

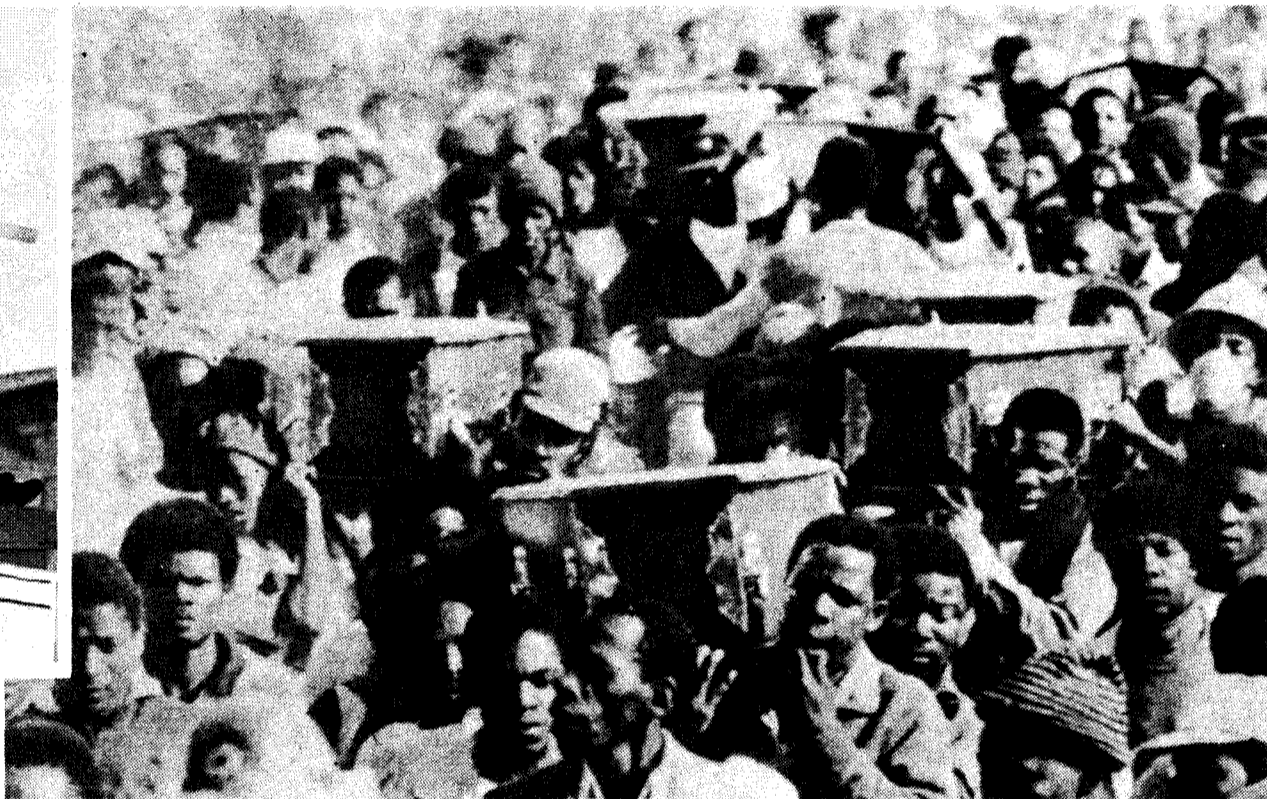
South African Black Miners Challenge Regime

Apartheid State of Terror



Selwyn Tait

Mass turnouts at funerals defy state of emergency. Racist police terror has killed over 500 blacks during the past year.



Reuters

AUGUST 5—They come in convoys of two dozen cops and soldiers in armored cars and on horseback, armed with shotguns and automatic weapons. They break down doors in the middle of the night and drag black township dwellers out of their shacks. They set up roadblocks and drag blacks off buses in broad daylight. After two weeks of the apartheid butchers' "state of emergency," imposed in the highly industrialized Transvaal around Johannesburg and in

the Eastern Cape around the auto center of Port Elizabeth, at least 1,400 blacks have been subject to indefinite detention for which there are no charges, no bail, no access to lawyers or family. It is a detention in which many will suffer the same fate as Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko, tortured and murdered in police custody in 1977.

Over 500 black people have been killed since the anti-apartheid revolt began last fall. And since the "emergen-

cy" at least 24 more blacks have been murdered, often by death squads tied to the military. Among their victims was prominent black civil rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge, the Natal provincial treasurer of the country's largest anti-apartheid formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF). In its frenzy to crush every manifestation of resistance to apartheid, the regime has threatened to starve out black townships engaged in boycotting white businesses by forcibly

closing down black shops. It has even tried to strip the victims of apartheid terror of a last shred of dignity by banning outdoor funerals, which had been the sole "legal" occasions where mass anti-apartheid protest could take place.

For now, these savage measures have not quelled protest in the areas affected by the "emergency" and have fueled protest outside those areas, especially

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On British, Australian Docks

Labor Action Against Apartheid!

While the U.S. Congress, the French government and other imperialists move to impose token sanctions against their South African ally, hoping to save face for "free world" democracy, workers in Australia and Britain have taken matters into their own hands by "hot-cargoing" ships and cargo from and to South Africa.

In Sydney, Australia maritime and waterfront unions applied "rolling bans" to the *Safocan Mildura*, a Nedlloyd Lines ship which regularly links Australia to South Africa, when the ship docked there in late July

(*Australian Daily Commercial News*, 30 July). The Waterside Workers Federation (longshoremen) kicked off the ban with a 24-hour action which stopped cargo handling. This was followed by stoppages by tugboat workers, seamen, watchmen, and other workers in different unions. When the ship arrived in Melbourne, August 1, it was again met with rolling bans that are continuing until the *Mildura* is due to leave port August 7. However, in between the stoppages, the South African cargo was worked—the actual effect of the bans was to delay the ship.

In Melbourne, August 6 a picket was held to support the maritime unions' action. The rally attracted some 70-80 people, including waterside workers,

representatives of the South African ANC and Namibian SWAPO, as well as a contingent from the Spartacist League

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Spartacist League Suit: A Gratifying Victory

Marxists vs. FBI Repression

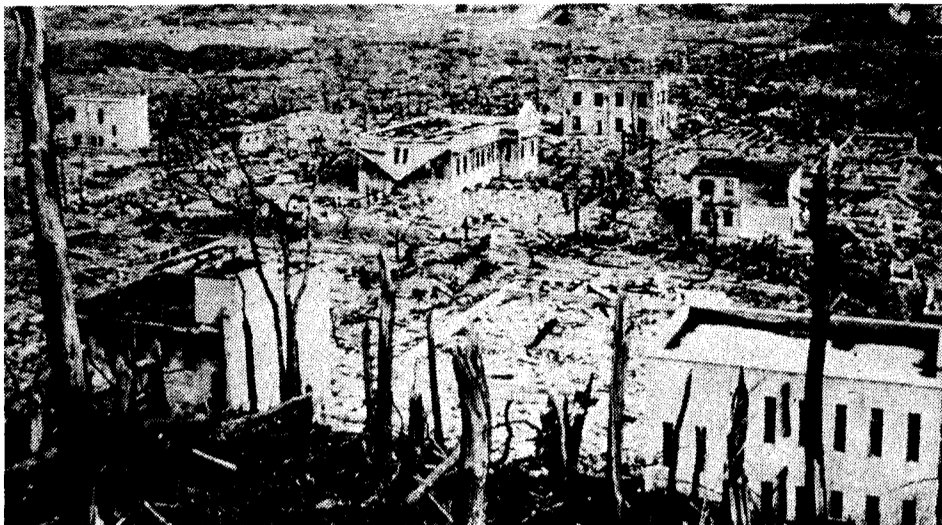
SEE PAGE EIGHT

CP Pushes Anti-Japanese Poison, Again

Remember Hiroshima, U.S. A-Bomb Holocaust!

Forty years ago, on August 6 and 9, 1945, the U.S. unleashed the world's first nuclear holocaust over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This final bloody act concluding what the U.S. claimed was the great "war for democracy" revealed the true savage face of American capitalism at war. Tens of thousands of helpless citizens were burned alive in raging firestorms as a human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the Soviet Union—that the U.S. would stop at *nothing* to maintain world domination. Meanwhile, Japanese Americans at home were imprisoned for four years in freezing, hellhole concentration camps throughout the West, their homes and property stolen, insulting "loyalty" oaths forced on them, their lives irreparably damaged. As we have said at previous Hiroshima Day commemorations, "To remember is not enough!"—for new holocausts are being prepared by this monstrous ruling class.

Anti-Japanese hysteria is in the air again, as lately some captains of American industry (mainly those like Chrysler's Iacocca who've run their plants into the ground) have discovered another *truly* "evil empire" in "Japan, Inc." whose great crime appears to be making better, cheaper products we'd all rather have. The Sunday *New York Times Magazine* (28 July) declared war on Japan last week in a visceral ("I



U.S. imperialists A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki (above) in effort to intimidate the Soviet Union.

bristled at the sight of them") shriek of bloodthirsty nostalgia for the days when the U.S. really had reduced Japan to smoking rubble. Under the scare title, "The Danger From Japan," Theodore H. White snarls that the Japanese treat us like some "colonial nation." White recalls fondly how "Hitachi, now an electronics-exporter, was blasted to bits by our bombers in the last two weeks of the war," but warns sternly, "Hitachi is now on the counterattack, its tone martial again." (In other words, Japan is winning the war for the semiconductor market, chips-down.)

The Communist Party U.S.A. has fallen in step right behind this racist anti-Japanese hysteria, again. "Imperial Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor was indeed an act of infamy, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt termed it," began last month's two-part *World Magazine* (*Daily World*, 18 and 25 July) article on WWII in the Pacific. The piece concluded, in its *only* mention of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki holocaust, with the bland statement that, "Many have argued that the use of the atomic bomb was not morally or militarily justified." Well, the CP certainly wasn't one of them. At the time it gloried in the monstrous A-bombing as part of the "old one-two" punch of the "Allies" (see cartoon below).

CP author Conrad Komorowski retails the U.S. rulers' cover stories for the bombing, stating "the U.S. military was of the opinion that Japan could not be defeated before 1947 or 1948." In fact, as "revisionist" historians have demonstrated, Washington *knew* Japan was ready to surrender. Recently, two researchers using previously classified U.S. war documents revealed that the Joint Chiefs of Staff thought a possible

invasion would be "relatively inexpensive" (UPI, 1 August). Even General Eisenhower was appalled at the A-bombing, and thought it was unnecessary. According to atomic scientist Leo Szilard, U.S. secretary of state Byrne's justification was that "our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable" (Gar Alperovitz, "Hiroshima Remembered: The U.S. Was Wrong," *New York Times*, 4 August).

At home, the Communist Party criminally abandoned its own Japanese American members after Pearl Harbor in a disgusting act of betrayal. This vile act was ultimately the result of the CP's slavish loyalty to its "own" bourgeoisie. To be sure, some decades after the fact, the CP did offer a public self-criticism, of sorts, of its action. In a buried aside in a book review in *World Magazine* (*Daily World*, 1 January 1972), Albert J. Lima wrote: "the U.S. Army decided to round up all people of Japanese ancestry and to herd them into concentration camps on the West Coast... Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggle against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."

Komorowski's shameless praise of "anti-fascist unity" against Japan reveals this "self-criticism" as a sham. Highlighting the "sneak attack" at Pearl Harbor, the Stalinists today are trying to slide right back into the mainstream of American imperialist chauvinism and trade war hysteria. Japan was *driven* to Pearl Harbor by a decade of protectionism and economic sanctions directed against the Japanese "trade menace" as it was called in the 1930s. In July 1941 (six months *before* Pearl Harbor) the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supply, without which it could not survive. The eminent British military historian B.H. Liddell Hart wrote:

"Although Japan had stayed out of the war hitherto, the steps which Roosevelt and Churchill took in July to cut off her economic resources were bound to make her strike back in the only way possible for her—by force of arms."
—*History of the Second World War* (1970)

Once again, combating the Japanese "trade menace" has become a major battle cry of American imperialism. And leading the pack are the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and Roosevelt's epigones in the Democratic Party. Walter Mondale *continued on page 4*



James P. Cannon on Hiroshima and Nagasaki Holocaust

On 22 August 1945, at a meeting originally scheduled as a memorial meeting for Leon Trotsky, James P. Cannon, principal leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, denounced the heinous atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

In two calculated blows, with two atomic bombs, American imperialism

killed or injured half a million human beings. The young and the old, the child in the cradle and the aged and infirm, the newly married, the well and the sick, men, women, and children—they all had to die in two blows because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan....

Long ago the revolutionary Marxists said that the alternative facing humanity was either socialism or a new barbarism, that capitalism threatens to go down in ruins and drag civilization with it. But in the light of what has been developed in this war and is projected for the future, I think we can say now that the alternative can be made even more precise: The alternative facing mankind is socialism or annihilation!...

We believe that the people of the world will waken to this frightful alternative and act in time to save themselves.... On the one side the peoples of the world, transformed into the colonial slaves of Wall Street, will rebel against the imperialist master, as the conquered provinces rose against imperial Rome. Simultaneously with that uprising, and coordinating our struggle with it, we, the Trotskyist party, will lead the workers and plebeians of America in a revolutionary attack against our main enemy and the main enemy of mankind, the imperialists of the United States.

—James P. Cannon, "The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (August 1945)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Noah Wilner

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EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg (Closing editor for No. 385: Liz Gordon)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

No. 385

9 August 1985

—10 August 1945

Daily Worker

THE OLD ONE-TWO



1945: American Stalinists applaud Hiroshima atrocity (right).
1985: CP still inciting anti-Japanese chauvinism (below).

By Conrad Komorowski

Imperial Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor was indeed an act of infamy, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt termed it. The bombing was carried out by stealth, without declaration of war, and even while drawn-out negotiations on U.S.-Japanese relations were being conducted in Washington. It was an outright act of aggression by militaristic Japan.

Although many in U.S. ruling circles had talked about the "Japanese menace" and the government had tried to limit Japanese military

—18 July 1985

DAILY WORLD

CONTAINS THE DAILY WORKER FOUNDED 1938

WORKERS VANGUARD

Unions Must Lead the Fight— Defend Norfolk Busing!

