATO who lined up with their imperialist governments were in effect pledging that they are no revolutionary threat on the home terrain.

Just as the Balkans proved to be the powder keg that ignited World War I, today the inter-imperialist rivalries which are increasingly evident over Kosovo could come to be the tripwire for a new global conflagration. It was the October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which ended World War I for the Russian workers and peasants and established the world's first workers state, a beacon of revolutionary internationalism for the proletariat around the world. In the U.S., the most powerful and rapacious imperialist power today, we seek to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggles of the multiracial working class to power and to put an end to imperialist carnage once and for all. ■

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Tallahassee Protest...

(continued from page 1)

the November election." This theme was echoed by keynote speaker Jesse Jackson, who reached into his preacher's book of rhetoric to intone, as he has for the past two decades, "Hands that picked lettuce, hands that picked cotton, will now pick presidents." The day before, Jackson had joined hands in prayer with President Clinton to commemorate the 35th anniversary of "Bloody Sunday" in Selma, Alabama, when state troopers and sheriff's deputies brutally attacked voting rights activists. Clinton declaimed that without the 1965 Voting Rights Act, "Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton would never have been elected president of the United States."

It took heroic and hard-fought battles for black people in the South to win the right to vote. But both Carter and Clinton were elected through overt appeals to the Southern white racist vote in the years following the defection of former Democratic Party Dixiecrats to the Republican Party in *opposition* to the Voting Rights Act.

Carter openly proclaimed the virtues of "ethnic purity," a message that was brought home in blood and fire in the murder of five leftist anti-racists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina by the KKK in 1979. Then, after being trounced by Reagan and Bush in the 1980s, the Democrats fielded a ticket of Clinton and Gore—two Southerners—to win back the White House through a campaign of outright racism. This effort was symbolized by Clinton's flying back to Arkansas during the election campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector. Now the Democrats are cynically trying to ride the protests against Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush's brother in Florida to win the state in the November elections.

The shell game through which the Democrats—once the party of the slavocracy—are portrayed as the "friends" of blacks and labor has been an essential component in preserving the rule of racist American capitalism. It is, and has long been, used to keep the lid on any outbreak of labor or black unrest. It is the labor bureaucrats in the unions and the black Democratic Party politicians in the ghettos who forge the chains that have tied labor and black people to this party of capitalist exploitation, racism and imperialist war. As we wrote in "Down With the Confederate Flag of Slavery!" (WV No. 728, 28 January):

"The struggle for black rights can only go forward through the independent mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class in a struggle for workers power...."

"Only by freeing itself from the grip of the capitalist class and its parties can the working class go forward. The struggle for unionization, against police brutality and the mass incarceration of young black men must be linked to the fight for



Jesse Jackson (at right) with Democratic Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace on 20th anniversary of bloody 1965 police attack on Selma march, and with Clinton on 35th anniversary this month. Then and now, capitalist Democratic Party is enemy of black and working people.

a *workers party*, a party based on the independence of the working class from all reliance on the class enemy and fighting for the perspective of a workers government, where those who labor rule."

For Revolutionary Integrationism

The mass protests in South Carolina and Florida have given rise to talk of a "new civil rights movement." What the NAACP liberals, black preachers and Democratic Party politicians are talking about are not the battles by tens of thousands of black and other civil rights fighters which profoundly shook the American bourgeois order. On the contrary, their talk of a "new civil rights movement" is a code word for the same old bourgeois electoral politics employed by Martin Luther King's liberal-pacifist leadership, which promoted the federal government as the agency for winning black equality and which tied the movement to the Democratic Party of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

From the inception of the Spartacist tendency in the early 1960s, we fought to win a new generation of young black militants to a proletarian, revolutionary perspective. In 1966, we pointed to the limits and growing contradictions of the liberal-led civil rights movement:

"The goal was formal, legal, equality; civil rights; or the northernizing of the south. The beneficiaries of this campaign were to be that narrow segment of the black population which is middle class or close to it and is commonly called 'the black bourgeoisie.' The political strategy was to seek the support of, and to avoid antagonizing, the liberal establishment and, logically enough, to seek to bring to bear the powers of the federal government which is controlled by this establishment. The tactics to be used were characterized by a heavy reliance on non-violence and moral confrontation...."