Norfolk, Virginia is at the cutting edge of the fight to defend school integration in Reagan's America. In February 1983, the Norfolk School Board voted to wipe out the city's successful busing program, in effect since 1971, in favor of so-called "neighborhood schools." In the late 1950s, Norfolk was the spearhead of segregationist massive resistance. When the state of Virginia closed down the entire Norfolk school system rather than integrate it, white parents were only too happy to put their kids on buses to lily-white private schools. They weren't praising the virtues of "neighborhood schools" then! School busing represented a basic democratic gain over the "separate and unequal" Jim Crow system—it must be defended and extended throughout the Tidewater area, including Virginia Beach!

Under the School Board's current

proposal, supported by Reagan's Justice Department, almost a third of the elementary schools would be 97-100 percent black, while a fifth would be overwhelmingly white. The plan is now before the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals, but right-wing anti-busing forces led by the Norfolk Tea Party are demanding that the Board immediately implement the segregationist scheme. Racist forces are gathering steam, and racial tensions are being inflamed. Speaking to the School Board, Rev. Anthony Paige of the moderate, pro-busing Norfolk Coalition for Quality Public Education said, "If you implement this plan today or at any time in the future, you're going to touch off a racial war that is going to destroy this community" (Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, 19 July).

The racist forces must be stopped by mobilizing the power of the Tidewater labor movement, the beachhead of

Labor prominent as 10,000 march to defend school busing in Norfolk, 1983.



union power in the "right-to-work" South, to take the lead in the fight for busing. No faith must be placed in the capitalist politicians or the capitalist courts, which since the death of the 1960s civil rights movement have reversed almost every gain of that struggle. In May 1983, some 10,000 black workers and youth, with a contingent of 200 unionists from the International Longshoremen's Association, took to the streets to defend

busing. Democratic Party hustler Jesse Jackson flew into town to head off this powerful labor-led action. "I am not in town marching for desegregation," he said frankly. "I am marching for the voter registration boost."

As the Tidewater unions march this Labor Day, they must put defense of school integration in the forefront of the struggle to defend all working people, strengthening labor in its fight to organize the South. ■

Screw the Steel Bosses and Bankers—No Givebacks!

W-P Strike: A Battle Steel Workers Must Win!

CLEVELAND—Twenty-five years of class peace in the steel industry went out the window as determined Wheeling-Pittsburgh steel workers set up picket lines two weeks ago. When Reagan's courts voided the contract and the W-P bosses dictated pay and benefit cuts amounting to \$7,000 per man, they'd had enough. "We want to be orderly, but if scabs cross our line, we're going to bust their faces," said United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1187 president Galvie Gardener (*Pittsburgh Press*, 22 July). As U.S. Steel chairman David Roderick talks about matching whatever cuts Wheeling-Pitt succeeds in squeezing out, angry steel workers at other plants facing takeaways are demanding strike action. "We have now begun the basic steel wars of 1986," a USWA negotiator remarked as the strike began.

The Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike is a key test for labor, and not just for steel workers. The bosses' *Business Week* (5 August) calls it a "watershed strike" whose outcome "will set the industry's course for a long time to come." They note menacingly: "The outcome will also affect labor relations nationwide and the use of bankruptcy laws to void labor contracts." Labor had better win this one.

W-P management has made it clear it's pulling out all the stops. After provoking the strike by unilaterally slashing wages and benefits, they then canceled the workers' medical insurance. Now they're withholding payments into the pension fund and sending out threatening letters telling retirees that their pensions are in jeopardy. But the USWA misleaders are so used to closed-door deals with the bosses they don't even know how to play this kind of hardball. They continue to seek a "compromise" on the amount of cuts they will take rather than challenge the steel bosses' union-busting takeback drive head-on.

Union members at Wheeling-Pitt had already given about \$600 million in concessions to the company, making the USWA the company's largest creditor—but, of course, the only debt recognized by the company is the one to

the banks and stockholders. As one striker aptly put it, another round of givebacks and conditions would be about the same as when his father worked under the "open shop" and you had to give the foreman apples to get a day's pay.

Throughout the country, hard-nosed bosses, hopped up by Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, are relentlessly pursuing their takeaway assault. Strikes have fallen to an 18-year low, as mainline "business unionism" throws in the towel. But with their backs to the wall, embattled West Virginia and Kentucky coal miners, shipyard workers in Maine, Teamster car haulers and Western Union workers are fighting back. And with class-struggle leadership and tactics, the tables can be turned on the bosses.

In Cleveland, when USWA District 31 director Frank Valenta called a solidarity rally July 31, he got more than he bargained for. Nearly 500 steel workers crowded into District 31 headquarters, heartily cheering any union bureaucrat who spoke with a semblance of militancy. Valenta called the rally to publicize a campaign for worker donations of a dollar a day for the W-P strikers, but many were itching to go beyond this symbolic show of support.

As the proceedings drew to a close, Valenta sought to get people to rise and sing "Solidarity Forever." At this point, an informal, integrated group of militants scattered around the room got

restless. "We don't want to sing, we want to strike!" said one. Others shouted, "This is bullshit! What about a strike, Frank?" and "Shut 'em all down!" Valenta moved to drown out these militants by striking up the small oompah band to get the music going. At a press conference he insisted the USWA was not "strike happy."

"Solidarity Forever," the old Wobbly anthem, was not about telegrams from Democratic Party politicians or hot air speeches by the union brass—it was about mass picket lines, sympathy strikes, hot-cargoing, sit-down strikes and other class-struggle actions which fuse the working class into a mighty fist to smash the bosses. That's what's needed to win. For starters the tens of thousands of steel workers facing company takeaway demands, as at LTV, should be called out on strike! Let's see those several hundred thousand USWA members in action for a change—send half of them down to the W-P picket lines, and the rest can go have a chat with David Roderick. You can bet the takeback-crazy bosses would start backing down in a hurry.

Some well-placed actions by Teamsters and railroad workers to halt any movement of steel would go a long way toward winning what the steel workers need, and pave the way for the rest of American labor. And if the company attempts to carry out its threats of liquidating its assets, the workers ought to seize the plants and lock out the bosses (and the bankers). But this would take a class-struggle leadership pre-



Cleveland, July 31: Steel workers and other unionists rally to support W-P strike.

pared to take on the capitalist government. Instead the union tops join the companies in calling for import controls, and "dissident" USWA bureaucrats like Ron Wiesen are if anything even more disgusting in spreading anti-Japanese protectionist poison. Come election time they all herd the members into the anti-union Democratic Party.

Don't forget, it was Arizona's Democratic governor Bruce Babbitt who called out the National Guard to bust up USWA copper miners at Phelps Dodge. And the brutal deindustrialization that has turned the Midwest into a giant "rust bowl," costing half of all steel workers their jobs, is a by-product of the war drive, supported by both capitalist parties, that is sucking every available resource into "Sunbelt" war industries. There is no solution to the decay of American steel under capitalism—the bosses have looted the aging plants because profits are higher elsewhere. Only a workers government, which throws the capitalist class on the slag heap and institutes a planned economy, can put an end to the ravages of unemployment and the boom-bust cycle that has turned Youngstown into a ghost town and devastated the Mon Valley far worse than any tornado. ■



How to bust the union-busters. Get yours now!

Viet Contras Terrorize SWP

OAKLAND—For the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Trotskyism is officially *passé*. But Trotsky could have been describing the SWP when he wrote of the German social democrats' appeal to the capitalist government against fascist attacks in the '30s: "...these Marxists from the *Vorwaerts* yell for the night watchman to come to their aid, saying 'Help, State, intervene!' (*Staat, greif zu!*)" (*What Next?*, January 1932). In the face of a concerted attack by gangs of fascist Vietnamese émigrés centered on San Jose, California, the SWP has been calling for a "broad campaign" to pressure "city officials of San Jose [to] act to protect the democratic rights of the socialists there and all other opponents of U.S. foreign policy" (*Militant*, 10 May). Rather than calling for *workers defense guards*, the SWP's answer was to organize a June 28 "Speak Out for Democratic Rights" to demand that "city officials take action." Yet, lo and behold, the cops side with the fascist attackers, helping them to terrorize the "peaceful, legal" reformists.

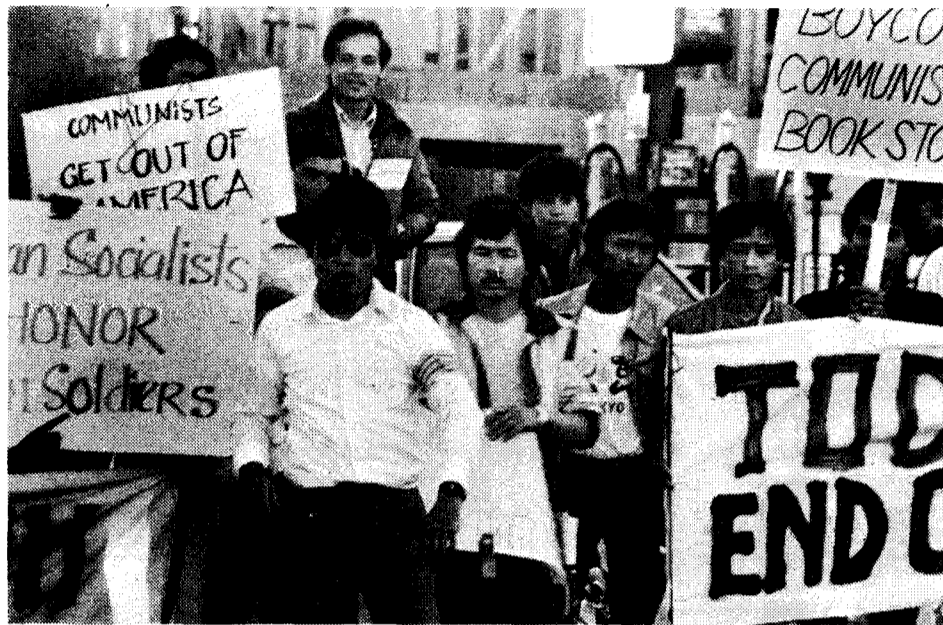
Recent SWP meetings on Vietnam in the Bay Area, New York and St. Paul have been the target of violent attacks by gangs of Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries. On April 27 a mob of Viet "contras" besieged an SWP forum on Vietnam in San Jose, California. The next day they returned at the time of the SWP's weekly branch meeting, very nearly lynching SWPers and smashing windows. (It seems to be an SWP org rule that branches must have plate-glass windows in their headquarters.) A leaflet by the SWP's youth group in San Jose described the April 28 attack:

"Over 200 of these thugs trapped 17 socialists in their offices. The mob charged the entrance several times attempting to batter down the door. A projectile crashed through the office window narrowly missing one of the people inside. After repeated calls to the police, the socialists were evacuated in patrol cars. The police made no arrests during these events and in fact, cooperated with these thugs by allowing them to search the offices 'for Vietnamese communists'."

An April 30 SWP forum in New York was attacked by Vietnamese *gusanos* wielding chains, bottles, sharpened sticks and other deadly weapons. One SWP "usher" was cut on the head by a metal cane. SWP forums in San Francisco on May 21 and Oakland on May 22 were the objects of violent "counter-demonstrations" by Viet rightists who tried to break up the events, throwing eggs and metal objects while screaming "Kill the communists!" and, incredibly, "Get out of America—Go home!"

In each case the cops ignored SWP pleas for protection, giving free rein to

the rightist thugs to attack forum participants and passers-by. An SWP "Fact Sheet on Oakland Police Conduct at May 22 Forum..." bears witness to the fact that the cops set the SWP up, noting that they promised a "display of uniformed police" to stand "between the rightist Vietnamese and the forum's marshals," "cooperation on the part of the police," and "on-the-spot liaison between the police and the marshals at the bookstore," but "none of these commitments were lived up to by the



Oakland, May 22—Vietnamese fascists, screaming "Kill the communists," hurled metal objects at SWP forum.

Oakland police." Standing by as the thugs threw eggs and pieces of metal and struck a forum-goer with a stick, the cops only intervened to stop bullhorns from being used after the SWP "responded" to 45 minutes of amplified chants of "Communists out of Oakland!" with the pathetic pacifist bleat, "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The attacks by the Viet contras threaten the entire left and labor movement. As we wrote in "Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, U.S." (*WV* No. 380, 31 May):

"In defending the triumph of social revolution in Indochina, the workers movement internationally must firmly put the imprint of its proletarian boots on the necks of these defeated émigré counterrevolutionaries whenever they raise their bloody heads."

The Spartacists fight for *trade-union mobilizations* to use the muscle of the organized labor movement to defend left meetings from these kill-crazy contras. An example of what's needed was a May 17 "Solidarity with Vietnam" meeting in Sydney, Australia where over 250 mainly maritime unionists showed up prepared to defend the gathering against the rightist thugs. At

the San Francisco and Oakland SWP forums, beefed-up *WV* sales teams of experienced union militants helped defend the meetings. We say: let the Vietnamese equivalents of the Ku Klux Klan face the kind of Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

As demonstrated yet again by the police response to the SWP's pleas for protection, reliance on the capitalist government, the murderers of two

SWP of holding "a celebration... of the 10th anniversary of the communist takeover of South Vietnam," but San Jose SWP leader Lynda Joyce, according to the bourgeois press, retorted that "the Socialists held workshops on the 'lessons to be learned from the war,' but denied holding a celebration" of the 30 April 1975 liberation of Saigon. She added plaintively, "But even if we were celebrating, does that give them the right to attack us?" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 30 April).

A considerable number of Bay Area union officials and community activists issued statements against the Viet contras' assaults on the SWP. Among them were various Asian American groups acutely conscious of how the Vietnamese fascists' murderous attacks could trigger a "yellow peril" backlash against all Asians. They recalled the murders last year by Viet rightists of California physics professor Edward Cooperman, known for his efforts to aid the reconstruction of war-ravaged Indochina, and of Vietnamese patriot Pham Thi Luu and the near-fatal wounding of her husband Nguyen Van Luy. The terrorists who perpetrated these crimes were not "boat people" but vicious warlords, landlords and drug traffickers run out of their own country because they were American puppets.

The most far-sighted Asian Americans must see that they have an urgent interest in stopping the Vietnamese contra killers. Anti-Asian racism runs deep in the U.S., particularly on the West Coast, going back to the lynchings of Chinese immigrants in the 19th century and the racist "internment" of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II. Vietnamese fishermen, Korean shopkeepers, as well as long-established Japanese and Chinese, are perilously at risk in the present chauvinist atmosphere. Those who came to this country for economic betterment must look to socialists and labor to make common cause against the war criminals trained, aided and abetted, and still protected by the U.S. government. And the unions must be won to the fight against poisonous protectionism fostered by bosses like Chrysler's Iacocca who seek to boost their profits with flag-waving chauvinist appeals.

Rather than push for a militant mobilization of the Bay Area's integrated, powerful labor movement to crush the rightists' attacks, the SWP cowers in pitiful legalistic petitioning. This display of weakness and cowardice can only embolden the Viet fascists, and endangers the entire left. In the 1930s the Great Depression spawned numerous fascist bands and ultraright demagogues such as Jersey City mayor Frank ("I am the law") Hague. James P. Cannon, founder of the then-revolutionary Trotskyist SWP, answered the bleatings of the reformists of the day, today resurrected by Jack Barnes & Co.:

"Fascism fears no 'scandal' and is not to be bluffed. It has to be beaten down."

"It is not sufficient to denounce Hague as a violator of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. These documents are sacred only for the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not for the real masters themselves. The workers in reality have only such rights as they are ready and able to defend with their own strength. Everything else under the subject of democratic rights is a lie. Hague, the authentic American fascist, answers all palaver with brutal force. For their part, the magnates of industry and finance, alarmed by labor's aggressiveness of the past few years, cannot fail to notice with satisfaction that all the arguments in court and all the pious sermons and editorials about the Constitution carry little weight against the fists and clubs of Hague's hoodlums. Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language!"

—*Socialist Appeal*, 9 July 1938 ■

Hiroshima...

(continued from page 2)

told a union convention that it would take the U.S. Army to sell cars in Japan. Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill, speaking in Detroit a few years ago, boasted: "If I were President... I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed." Considering his fellow Democrat Harry Truman dropped two A-bombs on the Japanese, that is one hell of a threat.

This hysteria has had its poisonous effect on the American working class,

who have been sold the racist lie that the Japanese, and not their own capitalist bosses, are responsible for the decayed state of American industry. In the unions, the CP falls in line behind deadly protectionist schemes; it is the Trotskyists, supporters of the Spartacist League, who fight for the interests of the international working class, calling for a break from the partner parties of austerity, racism and war. During World War II our forebears, the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, themselves facing prosecution for their principled opposition to the imperialist war, defended the Japanese Americans. Today, opposing the bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union, we say "The main enemy is at home!" It will take international socialist revolution to create a world in which there will be no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis. We look forward to the day when we can all enjoy American jazz on Mitsubishi stereo TVs while sipping Stolichnaya vodka. ■

million Vietnamese, is *suicidal reformism*. Trotsky could have told the SWP that, but you can't teach old lessons to "new realities" reformists. The SWP's response to the cops' complicity with the Vietnamese contras' attacks has been to "deepen" its appeals to the bourgeois state and give them a "theoretical" foundation. The SWP's May 10 editorial assures *Militant* readers that the Vietnamese rightists'

"...recent attacks are not part of a generalized increase in public mobilizations and extralegal violence by rightist forces.... The government has felt pressure recently to rein in other ultraright and terrorist groups. Such organizations are not growing.... It's in this context that a broad campaign to counter the rightist Vietnamese gangs is both urgent and possible."

So they think Reagan's, on the war-path against the far right—what a self-deluding hallucination!

The SWP earnestly believes that it will get the defense it indignantly points out it is constitutionally entitled to. How? Through the judicious application of "pressure" on the government that hails U.S. aggression in Vietnam as a "noble cause," backs death squads and contra mercenary killers in Central America, shields Taiwanese and Vietnamese rightist hit squads in the U.S., salutes the SS at Bitburg and bombs black babies in Philadelphia! Reagan stands by his butchers, not least the defeated Vietnamese torturers and pimps who seek to avenge their humiliating rout by the Viet Cong. And it is the Democrats who do the dirty work on the local level (witness Philly's mayor Goode). But of course it was the SWP that during the Vietnam War coined slogans like "Bring Our Boys Home from Vietnam and Send Them to Mississippi," and which during the Boston busing crisis called on Gerald Ford to send in federal troops to "defend" black schoolchildren from racist mobs. The SWP is still waiting for its "Watersuit" to result in the federal courts giving it a license to practice reformism.

In line with their drive to "force San Jose officials" to "defend the socialists' democratic rights" the SWP launched an appeal to "Defend the right to discuss U.S. foreign policy!"

The Viet contras had accused the

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated September 6.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Democrats Rally to Reagan's Terror International

In early June right-wing Republican drugstore millionaire and anti-Communist wacko Lewis Lehrman organized a meeting of assorted mercenaries and counterrevolutionary killers from around the world in the village of Jamba in southern Angola. Pledging death to "Soviet imperialism," Daddy Warbucks Lehrman raised arms with South Africa's Angolan puppet Jonas Savimbi, Nicaraguan "contra" Adolfo Calero and an Afghan Islamic fanatic. Ronald Reagan sent along a letter to the contra confab proclaiming, "Their goals are our goals" (*Newsweek*, 17 June).

A month later the Democrats in Congress were trying to out-Reagan Reagan, voting big war bucks for the real U.S.-backed terrorist international for which Lehrman played master of ceremonies in southern Angola. First, they reversed themselves on aid to the CIA's Nicaraguan terrorists. Then they voted millions for the Afghan and Cambodian contras. And for good measure, they repealed the nine-year ban (the Clark Amendment) on funding Savimbi's UNITA in Angola. Naturally, Republicans chortled that the Democrats have now embraced the so-called "Reagan doctrine" of support to anti-Soviet "resistance movements"—that is, counterrevolutionary terrorists—around the world.

The theory behind the "Reagan doctrine" has been stated baldly by veteran Cold War ideologue Sidney Hook. In an introduction to a book purporting to document Soviet involvement in Grenada, and thus supposedly justify Reagan's rape of the tiny black West Indian island, Hook argues that social revolution is caused *not* by hideous oppression, squalor, misery and degradation but rather by the actions of radical agitators. The conclusion is ob-



UPI

Left: Afghan mujahadeen "freedom fighter" shoots schoolteacher for teaching young girls to read. Right: Nicaraguan contras—sadistic killers, torturers and rapists.



LeMoyné/Newsweek

al version of Murder Inc." and a terrorist confederation of "outlaw states run by the strangest collection of misfits, Looney Tunes and squalid criminals since the advent of the Third Reich" (*New York Times*, 9 July). Quite a mouthful coming from the man who embraced the Third Reich's SS terrorists at Bitburg; whose CIA used Nazi torture experts to train the secret police of "moderately authoritarian" butchers like Pinochet and Somoza, anti-Communist dictators who killed tens of thousands of their own countrymen; and whose predecessors used the real Murder Inc. in repeated attempts to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro! Castro appropriately called the maker of that speech "the worst terrorist in the history of mankind." He added: "This Reagan is a madman, an imbecile, a bum."

The Contra Democrats

It was the Democrats under Carter/Mondale who paved the way for the

The *New York Times* (14 July) attributes the present contra aid votes to a new mood of "Machismo" on Capitol Hill." It points out that at least a dozen times Congressmen invoked the image of Sylvester Stallone's Rambo, an ex-Green Beret who goes back and single-handedly ravages Vietnam. Let some real ex-Green Beret try it! But Congressional Democrats have not been suddenly swept up by Rambo fever of newfound enthusiasm for anti-Communist terrorists. The Democratic-controlled House voted for every bill to "covertly" fund the Nicaraguan contras up to early 1984 when they were embarrassed by the CIA's mining of Corinto and Puerto Sandino harbors. And during last year's presidential elections Mondale called for *quarantining* Nicaragua, thus anticipating Reagan's economic warfare.

There has *always* been a *hipartisan* consensus within the American ruling class to wage at least a "cold" war against the Soviet Union and to suppress revolutions around the world, despite sometimes sharp differences on how this is to be done. As the present Cold War escalates these differences have progressively narrowed. "It's Time for the Democrats to Be Tough-Minded" is the title of a piece by liberal New York Congressman Stephen Solarz in the *New York Times* (20 June) op-ed page. He decries that the Democrats are now seen as soft on Russia, "despite our long and honorable tradition of anti-Communism." And he reaffirms, "it is the Soviet Union that poses the most serious threat to our values and interests."

As a spokesman for the American ruling class, Solarz is dead right. It is the industrial and military power of the Soviet Union, despite its nationalistic and bureaucratic leadership, which stands in the way of U.S. imperialism's most vital interest—to dominate and exploit the world. And this is no new passion of the Democrats. Only fear of war with Russia kept liberal hero John F. Kennedy from sending his Marines and Green Berets in to overthrow Castro's Cuba and kept the Pentagon from nuking Vietnam back into the stone age.

In language indistinguishable from the Reagan gang, Solarz calls for:

"...resisting Communist expansionism in the third world by providing arms and aid to non-Communist forces, such as those in Afghanistan and Cambodia,

resisting Communist invasion and occupation of their countries."

This liberal Democrat hails the Afghan and Cambodian counterrevolutionaries for waging "wars of national liberation."

In reality, the Afghan "freedom fighters" are a melange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs fighting to restore mass illiteracy, the bride price and the enslavement of women. And while boasting to their American patrons that they are killing Russians by the carload, most Afghan mujahadeen do not and dare not get within hundreds of miles of any Soviet forces. The *hundreds of millions* of dollars Washington is sending them every year, supposedly to fight in Afghanistan, is really going into unnumbered Swiss bank accounts.

As for the Cambodian contras fighting the Vietnamese, they consist of the followers of Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann, who during the Vietnam War secretly connived with the Nixon administration to organize the mass terror bombing of their *own* country. Washington's other Cambodian terrorist is the genocidal maniac Pol Pot, whom the U.S. is backing mainly through its ally China. Pol Pot turned Cambodia into a giant concentration camp, killing two to three million of his *own* people. When the Vietnamese drove out Pol Pot in 1979 and occupied the country, they *saved* the Cambodian people.

In addition to funding the Nicaraguan, Afghan and Cambodian contras, Congressional Democrats on July 11 repealed the 1975 Clark Amendment which prohibited funding South African puppet Jonas Savimbi. When the Portuguese colonialists pulled out of Angola in 1975, Washington encouraged South Africa to invade the country and crush the nationalist MPLA regime in Luanda. Savimbi offered up his forces as mercenaries for the apartheid regime. The white-supremacist army was stopped only by the massive introduction of Cuban troops backed and armed by the Soviet Union. At this point Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wanted to escalate the war in Angola, but the majority of the American ruling class feared another Vietnam, that is, a *losing* colonial military adventure. Hence the Clark Amendment.

Since their defeat a decade ago the South African army and Savimbi's

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Gorrell/Richmond News Leader

In recent weeks Congressional Democrats have voted funds for anti-Communist terrorists from Southeast Asia to Central America.

vious: wipe out the reds, and U.S. imperialism can supposedly preside forever over a world of hideous oppression, exploitation, misery and degradation.

That, of course, is precisely the aim of Reagan's terrorist international, from mining Nicaraguan harbors to organizing car-bombing in Beirut. Yet this campaign of international terrorism has been carried out in the name of fighting ... "international terrorism." From day one in the White House this has been the Reagan gang's main battle cry. Witness Reagan's ranting diatribe before the American Bar Association accusing North Korea, Iran, Libya, Cuba and Nicaragua of being a "new, internation-

terror presidency. Remember, it was Jimmy Carter who declared Cold War II when the Russians intervened against the Islamic counterrevolution in Afghanistan. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Dr. Strangelove then resident in the White House basement, actually journeyed to the Khyber Pass and waving a machine gun incited the Afghan Islamic mujahadeen: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side." Likewise, it was under Carter/Mondale and the Democratic-controlled Congress that funding of the Cambodian counterrevolutionaries began.

Apartheid Terror...

(continued from page 1)

the major urban centers of Cape Town and Durban. One day after the funeral ban was announced more than 8,000 blacks attended a funeral in Tumahole township, just outside the "emergency" area. Then, at a funeral in a black settlement near Port Elizabeth, 1,500 blacks surged through the streets chanting slogans for the African National Congress (ANC), the oldest and most prominent black African nationalist organization. The ANC is not only banned—merely expressing support for or having ANC literature carries severe



Black gold miners, key value producers for apartheid capitalism, vote August 25 strike call.

penalties. In Cape Town and Durban tens of thousands of black and coloured (mixed-race) students boycotted classes to protest Botha's jackboot regulations. On July 31 thousands of university students—black, Indian and white—singing freedom songs and chanting pro-ANC slogans converged on the University of Durban to protest the "state of emergency."

Now Botha's "state of emergency" is being challenged by the most powerful section of South Africa's black proletariat, the 550,000 gold miners who produce half the country's foreign-exchange earnings. Even before the "emergency," black miners were headed for a major showdown. Yesterday Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of the black National Union of Mineworkers, called for an industrywide strike on August 25. No less important, the union also delivered a *political ultimatum* to the regime, saying it would instruct its members to boycott all white businesses in or near mining towns unless the "state of emergency" is lifted within 72 hours. And if Botha carries out his threat to expel 200,000 foreign miners in response to Western sanctions, the NUM declared, "our union would immediately call a national strike of all miners and stop all the mines until he reverses all action he may have taken."

Workers throughout the world must rally to the courageous black South African gold miners. For international labor action to defend the black, coloured and Asian masses in South Africa! Down with the "state of emergency"! Free Nelson Mandela and all victims of apartheid terror!

South Africa is the largest gold producer in the "free world." The threat of class struggle in the Witwatersrand mines is making waves in the international capitalist economy and the press. South African gold stocks fell 20 percent in a few weeks as foreign investors have dumped billions of dollars worth and reinvested in Canadian and Australian gold.

If gold is the key link between the South African apartheid state and world capitalism, it is also the key link internally between South African capitalism and the apartheid slave labor institutions. From the discovery of diamonds in the 1860s and especially gold in the 1880s, the development of

the mining industry, initially under British imperialism, created the racist "migrant" labor system. A massive pool of superexploited, unskilled black labor, stripped of every civil and human right, was created through the colonial subjugation of neighboring black states and blacks in South Africa. South African blacks were made "foreigners" in their own country, relegated to the scattered parcels of the poorest land occupying 13 percent of the country, the bantustans, their movement outside the bantustans regulated by the hated "pass laws."