"In contrast to the reform program of the civil rights movement, the demands of the black masses are necessarily and inherently class demands, and demands which the ruling class cannot meet. The call for jobs, for housing, and for emancipation from police brutalization (attacking the very basis of the state)—these cannot be answered by another civil rights bill from Washington. Their pursuit leads inevitably to a sharper and

sharper confrontation with the ruling class."

—"Black Power—Class Power," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5R, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"

The civil rights movement fought against the legal segregation of black people in the South under the viciously racist system of Jim Crow. But it did not, and could not, fundamentally address the de facto segregation of black people in the North. The miserable conditions in the ghettos, the segregated housing and schools, massive unemployment and rampant violence at the hands of the racist cops occupying the inner cities are rooted

Counterposed to the program of liberal integrationism purveyed by the pro-Democratic Party civil rights leadership—the false view that black people can achieve social equality within the confines of racist American capitalism—we fight for a revolutionary integrationist perspective premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. We seek to build a workers party to fight for a workers government which will expropriate the capitalist class and use the enormous productive resources of this society for the benefit of those who labor to produce them. A planned, col-



Selma, 1965: Wallace unleashed cops with tear gas and whips against thousands of voting rights marchers.

in American capitalism, which is predicated on the forcible segregation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of society. While a small minority of black people have made their way into a precarious existence in the middle class as a result of affirmative action programs and other measures that were won by the civil rights movement, conditions for the mass of the black population are by any measure worse now than they were in the 1960s.

lectivized economy would provide jobs for all and use a large part of the surplus value that is now pocketed by the capitalists to rebuild the infrastructure of society, providing jobs and quality, integrated housing, schools and hospitals for all. Thus will the material foundations be laid for black freedom, through the full integration of black people and the eradication of all social inequalities.

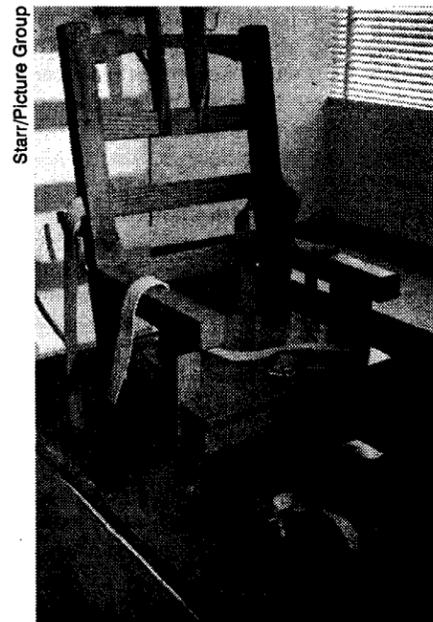
For Labor/Black Struggle to Organize the South!

For some years now, attacks on affirmative action programs have been the focus of the drive to roll back the minimal gains that came out of the civil rights movement. Racist reactionaries cynically use the language of "civil rights" to denounce affirmative action as "reverse discrimination." Those who make it out of the ghetto are portrayed as unfairly getting jobs or college admissions at the expense of whites. Meanwhile, Clinton's Democrats led the bipartisan destruction of welfare, painting black people in the inner cities as an indolent population living off the largesse of "hard-working people" and their tax dollars. The purpose is to further the exploitation and impoverishment of the entire working class.

As part of our fight for full equality for women and minorities, the Spartacist League opposes the reactionary assault



Miami cops terrorize ghetto youth protesting police killing of two black men in 1989. Electric chair in Florida, which trails only Texas and Virginia in legal lynching.



From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



What Diallo Really Means

The doorway execution of Amadou Diallo, and the subsequent acquittal of the four killer cops by a distant jury in Albany, New York in late February, 2000 is contributing to a firestorm of controversy and community outrage in New York, and in other parts of the country.

Perhaps the most interesting responses have been the political ones, which seem to suggest that the tragedy could somehow have been averted, if only the city had been led by a Democrat. While it is undeniable that the repressive regime of Torquemada Giuliani has contributed to the aura of police aggression against the people, that is not a distinctive feature of Republicanism, as it is of statism, for the two faces of the State wear Republican and/or Democratic garb.