The rise of the National Union of Mineworkers, as well as a labor shortage, has compelled the apartheid bosses to gradually increase black miners' wages. But the NUM has only begun to

touch the issue central to apartheid in the mines: the issue of "migrant" labor. By law, 97 percent of the black labor force in the mines must be recruited from either the bantustans or "independent" black states like Lesotho and Botswana. Militants can thus be deported en masse back to these hideously impoverished areas where thousands more are waiting to take their jobs. When 42,000 miners downed tools last spring at the world's largest gold mine, Vaal Reefs, management deported over 14,000 strikers. Only half got their jobs back when the NUM interceded. But the courage and combativity of these miners remains unbroken, as demonstrated by the wildcats that swept the gold mines around Johannesburg in anticipation of the industrywide showdown this month.

What Is To Be Done?

The last time that these draconian "emergency" measures were introduced in South Africa was 25 years ago, in the aftermath of the massacre of 69 unarmed blacks protesting the hated pass laws in the township of Sharpeville. A 156-day "state of emergency" was used to jail more than 11,000 black activists. Every major anti-apartheid organization, including the ANC and Stalinist Communist Party, was driven underground as their leaders were killed, imprisoned or forced into exile. Black resistance to white racist rule was broken for a decade. But the anti-apartheid revolt today is both wider and more militant than the protests of the 1950s.

A new generation of black youth is not content to remain within the confines of the "nonviolent" civil disobedience tactics that dominated those protests as they did the American civil rights movement of the same period. This generation is conscious of the humiliation of mighty America by Vietnam, the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, and the turning back of the South African military in Angola by Cuban troops. Most important in the present wave of anti-apartheid struggle has been the growth and organization of the six-million-strong black working class.

For months South Africa's black nationalist leadership has myopically

viewed the massive, mounting unrest in the black townships as the beginning of the end for apartheid. At a press conference in late June ANC leader Oliver Tambo triumphally declared: "They [the black masses] are creating the conditions for the escalation of our attack leading towards the situation where it will be possible for us to overthrow the apartheid regime" (*Guardian* [New York], 24 July). Under the slogan, "Make South Africa ungovernable, make the apartheid system unworkable," the ANC is little short of calling for an insurrection. But a decisive military confrontation at this time along national lines will be a disaster for the black masses.

If the ANC and many leftists blindly believe that "the end of apartheid is near," much of the American liberal bourgeoisie has come to view South Africa with despair. Witness the *New York Times* (28 July) editorial:

"South Africa is headed for a historic clash, pitting the white Afrikaner, newly rich, against the black African, newly roused; pitting the most modern weapons against the most powerful ideas... 'The world has implored Pretoria to let apartheid end by emancipation rather than revolution. But the Afrikaners will not emancipate and mean to fight, for generations, to defeat revolution....' 'A monumental tragedy is at hand, and there is not much that good people elsewhere can do to prevent it.'"

The same issue of the *Times* has a piece on the op-ed page by a former civil rights lawyer from Mississippi, Bartle Bull, entitled "There Is No South African Solution." He states quite rightly:

"The struggle is not over how to mitigate the horrors of apartheid. The struggle is over the power to rule the country...."

"Faced with these unpleasant realities, our calls for reform have little meaning. There is no possibility of peaceful devolution to a constitutional, democratic, fair government."

We Marxists, too, recognize that there can be no gradual dismantling of the apartheid state, i.e., white capitalist rule. We have also pointed out that the present balance of forces militarily is highly unfavorable to the unarmed black masses. Four months ago we soberly warned:

"Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation any more. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath...."

—"South Africa: Razor's Edge,"
WV No. 376, 5 April

Many liberals now throw up their hands over South Africa and counsel despair and quiescence, or empty moralistic gestures. For there is no bourgeois-democratic solution to the conflicts raging in that country. One man, one vote would deprive the whites not only of political power but of their economic dominance. There is, however, a progressive solution, but it must break through the framework of capitalism and nationalism. In South Africa there is a black proletariat with a growing sense of its power. The *class* principle can prevail.

But economic mobilization is not sufficient, and insofar as black workers are being mobilized politically, it is as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. What is needed is the organization of South African black labor for its own *class* rule, a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial Leninist-Trotskyist party. Instead of the mass starvation and intertribal civil war which has devastated "independent" neocolonial black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, in which whites will have a necessary place. And it will be the motor force for genuine national emancipation and social revolution through-

out the desperately oppressed African continent.

Apartheid Terror and Imperialist Hypocrisy

Practically every Western capital has recalled its ambassador to Pretoria, and the UN Security Council passed a French-Danish resolution for voluntary sanctions, with the U.S. and Britain abstaining. France has banned new investment in South Africa. And the U.S. Congress, including the Republican-controlled Senate, is talking about imposing mild economic sanctions.

The apartheid terror state is universally hated by the workers and the colonial slaves of the world who see in it the mirror of their own exploitation and degradation. That is why NATO powers must posture against their racist allies in Pretoria in order to retain domestic support for the imperialist "free world," to which South Africa is integral, against the Soviet bloc. Given the possibility of a *proletarian* victory coming out of a social upheaval in South Africa, these imperialists fear not only for the stability of their investments, but for the powerful impact such a social revolution would have on their "own" working classes, particularly the strategically concentrated black proletariat in the U.S. The real ally of the South African black masses is workers solidarity and international proletarian class struggle. ■

Labor Against Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

of Australia and New Zealand. The SL banner read: "Black Workers Must Take the Lead! Smash Apartheid Slavery! Unions Black [refuse to work] All South African Cargo!" A Spartacist sign proclaimed, "Hold the *Mildura* to Ransom—Freedom for Nelson Mandela, Black Union Leaders, All Anti-Apartheid Leaders."

In Britain, Southampton dockers intervened at the last minute to prevent the loading of a sophisticated computerized milling machine onto a South Africa-bound ship. The machine had been sold by a British firm to a subsidiary of the South African Armaments Corporation, which produces and maintains South African military aircraft. The dockers' Transport and General Workers Union, the National Union of Seamen and two civil service unions spent "three days of frantic detective work" tracking down the shipment (*London Guardian*, 31 July).

The blatant violation by Thatcher and Reagan of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa demonstrates the dangerous futility of reliance on the bosses' government and the UN to pressure their South African racist friends, as well as the urgent need for international labor solidarity action in this hour of crisis. Such direct action would strike a blow at the racists, and strengthen and encourage the South African black proletariat, the engine of the South African revolution. But so far effective international proletarian solidarity has been sabotaged by the various national labor bureaucracies, who want to avoid at all costs a sharp confrontation with their "own" bourgeoisie.

Even the actions in Britain and Australia have been constrained by the labor fakers. The British action centered on a single machine—the maritime unions picked it out because its export violates the UN embargo, so they thought they could get away with their "blacking" (hot-cargoing) action without being prosecuted under the Thatcher government's anti-union laws. Yet South Africa is Britain's twelfth largest export market, and according to the *London Financial Times* (2 August), Britain plays "a major role in strategic areas of the South African economy—

Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!

Under Fire in Estelí

ESTELI, Nicaragua, August 5—In the last week, the CIA's counterrevolutionary mercenaries staged one of their largest raids in four years of terrorist activity, focusing their drive on the area around this northern Nicaraguan city. In an ambush late last month the contras killed nine civilians, including eight women who were on trucks carrying families to visit their sons at the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) school of Mulukuku in Matagalpa province. Then, Sunday before last, 29 soldiers were killed in an ambush just outside of Estelí, leading to a battle with helicopters and heavy artillery. On Monday the contras blew holes in two bridges on the Pan-American highway north of Estelí. On Wednesday they damaged another highway bridge in the Sebaco valley to the south. And on Thursday they drove into the center of La Trinidad, opening fire on the militia headquarters and police station, before being expelled by EPS troops.

The attack on La Trinidad cut Estelí off from Managua for a couple days. But the army's response was impressive. There was a huge amount of air action, and for the first time the Soviet MI-24 helicopter gunships were reportedly used in action. You could hear bombs dropping and mortars firing against the contras a few kilometers outside the city. Estelí itself was put on full alert, and people were busily digging trenches, not because they expected an attack, but just in case. A 10 p.m. curfew was imposed, vigilance was stepped up and people were ordered to report to their reserve battalions. The mopping-up operation was pretty much over by the weekend, and on Sunday (August 3) there was a big demonstration of several thousand people in the center of town. They showed off 33 contras who had

been captured, scores of rifles, Claymore mines and knapsacks "made in USA" and the like.

People commented that the contras botched their attempts to blow up the bridges by placing the charges at the strongest points, so all they accomplished was to punch some holes. They seem more interested in showing that they're using the money they're getting from the U.S., now that Congress turned the spigot on again. What the contras are good at is running, because they are all hyped up on cocaine and speed—a lot of drugs. A number of the mercenaries have been caught trying to sneak into town to get food, set booby traps and so on. Even if they are unarmed and wearing civilian clothes, you can tell them apart because they have nice American army boots. And the population is armed, people walking

everywhere with their Kalashnikov assault rifles. The contras would be crazy to try to take Estelí itself. This town has a reputation as a bastion of the revolution and it's proud of it.

People talk of "three times heroic Estelí," referring to the fact that during 1978-79 they rose up repeatedly against Somoza's dictatorship, even though his Guardsmen and air force reduced the city to rubble. In September '78, Estelí insurrected together with León, Chinandega and Masaya. Armed only with hunting rifles, pistols, machetes and Molotov cocktails, the *muchachos* (kids) forced the local Guard detachments to hole up in their barracks and wait for reinforcement. Somoza's mercenaries with American Sherman tanks and Israeli push-pull planes crushed each city. But they reserved a special fury for stubborn Estelí, which held out



Suran Meiselas
Heroic Estelí: Sandinista fighter throwing Molotov cocktail at National Guard headquarters during the final offensive, July 1979.

fuel, military equipment and computers." Similarly the Australian union tops have tried to limit their actions to dovetail with calls on the capitalist Labor Party government to ban trade with South Africa.

Meanwhile, on August 2 the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, protested the arrival of 40,000 tons of South African coal at the port of Rouen. The rally in front of the ship *Galion* underlined the need for working-class solidarity with the embattled black masses. The LTF contacted the principal port unions before the protest, but the Stalinist leadership of the CGT, France's main labor federation, limits their "solidarity" to calls for sanctions by the Mitterrand government. An LTF speaker declared: "It's not divestment by Mitterrand and Botha's buddies—who only demand that the exploitation be a little more discreet—that's going to help South African blacks, but rather trade-union action, to show that the working classes of other countries won't tolerate the repression of their brothers."

In the U.S., the criminal role of the labor traitors has been even more obvious: no action whatsoever has taken place despite the presence of large numbers of black workers in such strategic unions as the International Longshoremen's Association and other industrial unions. Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO is too consumed with propping up the CIA/Vatican Solidarność "union" in Poland to lift a finger for the black proletariat in South Africa, and East Coast dock union leaders prefer to hot-cargo "Communist" shipping.

In the so-called "progressive" Inter-

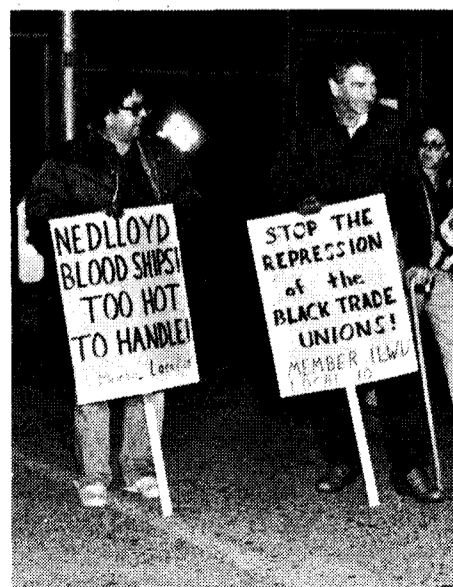
national Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast, militant Stan Gow raised a motion at a July 25 Local 10 executive board meeting to "not work any ships carrying cargo to and from South Africa" as a protest against the state of emergency. However, the same gang that sabotaged last December's action against a South African ship in San Francisco moved in to do the job again. Gow's motion was immediately ruled out of order by local president Larry Wing, who cited a standing injunction against the local for the December action. Like a broken record, Leo Robinson, a well-known supporter of the Communist Party's *People's World*, chimed in to back up the no-action position of the bureaucracy, raising the spectre of court fines "bankrupting" the union. So while the black masses are being shot down by the apartheid butchers, these fakers tremble over a six-month-old injunction.

Instead of labor action, the reformists tell the workers to crawl to the bosses government to "outlaw investing abroad," as the CP's Draft Trade Union Program puts it (*Daily World*, 30 July). This is class betrayal, just another way of saying "buy American." United Mine Workers leader Richard Trumka has picked up a similar flag-waving theme—after getting himself arrested as a cheap gesture in a token anti-apartheid demonstration—by asking the Reagan government for a permanent ban on importing South African coal. The "anti-apartheid" rhetoric is just a cover for appealing to the American bosses for a protectionist program to rob South African black workers of jobs.

In fact, Appalachian miners in the

U.S. and black miners in South Africa are exploited by the same capitalist interests, like Fluor-Corporation which owns union-busting Massey Coal here and union-busting Sasol there. It would be appropriate for the UMWA to send direct material and financial aid to assist the class struggle of their brothers in South Africa. Certainly the donation by the impoverished South African black mine workers union to the British miners gave an important boost to the desperate 1984-85 coal miners strike against Thatcher.

In New York City, Central Labor Council head Harry Van Arsdale and a coalition of trade unions, capitalist and reformist politicians, anti-apartheid and religious groups have called a rally for



WV Photo
Bay Area longshore union militants picket Nedlloyd Kimberley carrying South African cargo in November 1984.

till the last. In April 1979, Estelí anticipated the final offensive and rose up alone; it took a week for the Guard to crush the resistance. Now there's a lot of talk about returning to the spirit of '79.

There are estimates of 2,000 contras in the general area and 800 in the immediate vicinity of Estelí. At a Managua press conference July 17, EPS commander Hugo Torres estimated a total of 9,000 contra troops, only 3,500 of them inside the country at the time. So this crew was infiltrated over the border from Honduras in the last two weeks. They have been taking heavy losses: Torres reported some 2,300 contras killed so far this year. "They don't constitute a strategic threat to the revolution," he reported, "except within the framework of a direct Yankee intervention." And on August 1, the Nicaraguan defense ministry placed the armed forces on maximum alert as the U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* and eight accompanying warships cruised off the Caribbean coast.

Meanwhile, the CIA contra terrorists bleed the country attempting to provoke a wider war, and to squeeze the economy. In the attack on La Trinidad they tried to burn down grain silos (in the name of "democracy"). This sabotage and the trade embargo decreed by Reagan have definitely had an effect. Food prices are continuing to rise as a result of the elimination of subsidies, and today in one of the markets in Estelí they weren't even selling beans.

The very real threat of U.S. invasion makes the Spartacist League call to "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" even more urgent. The working people of Nicaragua must expropriate the bourgeoisie to mobilize all its resources for defense. And they must link up with the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas, fighting barely 200 miles to the west. Above all, American workers and students must fight the Yankee war machine on the home front, opposing both Democrats and Republicans, the partner parties of U.S. imperialism and godfathers of the Somozaist contras. Heroic Estelí must be an inspiration to us all. ■

August 13 at the United Nations against Botha's state of emergency. A major demand of this coalition is that Reagan and Britain's Thatcher reverse their veto of a UN resolution for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. In other words, they are begging these two racist imperialist governments to conduct a trade war against their apartheid junior partner! In contrast, Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist candidate for New York City mayor, stated:

"It is the international working class which is the real ally of the enslaved black masses in South Africa. There is a crying need for New York City labor and minorities to mobilize against racist police terror, not just in the South African black townships but also right here in the mean streets of America's ghettos. Koch's racist cops did not need a 'state of emergency' to beat to death black artist Michael Stewart, or to shoot down black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs because she was behind on her rent. They didn't need a 'state of emergency' to firebomb black babies and burn down a black neighborhood in Philly. The New York unions sponsoring the August 13 rally could shut this city down with a one-day political protest strike. And they should. From Soweto and Port Elizabeth to Harlem and Philadelphia, labor must mobilize its power against racist police terror."

In this hour when the South African apartheid rulers think they can move with impunity against the black masses, the international proletariat must act. Screw the bosses' laws! American workers should stage a Boston Tea Party with the South African blood cargo! For a labor boycott of arms to the apartheid dictatorship! And at this crucial juncture, international labor solidarity action can have a powerful political impact in shaping the struggle in South Africa along class lines. ■

SL Suit: A Gratifying Victory

MARXISTS vs. FBI REPRESSION

We print below in edited form a speech given by the Spartacist League general counsel, comrade Rachel Wolkenstein, assessing the SL's victory against Reagan's FBI. The speech was given during April and May in New York, San Francisco, Boston and Washington.

On 20 October 1983 the SL had filed suit against the FBI's new "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," charging they equate Marxist political opposition to the government with criminal "terrorism." The FBI has had us under its microscope for 25 years, spending millions employing on us the techniques politely termed "surveillance." The SL legal complaint charged that the FBI has "investigated" the SL and our predecessors, the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, since the Russian Revolution without ever finding any evidence of violent criminal activity. The suit challenged the legal basis of "thought crime" laws like the Smith Act, the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO "neutralization" of the Black Panthers, and the new Guidelines which aim to set up the government's perceived political opponents for naked, bloody "anti-terrorist" state violence. In settling the suit on 30 November 1984 the FBI agreed to retract their long-standing set-up "definition" of the SL and substitute a statement defining us as what we are: a Marxist political organization. The FBI claims the SL is not now being subjected to a "domestic security" "investigation."

The *New York Times*, while churning out hundreds of pages retailing Reaganite fantasies about Bulgarian schemes to murder the pope, refused to cover our suit, the first successful legal challenge to the Guidelines. But our fight got a real response from those who have fought state persecution. Civil libertarians and attorneys extended their congratulations; at Wolkenstein's S.F. forum May 10 the guest speaker was

Howard Moore, who was Angela Davis' attorney. Also aware of the importance of our case were black activists like Robert F. Williams, forced to flee the country in the early 1960s for organizing armed self-defense of blacks in North Carolina, and Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael). A message from Communist Workers Party leader Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre of five CWP supporters, noted:

"...our party was [the] victim of five brutal daylight murders by the combined forces of the Klan, Nazis, Greensboro police, agents of the FBI and agents of the [Firearms Bureau]. These murders could not have occurred without the aid of government intelligence."

The press portrayed the fascist murder conspiracy in Greensboro as a "shootout" between "extremists." As if to underline the point, a few days after the forum, the Philadelphia cops carried out their grisly execution by aerial bombardment and fiery holocaust, massacring at least eleven members of the black MOVE commune, including babies. This racist crime, imprinted with the insignia of Reagan's America, was coordinated with the FBI; the stooge mayor, black Democrat Wilson Goode, claimed his victims were "urban guerrillas."

The government's "anti-terrorism" campaign means preparing new dirty wars abroad by intimidating the populace with displays of state terror at home. At the New York forum April 26 guest speaker Conrad Lynn, veteran civil rights attorney, linked Reagan's war on workers and the oppressed at home to the obscene embracing of apartheid butchers in South Africa and Nazi mass murderers at Bitburg. As Conrad aptly put it, "Reagan and Kirkpatrick and their ilk have their blood brothers in Germany." Now Reagan has proclaimed an international



WV Photo
Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein.

hit list of "outlaw nations," targets for U.S. imperialist adventures.

As comrade Wolkenstein noted, we've had more than our share of legal defense cases. Not because we've wanted them, and certainly not because we've got illusions in what can be won in the courtroom, but because we have done our duty as Marxist revolutionists while other leftists cowered under the pressures of bourgeois reaction and Cold War. It's not with any sense of satisfaction that we observe that the SL has led the only successful mass demonstrations of opposition to resurgent Klan terror in this country. In the face of outright provocation by the Reaganites, determined hostility to our efforts from the local Democrats, and the default of the larger "left" groups, the SL's strategy of labor-based mass mobilizations has stopped fascist terror parades in

their tracks.

By standing up against intimidation, the SL has become a prime target for repression. Our lawsuit in defense of our right to organize a workers party lends a measure of protection to us and to those who have fought alongside us. By challenging the criminalization of dissent, we struck a modest blow against a vicious capitalist government's campaign of preemptive state terror against those who might make "trouble." Every striker, every anti-apartheid activist or opponent of imperialist war, every academic Marxist professor, and everyone who might want to fight against racism and oppression has a stake in our victory.

The Spartacist League vs. the Director of the FBI and the Attorney General of the United States of America: On November 30 last year we won a victory settlement against the FBI, wherein they conceded the basic claim of our lawsuit, that Marxists are not terrorists, that the Spartacist League is what it says it is: a Marxist political organization.

In the process of working on the lawsuit, I met with the Assistant U.S. Attorney who worked on the case. He had just had a day-long meeting with FBI agents who had spent considerable time in Washington combing through the thousands upon thousands of pages of surveillance reports, documents and press of the Spartacist League that they had gathered in over 20 years. And he said he was extremely impressed by our legal history.

They had reviewed the SL's libel suit against the *Washington Times*, the Moonies' newspaper in Washington, D.C. which had accused the Spartacist League of provoking violence against the police during the anti-Klan demonstration that we initiated November 27, 1982. The Moonie newspaper retracted by issuing a statement that they no

FBI Retracts Its "Definition" Slander

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

This is the former FBI definition of the Spartacist League used for 20 years, which used classic witchhunt language, claiming that the SL "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time" [emphasis added], falsely attributing to the organization a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

In settlement of the Spartacist League's lawsuit, the FBI agrees to change its definition of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. Thereby the FBI concedes the central claim of the SL's lawsuit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.

longer claimed that we provoked violence, and they printed a statement by us on what happened on that day.

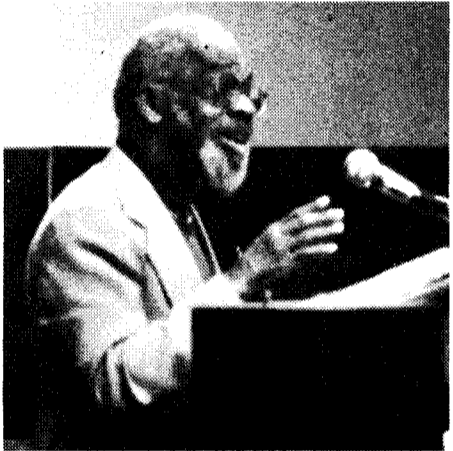
And they looked at Spartacist League vs. George Deukmejian, then attorney general of the State of California. Well, we won a victory there, too: in just six months the attorney general's Organized Crime Bureau removed the Spartacist League from a list of "left-wing terrorist" organizations.

And they saw Jane Margolis vs. the Secret Service, where a trade-union supporter of the Spartacist League in the Communications Workers of America sued the Secret Service after they dragged her off the floor of her union convention as if she was some kind of threat to the life of then-President Carter, who was speaking there. And she won that lawsuit, received a monetary settlement and an apology from the Secret Service.

And they saw the case of the State of California against Richard Bradley, and saw that we had won when we proudly defended Richard Bradley for twice taking down the Confederate flag which had been flying over the San Francisco Civic Center.

And they noted the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two CWA strikers who had defended their picket line and their strike against racist assault, and saw that those people were vigorously defended and did not go to jail.

And they noted also retractions by the San Francisco *Chronicle* and the New



WV Photo

Veteran civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn addresses NYC forum on SL suit against FBI.

York *Daily News* against libelous statements preceding the Democratic National Convention where it had been alleged that the Spartacist League was a group to be watched for in terms of violence at that convention.

And the Assistant Attorney said to me, "You know, your organization really takes extreme efforts to fight against any attempt to label it as a violent, terrorist organization." In fact we had so many lawsuits going when we started the FBI suit that we thought, well, all we have to do is sue the Catholic church and the Mafia. But what's impressive are the cumulative victories that we have achieved in our struggle to maintain our legality in the United States.

The questions posed tonight are: how was it that an orthodox Marxist organization like the Spartacist League—an organization that's way out there in our defense of the gains of the Russian October Revolution, that recognizes that this state is a capitalist state hostile to communist organizations, that the courts are not neutral and certainly not favorable to avowed Marxists, and that has no illusions that we would be able to stop the FBI from investigating us—how is it that a Marxist organization can score modest legal victories against the government? Why was it that we filed these lawsuits, what legal strategy did we employ, and most importantly, why and what did we win?

Our victories are all the more remarkable because they take place primarily in the Reagan years. In fact, the FBI settlement took place just a few short

weeks after Reagan's victory in an election where it seems like never before did so many people vote against their own obvious self-interests. Now, this administration is so arrogant that it in fact thought that it could go and place wreaths at the graves of the SS at Bitburg without there being any reaction. But the demonstrations [around South Africa] and the furor created by Bitburg were not going on when we filed our lawsuit.

Why We Sued the FBI

In 1983 when the new terrorism guidelines were promulgated, we were looking at the Reagan years, and the basis laid for reaction in this country by Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" drive. The attempt to lead this country into war requires an overcoming of the "Vietnam syndrome." The defeat of U.S. forces is something alive and well in the consciousness of the American people. And that coupled with the post-Watergate exposures of the FBI and of government surveillance of millions of Americans created a climate of disbelief and cynicism that the administration needs to overcome. The "American century" had lasted but a few years, from the end of World War II to 1971—short-lived.

This Cold War period is not the McCarthy period which followed World War II. Then the working class accepted and believed rather totally in the aims of the United States government. This period is not one where the attitude of the working class towards communism is one of paralyzed disinterest or wholesale acceptance of the "red menace" myth.

The gearing up for repression of dissent in this period started with the smashing of PATCO [striking air controllers], sending a message to the labor movement; the unleashing of the fascist racist terrorists of the KKK and Nazis; and the calls for a counter-revolution in civil rights and civil liberties. And the government has been seeking a legal mandate for a new red-hunt—an attempt to regiment through fear of the Soviet Union, fear of terrorism, fear of the state itself. The code word for this new red-hunt has been "terrorist." Well, to be a "terrorist" is something much more than simply being a red—and being a red in the '50s was quite a bit: it meant being drummed out of jobs, being ostracized, virtually going politically underground. It meant people didn't buy communist newspapers. But to be a "terrorist" is something else again. It means that you're an outlaw of society, somebody for whom democratic rights have no meaning and no application. You're somebody whom the cops have a reason and an excuse to shoot down. Somebody whom the naked power of the state is supposed to go after.

We term this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," because it's a combination of the McCarthyism of the earlier Cold War period with the violence inherent in the response to "terrorism." And whereas in the '60s "counterintelligence" operations were carried out against the left and black movement in secrecy, the Reagan anti-terrorist red-hunt is right out in center stage.

We looked a lot at what happened to other organizations—particularly to the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party, which espoused revolutionary rhetoric—in its best period opposing the pacifism of Martin Luther King and calling for self-defense of blacks against the Klan and government terror—was subjected to draconian extermination policies by the government. I think everyone in this room knows about the murder of Black Panther Party member Fred Hampton in Chicago, with the conspiracy and cooperation of the FBI and the local red squads. People here should know that Geronimo Pratt, a Black Panther, has spent some 15 years

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We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears Fight the New McCarthyism!

The SL has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new red-hunt. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as terrorists, outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the Cold War witch-hunt. Our suit against the sinister FBI Guidelines was part of our continuing battle to defend ourselves and all those targeted by the new McCarthyism.



WV Photo

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

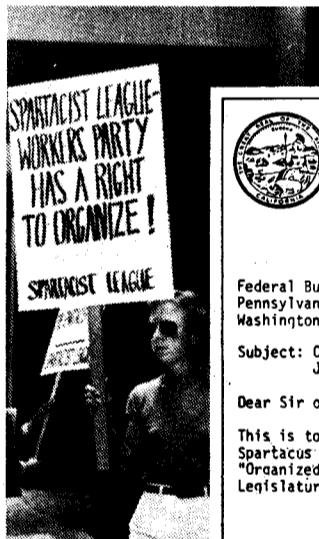
Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, The Washington Times ran a story on the Spartacist League in regard to its demonstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Washington Times

...the "provocative" nature of the beginning of the Klan's route of the march, was secured from the appropriate police authorities on Nov. 22. During the next four days, the SL and the SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets announcing the Labor-Black Mobilization rally. The Labor-Black Mobilization rally began at about 9:30 a.m. on Nov. 27 and continued until about 12:40 p.m., engaging the participation of 5,000, predominantly blacks

and trade unionists, who listened to speeches and took part in militant activities. A monitor squad, including members of the Spartacist League, was on hand from the beginning. The demonstrators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this rally the monitors successfully, peacefully, and in an orderly manner the demonstrators away from the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protestors attended a victory party at the Olive Hotel in the Capitol area. What happened on Nov. 27 was that the Klan did not march. The media—with the notable exception of the black press—portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. But it was only The Washington Times which named the SL and the SYL as authors of violence against the Klan. We believe that through the misreporting of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

Moonies Retract Libel That Kills



WV Photo

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear

State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
(Pronounced DEUK MAY JIN)
Attorney General

P.O. BOX 19387
SACRAMENTO 95813
(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th Sts.
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California... 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,
Charles E. Caser
CHARLES E. CASER
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

Secret Service Apologizes to Jane Margolis

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,
Myron I. Weinstein
MYRON I. WEINSTEIN
Deputy Director



Jon P. Fishback

Marxists vs. FBI...