The interests of the state are power, and conservation of the *status quo*, no matter how unjust that status quo happens to be.

When one considers the behavior of the police under the Democratic Dinkins administration, one finds the same kind of brutality, of racist anti-Black police terror, and indeed, as the infamous Police Riot in front of New York's City Hall demonstrated, where the target of cop ire was the Mayor himself!

There, memory recalls, hundreds, if not thousands of cops likened their "commander-in-chief" (the Mayor) to a washroom attendant! No mayor can claim an administration where there was a true dearth of police violence against the poor, and the powerless, and against the Black and Latino communities.

The dangers presented by the Diallo killing are twofold; 1) It is a harbinger of greater violence against unarmed Black and nonwhite life by the cops; and 2) It will be used to mobilize Democratic political campaigns for mayor, the Senate, or the Presidency.

The first, of course, is self-explanatory, but as to the second, the danger lies in the illusion, that perhaps black life will somehow be safer in the city with Democrats in political control.

The depth of that illusion is illustrated by the tepid and weak comments that are uttered by many major white candidates for political office on the Democratic side.

The Democratic senatorial candidate, Hillary Clinton, in the aftermath of the Diallo killers' acquittal, issued a statement to the effect that "police officers should work to understand the community, and the community should understand the risks faced by police officers." This, in the afterglow of a whitewash quasi-prosecution and acquittal of four cops who glocked Diallo to death in his doorway, for committing the capital crime of "standing while black" (SWB)! This, in studied political reflection of a case where cops fired 41 shots at an unarmed man!

Do you really think that this is a promise of safety if and when she gets elected? If this is what she says when she wants and presumably needs Black and Puerto Rican votes, what will be said after the election? This then, is the voice of the "New Democrat." One that sounds suspiciously like the Dixie Democrats, the voice that protects the *status quo*, changing nothing, and promising to change even less.

The legendary R & B singers, the Temptations, used to sing, in "Ball of Confusion," about the politicians who say "vote for me, and I'll set you free!" "New" politicians don't even promise freedom. They promise tolerance. As if the poor are beings of pestilence, who are to be "tolerated." They can't even promise "freedom" in this, the Prisonhouse of Nations, where 2 million souls groan in the American

Gulag. Indeed, they cannot begin to promise this, for they have been pivotal in the very construction, and consolidation, of the Prison Industrial Complex.

They are not the solution, for their only claim to fame is to bring in some black management of this Menagerie of Pain. A few high appointees. Some cabinet members. A new diversity over the same system of repression.

It's time for us to look further for our political solutions.

We need to think in terms of new political configurations, that speak to our deeper social, racial, ethnic and class identities. For, clearly, this has not, and does not promise to work. The objective of all politics is power.

No major political party in America can even begin to promise black folks in America the power to stand on their own doorstep, or ride their own car, or walk the streets of the urban center, without the very real threat of being "accidentally" blasted into eternity. A politics that cannot, or will not control the agents of that polity (that is, the police) is unworthy of our support.

2 February 2000

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

on affirmative action. However, unlike the liberals and reformist leftists who uncritically hail these tokenistic measures, our starting point is not how to divide up the ever-shrinking resources allocated by the capitalist rulers for public education and other social programs. We seek to mobilize the working class in a fight for free, quality, integrated education for all and jobs for all. To combat discrimination in hiring and promotion, we call for special union-run recruitment and training programs to reach out to the masses of unemployed black and minority youth.

The crucial link between the fight for black rights and labor rights is nowhere more apparent than in the "open shop" South, where entrenched racist discrimination enforced by police and Klan terror has long served to crush efforts to build integrated unions. Florida is a bastion of racist reaction and a stronghold of the