(continued from page 9)

in jail, half of that in solitary confinement—as a result of the government vendetta against him. The government feared the possibility of a truly revolutionary black movement, and of blacks and whites, communists, together.

So we looked at the Panther experience, and we made a resolution: we do not intend to be nameless, faceless, blown away in the dead of night! And so we have fought consistently against the “terrorist” label, against the slightest imputation that the Spartacist League or its members or supporters are terrorists or violence-mongers.

The first shots of the Cold War period were not simply figurative. They were the gunning down of Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro in 1979, aided and abetted by local, state and federal police agencies. Greensboro was brought to us by the Democrats. And what Greensboro was intended to be in America in 1979 was what Sharpeville was to South Africa in 1960: a massacre which intimidates into silence an entire political generation.

Emboldened by Greensboro, the fascist murderers announced that they were going to take their cross-burnings and bombings into urban centers, beginning with the so-called celebration of the massacre one week later in labor/black Detroit. And beginning with Detroit, the Spartacist League has initiated mass mobilizations centered on black unionists and youth, which have successfully interdicted the fascist threat in major urban centers. The Washington mobilization in November 1982 was the largest anti-fascist action in this country since the Socialist Workers Party organized tens of thousands [against the Nazis] at Madison Square Garden in 1939. Our labor/black mobilizations—modest victories indeed—nonetheless prevented Greensboro from becoming the American Sharpeville.

In March 1983, the government announced new “Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines,” combining the Racketeering Act with the old domestic security investigations, providing a renewed basis for prosecuting leftists on vast conspiracy charges, taking away financial resources, utilizing informers, wiretaps, mail covers. These new guidelines were to give them a legal mandate for their covert actions and most importantly, by defining their targets as



FBI's campaign of racist terror decimated militant Black Panther Party in late 1960s-early 1970s.

terrorist organizations, laid the basis for using the naked power of the state against them.

Well, when we heard the announcement of these guidelines, we knew there was something we had to do. Because we were way up front. We were known on the Russian question, we had been singled out and threatened by the *Wall Street Journal* for our demonstration against [Polish] Solidarność. We were known for our slogan, “Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador!” And we had just led the successful Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in the nation's capital, where masses of black people marched under a red leadership. And we knew that we, our supporters and all those who might join with us or read our press were targets.

That this was not some imaginary worry of ours was amply demonstrated by the attorney general's introduction to the new guidelines. Let me read you part:

“The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your agents to focus their intelligence efforts on those criminal enterprises which threaten our people to obtain ideological goals.”

What does this mean, “ideological goals”? That means that anybody who stands in opposition to this government, not only those who advocate Marxism or socialist revolution, but anyone who stands in opposition on any question of foreign policy or domestic policy could potentially be deemed a “terrorist.”

And we stand for: “A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!” We stand in the tradition of James P. Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, who when he was in the early

Communist Party fought for a legal party, against undergroundism, in the face of the red scare in the early 1920s.

So we knew we needed to challenge these guidelines. We were bold. We said what is, and declared our history. The legal complaint began by stating:

“[These new guidelines] recast the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws on the basis of their exercise of constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. [The purpose of these guidelines is] the criminalization of political opposition and the targeting of these Marxist political organizations for government surveillance, disruption, harassment, suppression, infiltration, prosecution and physical attack.”

We challenged the pretext for this recasting of Marxists into terrorists:

“The FBI's justification for this massive political intelligence investigation is the premise that Marxist political organizations are a threat to the national security; dangerous because of a purported strategic commitment to violence; an alleged adherence to the violent overthrow of the government and use of violence to achieve political goals.

“The entire history of the aforesaid Marxist organizations in the United States is absent of any criminal activity. The Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance for over sixty years, the Socialist Workers Party for over forty years and the Spartacist League for twenty years. There have been no prosecutions of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or the Spartacist League, or members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism. . . . Thus, the continuing investigation of these Marxist organizations is based not on conduct, but ideology.”

We challenged the government's “definition” of us which claimed that we advocate the violent overthrow of the government, that we are conspiratorial putschists—and we won. In a little more than a year, we had an agreement from the FBI that conceded the central point of our lawsuit. They withdrew their 20-year description of the Spartacist League and replaced it by our description of ourselves: a Marxist political organization, listing the organizations that we are derived from, our history, and asserting that the FBI did investigate us for some 20 years, and that there were no criminal prosecutions.

In settling this case we had no illusions that the government's secret police will stop their harassment or their investigation of us. And we don't pretend to know what import or interpretation the FBI attaches to its agreement. But we have their statement in the context of this lawsuit that we are not terrorists, something they must overcome in any attempt to use the legal process or force of the state against us.

The State Is Not Neutral

We've won so many lawsuits—I listed some of them—that sometimes we joke and say, “We've got to lose one or two of them, because otherwise the youth in our organization will never believe what we have to say about the state and the courts.”

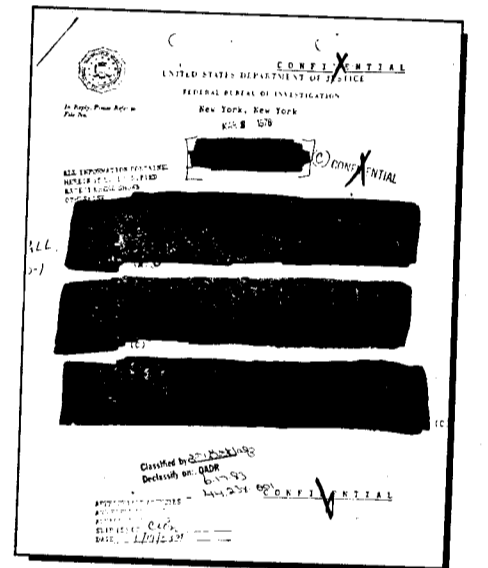
Well, why is it that we won? What policy do we follow when we go into the

courts? Our legal defense strategy emanates from our Marxist understanding of the state. *No one expects as little from the bourgeois courts and has achieved as much from legal defense work as we have.* We haven't gone into these lawsuits hoping to get an endorsement of our revolutionary politics. And that comes from our understanding of the state.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx said that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle, and pointed to the fact that the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. In writing *State and Revolution* in 1917, Lenin turned to Frederick Engels and quoted from *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*:

“The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without. . . . Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of ‘order’; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state.”

And Lenin talked about those reformists who believe that one can reform



An FOIA file as released to the SL: “Freedom of Information,” FBI-style.

and work within the organs of the bourgeois state, and he said:

“... what is overlooked or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing above society. . . it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this ‘alienation’.”

Similarly, the question of law and the courts. The legal system has a class content to it. It is a predominant vehicle for upholding the hegemony of the ruling class. There must be the appearance, though there is no reality, that the law applies equally and evenhandedly to the totality of society. Ultimately the law reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie, though it does also have an active component that impacts back on the material conditions of society. So you won't see a one-on-one reflection between the economic interests of the ruling class and the legal system. But ultimately it reflects the interests of the dominant class.

Another way of explaining this—we can talk about bourgeois democracy, understanding that it is bourgeois democracy, and divide it into three types of rights: the basic rights of the capitalist class, property rights; what we know as civil liberties and civil rights; and then labor rights.

The first rights are those special rights



SL/SYL marches under its own colors. We are the party of the Russian Revolution.



which enforce bourgeois property relations. They include the right to hold private property, to own the basic means of production, the right to employ wage labor, the right to monopolize for the sake of private property, the right of individuals and private corporations to control the media. In order to change those property rights, there would have to be a defeat of the class that is the dominant class, the ruling class, and that cannot happen without a revolution.

The United States has had two bourgeois revolutions, the first being the American Revolution, which represented the consolidation of the emerging American bourgeoisie in severing themselves from the fetters of the British capitalist class. But it wasn't really until the Civil War that the American bourgeoisie, in their fight against the slave system, consolidated their power in this country. There had to be a fight between those systems, and ultimately wage labor—Marx referred to it as “free labor” in contradistinction to slave labor—could not exist in this country without the smashing of slave labor. The slaveholders in the Civil War fought to the death in order to defend their property relations. In fact with the defeat of Reconstruction they have maintained a certain amount of power in this country, but not on the basis that they had before—not on the basis of slavocracy.

It's the intransigence of Marxists to bourgeois property relations that is perceived as a threat by the capitalist class and government. The capitalists responded to the Russian Revolution, when capitalism was for the first time destroyed, with waves of intensive repression.

Limits of Bourgeois Legality

The “violent overthrow of the U.S. government” has been the pretext for repression against leftists. Marxists have no abstract position on the question of violence per se. In a famous statement from *Capital*, Marx said that force is the midwife of every society pregnant with a new one. Social violence is endemic in a decaying society, but it's also the inherent force of the state—*this* state—in defending what it perceives to be its class interests. The capitalist state promulgates violence to defend what is no longer defensible—defending a decaying and rotten system that means hunger, exploitation, unemployment, racial oppression, war and the threat of nuclear holocaust. It's this government that has committed itself to overthrowing by any means necessary the government in Nicaragua. It's this government that wants to resurrect the Nazis in Bitburg. It's this government that talks about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade fighting on the “wrong side” of the Spanish Civil War. It's this government that's creating Star Wars weapons, that supports apartheid slavery, that bombs schoolchildren, that supports the murder of the CWPer in Greensboro, that executed the Black Panther Party members.

Often one has no choice in the course of the struggle for revolutionary change but to defend oneself. Because it's the ruling class and the state that will take violent action against those it perceives as a threat. Or one can look to the



27 November 1982: Washington cops were deployed to “protect” KKK provocation. When government decided not to try getting Klan past 5,000 labor/black demonstrators and pulled cops out (at right), thousands surged chanting into the street.

example of the Russian Duma prior to the revolution, where opponents of the tsar had become significant; the Bolsheviks participated in the Duma. And when the tsar decided that the forces in the Duma were too much of a threat, he simply disbanded it, and arrested the Bolsheviks and others.

Marxists are not conspiratorial putschists. When we learned of the FBI's description of us—“not openly advocat[ing] the violent overthrow of the U.S. government at this time”—we made our fundamental statement on this question:

“If not ‘openly’ then presumably covertly. That the FBI, the truly secret arm of the ruling class responsible for massive, organized violence worldwide, should mount such an attack on the ‘dangerous’ thought of Marxists is more than an irony—it is historical perversity. In fact, the capitalist government is not ‘overthrown’ violently or non-violently. The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to ‘overthrow’ and surely not this government in its present form. The choices posed will most probably be between the democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship led by some retreat of General MacArthur, General Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick or the like. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.”

And we stand by that today.

Civil rights and liberties: what are they under bourgeois democracy? People may know of the Reconstruction amendments, the 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments, where, in the wake of the Civil War, slavery was declared illegal and it was acknowledged for the first time that people born on the soil of the United States are U.S. citizens. Though these purported to be a statement that everybody has a right to vote, women remained explicitly disenfranchised until the adoption of the 20th Amendment 50 years later. For black men and women this right was not definitely secured by the Civil War nor by the struggles since. People should recall the poll tax and the persecution of blacks trying to exercise their right to vote—this was a major battleground of the civil rights movement and continues today.

What about the First Amendment, that so-called linchpin of all our democratic rights? Well, the first big red scare of this country took place during World



WV Photos

War I and with the success of the Russian Revolution. The espionage law was passed and some 2,000 Americans were arrested and convicted for protesting the entry of the U.S. into World War I. Until this time the First Amendment had never been used in this country as a defense against anything. Well, what happened?

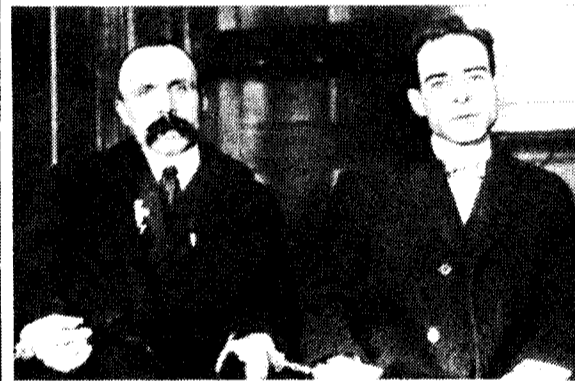
Every prosecution was upheld. The standard that one hears about in history classes—you have the right to speak and say what you want so long as it doesn't create a “clear and present danger”—was formulated in these cases to hold that all these people prosecuted *had* created a clear and present danger.

ment or Fifth Amendment were protection against them. These “thought crime” laws are still on the books. In fact, what our FBI suit is fighting is the attempt to resurrect laws such as the Smith Act, as well as the attempt to pin the “terrorist” label on people.

Similarly, regarding COINTELPRO, or government “surveillance”—what protections does the First Amendment afford Americans? Despite all the litigation in the post-Watergate period, the courts have basically held that the FBI can conduct surveillance, can have informers in this room or in a political organization, can do mail covers, wiretaps, burglaries (so long as the



During 1920s International Labor Defense built mass campaign attempting to save victimized anarchist militants Nicola Sacco (right) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.



UPI

Eugene Debs, the Socialist leader, was prosecuted for creating insubordination in the armed forces, on the basis of a speech in which he denounced the war as a capitalist plot and supported his fellow Socialists who had been convicted of resisting the draft. The most extreme statement in his speech was: “You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder.” For that he was given a ten-year sentence, and the Supreme Court, invoking “clear and present danger,” upheld the conviction. That's something about the First Amendment.