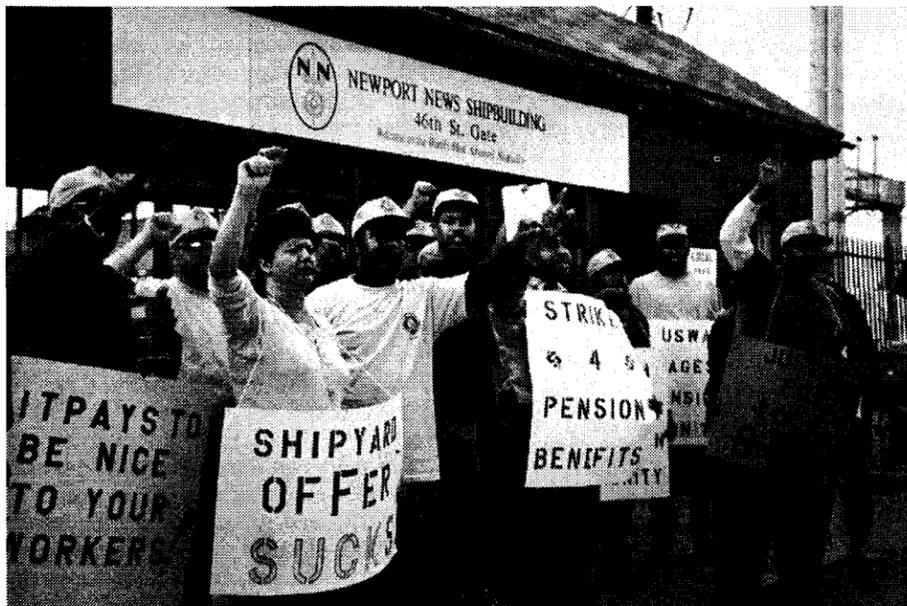
KKK. In Miami, the brutality of the racist cops has provoked repeated upheavals by the ghetto masses. The terror of the KKK and the vicious racism of the cops is encouraged by Florida's rulers, who fondly refer to the state's electric chair—in which overwhelmingly black prisoners meet a barbarous death—as "Old Sparky." It is this terror, legal and extralegal, which is used to enforce a panoply of anti-union "right to work" laws. The power to prevail against this racist reaction could be seen in the contingents of black workers at the Tallahassee march. But that power must be unshackled from the chains that bind it to the oppressors.

A *Workers Vanguard* sales team at the Tallahassee march found great interest among these workers for our supplement on the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization of at least 8,000 which drove the Klan night-

riders off the streets of New York City last October 23. The fight to build that successful mobilization contains key lessons for the labor/black struggle that is needed for the interlinked tasks of unionizing the South and defending black rights. The central lesson is that to bring labor's power to bear in defense of its interests and the interests of all the oppressed it must be mobilized independently from and in opposition to the Democratic Party and all the agen-

cies of capitalist class rule.

Black people are in their overwhelming majority working people. The working class needs its own party, one that fights for its interests against strikebreaking, racist terror and the all-sided attacks on the gains that were won in the course of hard-fought battles. That means a multiracial revolutionary workers party which will bury the racist capitalist system and create a society run by and for the whole of the working people. ■



WV Photo

Steelworkers Local 8888, bulwark of integrated industrial unionism in "open shop" South, waged four-month strike last year against Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

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(617) 666-9453

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Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

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Tues. 5-9 p.m.
and Sat. 12-3 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St.
Suite 904

Los Angeles

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

Public Office:

Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York

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

Oakland

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

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Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
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Public Office:

Sat. 11 a.m.-1 p.m.
564 Market St., Suite 718

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Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
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Box 2717, Main PO.
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(604) 687-0353

NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League public office at 299 Broadway is presently closed in solidarity with a labor action by cleaners seeking unionization as members of SEIU Local 32B-32J. For information regarding upcoming Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club events and activities, call (212) 267-1025.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Imperialist Overlords in Kosovo

NATO Occupation Means Oppression of Serbs, Albanians

For 78 days last spring, the NATO military machine led by American imperialism waged a massive bombing campaign against Serbia, a dependent country about the size of Ohio. Systematically destroying the infrastructure necessary for the civilian population to survive, the U.S./NATO imperialists wreaked more devastation than Hitler's Germany did in Serbia in World War II. Having brought the country to its knees, the NATO powers have occupied Kosovo with close to 50,000 troops, turning it into an imperialist protectorate.

While most of the reformist and centrist left internationally beat the drums for imperialist military intervention, the Spartacist League/U.S. and other sections of the International Communist League exposed the lie that the U.S./NATO war had anything to do with "humanitarian" defense of the Kosovo Albanians. Forthrightly opposing our "own" imperialist rulers, we called to "Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!" As the NATO troops began entering Kosovo, we warned:

"This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed the world over. It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region."