In preparation for World War II, the Smith Act was passed. And the first victims of the Smith Act were the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and their supporters in the Teamsters union who had run a successful, militant strike in Minneapolis, and posed the only class opposition to World War II. They were charged with advocating the violent overthrow of the government. Outrageously, the Communist Party supported this victimization. The Socialist Workers Party leaders and Minneapolis trade unionists went to jail. And when the Smith Act, along with the Internal Security and Subversive Activities Control Acts, was used against the Communist Party in the Cold War period, the Supreme Court upheld these laws and denied that the First Amend-

person who's helping conduct it is a member-agent of an organization), can maintain files on people. There's virtually no First Amendment protection against the dirty work of the government secret police. Civil liberties as we know them are precarious, and have in fact a limited focus.

The last part of the rights I'm talking about are really not bourgeois democratic rights at all, but proletarian rights or labor rights: the right to picket, the right to strike. And their historical origins are found in the independent struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its state. They are *wrested* from the bourgeoisie and maintained only by the independent action of the proletariat.

How We Stopped the Klan

There's a story I can tell you, which is sort of a microcosm of the relationship between democratic rights and the independent action of labor, blacks and minorities. Consider the preparation, planning and execution of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. November 27, 1982. A black Southern city, the nation's capital, and the Klan was planning to have its first demonstration there since the '20s. We felt with all our heart that this should

continued on page 12



Leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for principled internationalist stance during World War II.

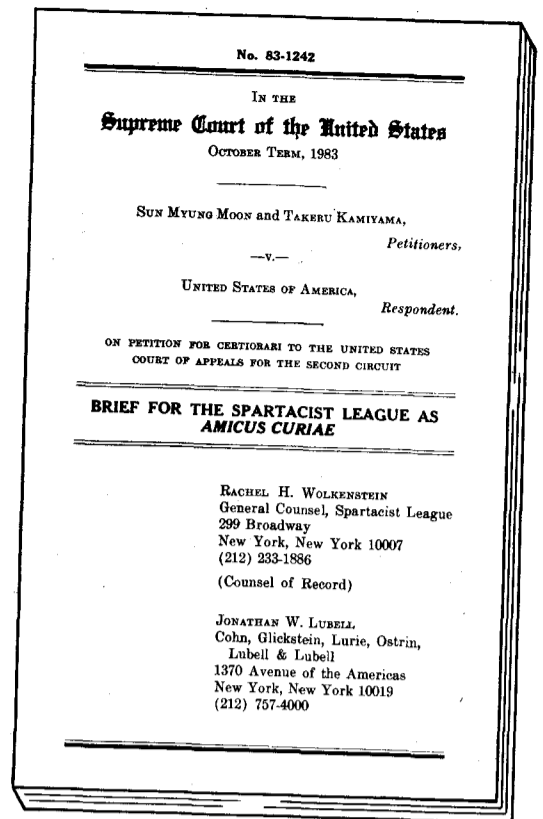
Amicus Brief on Sale

In 1982 Sun Myung Moon, head of the "Unification Church," was convicted of tax evasion and fraud through the legal device of the government declaring

that assets held by Moon for his group were taxable personal property. In the fall of 1983 the Spartacist League submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court an *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court") brief against the prosecution, joining numerous religious groups, civil liberties organizations and bourgeois political figures who view this precedent as a blow against freedom of religious worship and freedom of association. The Supreme Court refused to review the case.

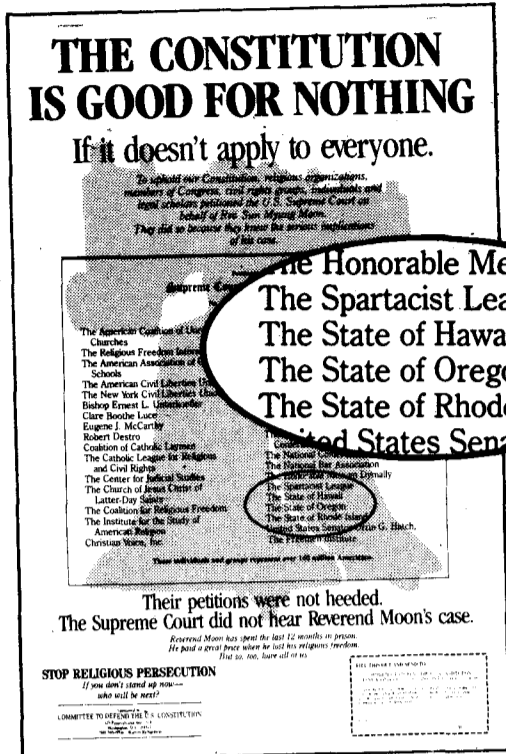
Moon is an extreme right-wing ideologue and financier of counterrevolutionary terror around the world. We have ourselves tangled with the Moonies both in court and on particular college campuses where they have combined with more native reactionaries seeking to physically shut down some Spartacist event. Nonetheless the Moon tax case raises the ugly spectre of government intrusion into constitutionally protected activities (see *WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983). Moon's a Korean who says he's god, thereby deeply offending Christian America, so the government tax man denies the Moonies the protections afforded religious organizations. And by treating unincorporated associations as legal nonentities, the Moon prosecution threatens established associational rights of voluntary groups organized for every kind of non-commercial purpose, from the religious to the political to the recreational.

The Moonies' most powerful argument was the diversity of groups submitting *amicus* briefs in this case—hence the ads last month listing "...the Spartacist League, the State of Hawaii, the State of Oregon..." Now you can get a copy of the actual 22-page legal brief filed by the SL with the Supreme Court. This document, citing the salient cases from



Send \$4.00 to Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Serbian Eastern Orthodox Diocese v. Milivojevich to *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee*, should be of interest to legal defense professionals and those concerned with civil liberties in America today. Get your copy.



Moon's full-page ad stressed diversity of those who filed *amicus* briefs charging his prosecution threatens freedom of association, separation of church and state.

Marxists vs. FBI...

(continued from page 11)

not happen. But we could not substitute for the masses of workers and blacks in this country. So we put out a call to labor organizations and black organizations. Within a very short period of time, over 70 trade-union officials and black organizations had endorsed the call for a labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan. And when we had that, we felt we were in a position to go and try and get a permit. We wanted to be where the Klan was going to start its march, right near the Capitol building. We were not going to let them spew race-terror, violence, murder.

We had to go to the Capitol police, because they oversee the area right near the Capitol building on Constitution Avenue where the Klan was going to march. We went in to see the police with our list of these 70-plus union officials, black officials, people from the Washington, D.C. and Tidewater area primarily. And because we had the mass support that we did, they entertained our application. And we were told: no problem, simply an administrative procedure.

Lo and behold, there was a problem. So we started knocking on doors of every Senator and Congressman that we could find, and complained. We had the backing of labor in the Washington, D.C. area for this demonstration. And we called on those people who had signed the call to also make phone calls and create pressure for a permit.

We knew that we could not call people to a militant demonstration without there being the protection for their exercise of democratic rights. We were not going to set people up for the police and Reagan's administration. The attorney general himself had called on the populace of the D.C. area to let the Klan march. And there were a lot of black Democrats and preachers who also thought that the Klan should be allowed to march, and they would have some sort of sing-in³ someplace later, elsewhere in the city.

Well, we got our permit because we were able to mobilize the forces of trade-unionists and blacks, who demanded

their right to have this demonstration. Once we got that, we put out half a million flyers, posters, placards calling for people to protest against the Klan marching in Washington, D.C.

The day before the demonstration, a couple of us went to see the police, a courtesy call. A sergeant from the Metropolitan police told us: "We have storm fences along Constitution Avenue. And we're going to have many tens if not hundreds of police. And nobody is supposed to come through this line of police to where you're going to be. We're going to have other police in vans and on horses a block away. And furthermore, if anyone sets foot into Constitution Avenue, one toe off the mall, they'll be sorry."

We figured we were being threatened. So then we went to see the Capitol police. And we had the soft cop there, a very genteel man, with grey hair, tall, Southern drawl. And he said, "We're worried. We're concerned—for you. We heard that there's a group that's planning on creating violence at this demonstration. So, maybe you don't want to do this." We said, "No, we'll go ahead and we don't expect there to be any problems." The demonstration was being threatened with being sealed off, and set up for police violence. And in the face of these police threats, again all the trade-union supporters of this demonstration were called, and they called the city officials and the police and said, "We intend to exercise our democratic

right. We intend to be there."

And in New York City, at a caucus meeting of all the people who were planning on going down to Washington, D.C. on buses, the national chairman of the Spartacist League told it like it was: that we had been threatened by the police, what we had done, that we didn't know what was going to happen the next morning. We had an obligation to those people who were participating to let them know what they were facing.

Well, the next morning there were 5,000 blacks and trade unionists from the Tidewater/Washington, D.C. area at this demonstration. The cops were lined up two deep all along Constitution Avenue. But it didn't appear as if they were going to make any overt move at that point.

Well, a lighter moment. The Capitol police official I mentioned before and his attorney came into the demonstration, and they said, "I notice you're selling papers here. You're not allowed to peddle on Federal property here. You've got to stop doing that." So we argued, making repeated references to the First Amendment. Finally I said, "Well, officer, we have about 50 people who'll be willing to be arrested to test this question. They'll be distributing the paper, and you can bring some uniformed policemen into this mall with 5,000 militant blacks and trade unionists expressing their opposition to the Klan, and we'll test this out. We'll go peaceably, no problem." And I said,

"It's going to make my reputation for me as a lawyer..."

Their lawyer said, "OK, get them ready, we'll do it." But this police captain looked around and he heard the chants against the Klan and he saw the determination of that crowd. He thought a bit about bringing in the cops. And he said, "Uh, we'll think about this, and we'll get back to you." We never saw them again.

But the real story is that we stopped the Klan. The police and the city fathers decided they'd be better off after all whisking the Klan away to Lafayette Park in protected vans. When people heard the Klan had been stopped, they were overjoyed. But they wanted to check for themselves. And they spilled into Constitution Avenue, right over those fences, right in between the cops. And the cops just walked away.

And people charged up Constitution Avenue to Capitol Hill, to see if the Klan was still there. And then they also marched over a mile and a half to Lafayette Park. And they marched without a permit at that point, without being stopped by the cops, without any problems whatsoever, because there were 5,000 militant labor, black people in the city of Washington, D.C. who were determined to stop the Klan. That's the real story. It gives you some insight into the relationship between democratic rights and the power of labor/black action.

Why Did We Win?

All right, a question. Why did we win our suit against the FBI? One way we can talk about what we did is in contrast to the Socialist Workers Party. We reject both conspiratorial putschism and reformist legalism. We didn't go into those courts expecting an endorsement of our politics. Nor did we have any illusion that we could actually stop the police from conducting surveillance or harassment.

The Socialist Workers Party had a different approach. They filed a lawsuit in 1973 against the FBI to try to get it to stop harassment, surveillance, burglaries, etc., of their organization. The SWP sought basically a "right to revolution" (even though they had nothing to do with revolution at that point). They wanted a stamp of approval for their program, a franchise as

In 1981 SL/SYL campaign forced California attorney general Deukmejian to retract his "terrorist" smear against our party.



the social-democratic socialists in the United States. They renounced the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union. They fingered to the government members of an expelled faction called the Internationalist Tendency—they gave their names to the government as proof that these people, who were alleged to be guerrillaists, had been purged from the organization.

And they also gave the government every bit of information they were asked for in "discovery"—the names of members, finances, everything. They had a full-blown trial in front of a judge, concluded *four years ago*, and there's been no decision from the court. Evidently the government still considers the social-democratic SWP to be a violent, terrorist group.

So we do not confuse a victory in form with a victory in substance. We're proud of ourselves. We got the most that one could reasonably get from a bourgeois court. And in contrast to that, the SWP case is likely to become a perfect failure.

So why did we win? We can only speculate. First of all, maybe it's the "discovery" question. In the course of these suits we have the right to find out certain things from the government. Maybe there's something so hidden, so clearly illegal, that the government has done to us and they're afraid that in the course of our trying this suit, it would come out. Because sometimes judges are somewhat independent and get pissed off at being lied to by the FBI.

Another reason: our openness. It's hard to label us conspiratorial. We're out front on the Russian question. We're known for our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. We're known for our "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!" Our opposition to Solidarność. We're known for our immediate exposure of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 as a provocation by the U.S. government. We quote Daniel Patrick Moynihan's comments about us in 1972 when he spoke at Harvard University. The Spartacus Youth League was handing out a flyer there, and Moynihan observed that the Spartacus Youth League "sails under their own colors." He quoted from a statement of the SYL: "...to develop young radicals into lifetime communist militants, and to build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

And Moynihan concluded, "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose."

Well, why else did we win? These are, again, speculations. We're old-fashioned Marxists. We're manifestly not terrorists. And this is well documented in the FBI's own files. Now we have about 4,000 pages of the files maintained on the Spartacist League—probably just a small fraction of what they have. There's the example of our chapter in New Orleans in the late '60s which had working relations with the militants of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Deacons for Defense and Justice. Of about five people in our New Orleans local, three of them were police agents. Nonetheless, on our account the Louisiana state government went out and staged its own version of a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing and published a report on the Spartacist League. And all they could get from their own agents is the following:

"...I would reiterate that they have never espoused to me the immediate violent overthrow of the government. I think that has to be made clear."

This is in our files. It's proof that the FBI's targeting of us is based on their hostility to Marxist politics and not on any belief that we engage in violent action.

Well, another reason that we may have gotten this settlement is that the

government may be thinking of using something more sinister against us, like declaring us a target for "foreign intelligence" surveillance. The foreign intelligence guidelines are so broad, and give the government so much room for maneuver, that the *guidelines* themselves are classified—Congress can't get them. Maybe the FBI has some dim understanding that we are internationalists and concerned about questions in Latin America and South Africa and in Britain, and know that we suggest that our members travel far and wide, including to places such as the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Nicaragua, and therefore deem us to be a "foreign intelligence" threat of some sort.

These are all speculations. Nonetheless, our gains are very real from winning this lawsuit. It's something that helps take away justification for any sort of preemptive violent measures against us or our supporters. And it helps defeat the campaign of fear of working with Marxists or communist organizations in this country.

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

Facing prison following the Smith Act prosecution, James Cannon said that a good half of the objective of persecutions by the government is to terrorize you. The Supreme Court has quoted FBI documents setting forth their objectives, including to enhance paranoia, to get a point across that there's an FBI agent behind every mailbox. We'll try to be careful, but not afraid. The then-revolutionary SWP's response to the Smith Act indictments was to run in elections, propagandize their political positions and their opposition to the impending world war.