—"All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!"
WV No. 715, 11 June 1999

This is precisely what has occurred. Within a month of the arrival of the first NATO troops, the vast majority of the Serb and Roma (Gypsy) residents—more than 200,000 people—were driven from Kosovo. The imperialist "peacekeepers" stood by as armed units of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) led pogromist attacks, looting and burning Serb and Roma homes and shops and massacring whole families.

Having emboldened the Albanian pogromists and forced the remaining Serbs into tiny isolated enclaves, the imperialist forces are now attacking both Serbs and Albanians. The flashpoint in all this is the industrial town of Mitrovica, which is effectively partitioned with about 9,000 Serbs on the north bank of the Ibar River and 90,000 Albanians on the south. After months of escalating confrontation between French NATO troops and demonstrators on both sides of the ethnic divide, Mitrovica erupted in early February after an attack on a busload of Serbs which left two dead. French troops have shot Serbs and Albanians alike in a series of deadly armed clashes.

Occupying troops have gone house to house smashing down doors and terrorizing the Serbian population in an ostensible search for weapons. When U.S. troops rampaged through the Serbian enclave in late February, they were met with a barrage of stones from Serb residents defending their homes. Speaking of the arrogance of the American occupation



Testa/NY Times



Mitrovica, Kosovo: Serbs protest against NATO's KFOR occupation force, Albanians face off against imperialist "peacekeepers."

All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Balkans!

forces, one Serb said, "Their attitude is: 'We are here; we have power; we are in charge.'" On March 15, U.S. soldiers also swept through Albanian homes in the eastern part of Kosovo, seizing arms, ammunition and UCK uniforms and imprisoning nine men at the huge American military base there, Camp Bondsteel.

In recent weeks, forces calling themselves the UCPMB—Albanian initials for the "Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedje and Bujanovac"—have attacked these districts in southern Serbia—a region dubbed "eastern Kosovo" by Albanian nationalists—where Albanians outnumber ethnic Serbs. Posters in Kosovo reportedly urge Albanians to join the fight for "eastern Kosovo." Last week, the UCPMB staged a firefight with Serbian policemen in the village of Dobrosin, which was subsequently emptied of Alba-

nians. The White House is openly worried that the UCK/UCPMB will provoke a wider war. The London *Daily Telegraph* (3 March) reports that "American peacekeeping troops are rapidly building a base on the other side of the border near Dobrosin and gun turrets now face towards the village. Nato knows that Dobrosin has the potential to drag it into further war."

The terms of oppression have been reversed for the peoples inhabiting Kosovo. While the Albanians were victimized under the Serb-chauvinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic, now most Serbs have been driven out and the UCK is the de facto civil power in most of Kosovo. At the same time, the imperialists—who are currently hostile to an independent Kosovo and any talk of a Greater Albania—have made it clear that they will be calling the shots. The imperialists have

set up detention camps to hold Serb and Albanian Kosovars seized by NATO forces, and more than 1,000 additional troops—largely French and Italian—are now being sent in. Meanwhile, some 30,000 occupation troops remain in Bosnia, with thousands more in Albania and Macedonia. As proletarian internationalists, the ICL demands an end to the imperialist economic sanctions against Serbia and that all U.S./UN/NATO forces get out of the Balkans now! Down with the imperialist occupation! For a socialist federation of the Balkans!

The Lie of "Human Rights" Imperialism

From the outset, we asserted that NATO's bombardment of Serbia was a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in the region. More broadly, the U.S. sought to assert its "right" to run roughshod over small, dependent countries, and to demonstrate particularly to its West European imperialist rivals that the enormous American military arsenal continues to make it top dog. To drive home this point, the U.S. rulers refused to even countenance the fig leaf of a United Nations authorization—or West European calls that the military operation be carried out under the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)—instead running the war solely under the banner of the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance.

That most self-proclaimed "socialist" organizations in the U.S. and Europe parroted the imperialists' war propaganda, saying the central issue was defense of

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Testa/NY Times

U.S. occupation force lords it over residents of Kosovo village of Vitina.