So we've helped spike the fear the FBI tries to create. We've helped give not only members and supporters, but also ex-members and parents of members some sense that there is a level of real protection for people to struggle alongside us. A workers party has the right to organize—that's what we got. And we got something else—we were able to revive the working-class tradition of having membership cards. The Spartacist League has issued membership cards in the wake of this lawsuit victory, which is a way of saying that we're proud of being card-carrying communists.

The back of the card has a woodcut of the Titan Prometheus, Marx's favorite god, who stole fire from the gods and gave it to humans, thereby inaugurating the basis for human civilization and the beginning of the ability of mankind to overcome nature. Also on the back of the card is a statement of Trotsky that's in our founding declaration as well:

"To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

We'll continue to fight the new McCarthyism with every legal and political means at our disposal. When the working class and the oppressed of this country are ready to move, when the decaying, blundering, lying, incompetent ruling class is challenged by massive struggle on behalf of a rational economy and an end to the constant threat of nuclear Armageddon, it will not be because some small group of Bolshevik propagandists conspired to make it happen. It will happen because the condition of dying capitalism will have made it a historic necessity, consciously understood by large sections of the population. We had better be there when it does, providing, as the Bolsheviks did in war-ravaged Russia in 1917, the critical element of organized leadership. We are a very precious commodity, in its infancy. Like the Bolshevik party for Russia, the SL may be America's last, best hope. ■

Right-wing millionaire nut Lewis Lehrman (second from right) hosts confab of Reagan's terrorist international in southern Angola.



Terror International...

(continued from page 5)

ragtag forces have ravaged much of Angola, killing hundreds, driving thousands from their homes and destroying millions of dollars worth of property. And if it were not for the 20,000 Cuban troops, the South Africans would march right into Luanda and install Savimbi in the presidential palace. Now, as part of the global U.S. offensive against the Soviet Union, the Democratic-controlled House has opened the way to directly funding this enemy of the liberation of black Africa.

While U.S. imperialism is organizing counterrevolutionary terror from Southeast Asia to southern Africa, nowhere is the effort greater and more immediate than against Nicaragua. The Reagan gang calls it "perception management." What this means is pistol whipping, terrorizing and jerking around the radical-nationalist Sandinista government until they make a slip and the U.S. can bring them to their knees or smash them. The Reaganites believe that if they just make more and more contra incursions, build more bases in Honduras, escalate the economic sanctions, the Sandinistas will crack. And if that doesn't work, they're finalizing their plans for full-scale direct U.S. intervention.

Rad-lib activists and much of the American left, as well as the Sandinistas themselves, have looked toward and appealed to the Democratic Party opposition to control and moderate Reagan. But now the Democrats have voted aid to the contras, that bunch of sadistic murderers, torturers and rapists, and endorsed Reagan's economic warfare against Nicaragua. So why have the Democrats now openly embraced Reagan's terror international?

Pro-Democratic liberals and reformists who claim to be pro-Sandinista argue, often hysterically, that the Nicaraguan Revolution has nothing to do with the Cold War. It is, they contend, a purely national event arising out of the oppressed social conditions of Central America. But the U.S. ruling class, Republican and Democratic alike, have turned Central America into the front line of the Cold War. It was Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega's visit to Moscow this spring which served as a pretext for a number of Democratic Congressmen to reverse themselves and vote money for the contras. Defense of Nicaragua requires and deserves the full backing of the Soviet Union, its allies and all opponents of imperialism. For if Reagan succeeds in overthrowing the Nicaraguan Revolution it will enormously embolden U.S. imperialism in its drive toward World War III.

Global Contra Aid: The Road to War

A lot of white Americans in theater audiences may applaud the antics of Sylvester Stallone's Rambo on the screen, where the body count is 400 to 2. But American youth are not itching to go down to the jungles of Central America or anywhere else to fight the reds. And parents surely don't want to

sacrifice their sons in another Vietnam. The contras are losers. In four years of civil war they have not taken and held a single Nicaraguan town. Reagan cannot overturn the Nicaraguan Revolution without invading that country. This, however, would risk an explosive reaction on the home front and possibly on the battle front as well, since a disproportionate number of U.S. combat troops are black and Hispanic youth who mainly hate and fear everything Reagan stands for.

The Reagan gang has always believed, and now the Democrats seem to also, that somehow they can destroy the Soviet Union on the cheap, and not a single white middle-class American will have to die. Even the massive arms buildup was to be financed by black welfare mothers, on the one hand, and German and Japanese bankers on the other. The money just voted for the contras around the world is part of this strategy of global counterrevolution on the cheap. The contra terrorists can't win. *But their actions can lead to a direct military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.*

When the American cabinet is sitting around trying to see if Reagan's awake, they don't think they can just push the button and somehow the Russian missiles have a no-go for white middle-class American persons. They're not that psychotic. But they do think if they continue the escalation—politically, economically, militarily—they can win. They think: keep pressing, keep squeezing, grind, grind, grind, and when the pressure gets high enough the Russians will chicken out and the U.S. will prevail. This is arguably a mistake. Try it out on Marshal Ogarkov.

Hitler already tried it, and lost. The Nazi invasion of Russia, which was turned back only at the cost of 20 million lives, still dominates the political consciousness of the Soviet masses. So when Reagan honored the SS war criminals at Bitburg, he inflamed the deepest feelings and will to resist among the Soviet workers and peasants. American militarism and global terrorism is not likely to cow the Soviet people or even the Kremlin bureaucratic leadership, which is very conciliatory indeed.

U.S. imperialism is bent on bloodying and provoking the Soviet Union and its allies in Southeast Asia, in Afghanistan, in southern Africa, in Central America. It's all part of a war drive, and that's how we're going to get a war if this is not stopped. We had better stop it now, while we can! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
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Mon.-Thurs.: 5:00-8:00 p.m.,
Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Black Journalists Fete Mayor Goode: Front Man for Reagan's Racist Terror

BALTIMORE—Speaking before the National Association of Black Journalists here, Philadelphia mayor Goode cynically described the “basic principles” behind his May 13 slaughter of the black MOVE group. “I wanted to have a plan that would have as its basic goal the preservation of life... we wanted to be especially concerned about the children.” So in order to “preserve life” Goode approved the police bombing of the West Philly commune, creating a hellish inferno that incinerated at least eleven black people, including five children, while cops pinned MOVE members inside the house with 10,000 rounds of gunfire!

“I am also convinced that what happened was an accident,” Goode added. The only “accident” is that two people actually survived the holocaust. Now even the Philadelphia fire marshal’s report admits: “The effects of the subsequent detonation initiated a fire on the MOVE roof that resulted in 11 deaths, two injuries...” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 August). To prove his determination, Mayor Wilson (“I’d do it again”) Goode announced at the Baltimore convention his intention to shut off water to two more MOVE homes, citing them for housing code violations.

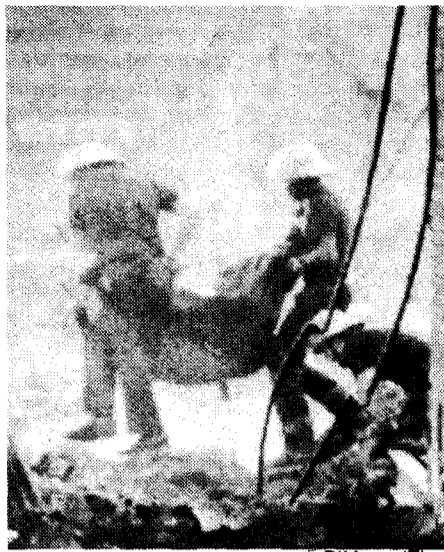
We may never know how many black people perished in the Osage Avenue inferno, because Goode & Co. made damn sure the blaze would rage long enough to leave no traces. Painting the back-to-nature sect as some sort of



Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode defends firebombing of MOVE, cold-blooded murder of black children.

crazed, Shi’ite-type terrorists “bent on violent confrontation,” Goode grotesquely blamed MOVE for the murder of their own children. The city sought to “pick up the children... prior to any kind of movement against the house,” he told the meeting—i.e., they planned to kidnap the black kids, then slaughter their parents! And the cops’ story about gunfire from the MOVE house preventing firemen from battling the blaze has been exposed as a lie by the firefighters’ own accounts.

The Association of Black Journalists’ obscene invitation to the Philadelphia murder mayor to keynote their convention reflected the black bourgeois



establishment’s line that Goode was “just doing his job.”

A panel of reporters bought his lie that the bombing and burning was a police matter outside his control. Similarly, in a visit to the “city of brotherly love” following the MOVE massacre, Jesse Jackson “said Goode’s integrity was not at question. He did not criticize the Mayor for what happened, but reserved his criticism for the police handling of the incident” (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 7 June). But Goode’s smug account made it clear that the firebombing of MOVE was deliberate, calculated mass murder.

“For some of us, at least, the system works,” Goode crowed in Baltimore. “I

was able, as a son of a sharecropper, to go to a city and become its mayor.” Great, so the “hands that picked cotton” now drop bombs on black babies! Declaring himself for “the enhancement of life” and the “building of neighborhoods” (!) he proclaimed: “I don’t apologize for being an African American.” What this red-white-and-blue rhetoric means is he’s proud to be an overseer on Ronald Reagan’s plantation. For the terrorist conspiracy that produced the Philly massacre extends from the police chief and the mayor to the FBI (which reviewed the plans the day before the bombing), Justice Department head Meese (who praised Goode’s action as a “good example”) and the White House.

Reagan needs black front men to carry out his program of wanton state terror against black people. Even some of the bought-off black journalists in Baltimore recognized that Goode was able to get away with what arch-racist mayor Rizzo couldn’t. But killer Goode might cast a glance at South Africa, where black cops and other collaborators with the blood-soaked white supremacist regime are being dealt with summarily by the enraged black masses. A revolutionary workers government, representing the decent people of this country and fighting for all victims of racist terror, will pronounce revolutionary justice against these murderers. Honor the MOVE martyrs! Free all MOVE prisoners! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Spartacists Slam Brooklyn D.A. Cover-Up of Lynch Mob Murder

Spartacist Party Campaign Committee Press Release

23 July 1985

My union brother Willie Turks was murdered by a racist gang in Gravesend in 1982, and two coworkers brutally beaten, near the Coney Island transit shop where he worked. Now Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman claims justice was done, bragging about her “vigorous prosecution” of the killers in a letter to the *City Sun* (July 17-23). This is a

despicable cover-up, for justice was *not* done!

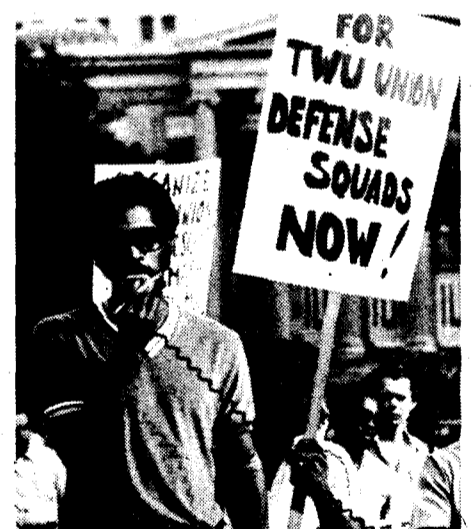
The courts treated the racist punk murderers with kid gloves. Gino Bova, who bashed Willie Turks’ brains out, will be out of jail after only five years, after being acquitted of murder by a virtually all-white jury, convicted only of manslaughter (like it was an accident)! Mormando, who pulled Turks out of the car, got only a few months real time for “assault.” As a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, I actively organized the demonstration of 100 transit workers and supporters at the Brooklyn Supreme Court on July 20, 1983, expressing our outrage at the

court’s racist slap-on-the-wrist sentence for Mormando. Now Holtzman brags Joseph Powell got “up to nine years in prison.” In fact, the D.A.’s office made a plea bargain with Powell, dropping murder charges. This isn’t “vigorous prosecution,” it’s a vicious slap in the face to the victims of racist terror!

“Law-and-order liberal” Holtzman’s office couldn’t even find Powell for two years—and what about the other racist punks in the 25-strong lynch mob that murdered Turks? They aren’t even looking for them. Compare that to the computer mass operation last month where 200 cops swept through Brownsville housing projects in a pre-dawn Gestapo raid, rounding up 160 black residents and dragging them to court for her assistant D.A.s to “process” on petty charges.

The so-called “investigation” into the killing of Michael Stewart by transit cops in 1983 has been a whitewash from Day One. More than 40 witnesses saw at least eleven cops kick and bludgeon Stewart to death, but only three will stand trial, and not for murder but criminally negligent homicide and even lesser counts. All these racist killers should be locked up in Attica and throw away the key! But the capitalist courts and Koch’s killer cops will never deliver justice for blacks in this racist society.

When brother Willie Turks was murdered, I and other transit workers raised the call for the union’s 33,000 members to patrol Gravesend in flat-bed trucks to stop the racist lynch mobs. The independent power of labor and blacks can stop the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms! The liberals prattle about gun control, which means only the criminals and the racist cops have the arms. Marjorie Stamberg



Ed Kartsen demands justice for murdered transit union brother Willie Turks.

and I, as Spartacist Party candidates for mayor and Manhattan borough president, say that Willie Turks might be alive today if he had a piece. Gun control kills blacks—everybody has the right to defend himself! We are fighting for labor/minority mobilizations to stop racist attacks and for integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women. We are fighting for a society where a black man can walk down any street any time to buy a bagel without fearing for his life. We say it’s time to finish the Civil War—black liberation through socialist revolution! Then and only then will working-class justice be done to avenge the racist murder of Willie Turks.

Edward Kartsen
Spartacist Party candidate for
Manhattan Borough President

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Witnesses Expose Brutal Cop Murder

Vengeance for Michael Stewart!

The New York City "justice" system is trying to murder Michael Stewart all over again!

On July 18, six of the eleven white transit cops who beat 25-year-old black artist Michael Stewart to death almost two years ago went on "trial" in State Supreme Court. The original slap-on-the-wrist manslaughter indictments were long ago dropped by Mayor Koch's Manhattan district attorney, Robert Morgenthau. Now, three of the killers-in-blue are facing the obscenely trivial charges of reckless endangerment, assault and criminally negligent homicide—in other words, failure to protect Stewart from the cops' own murderous attack! Six cops are also charged with perjury in the cover-up surrounding the case. The trial, an attempt to placate the growing public outcry, is a racist sham. As Stewart family attorney Michael Warren told *WV*, it's "a joint effort by the prosecutor and the defense attorney to ultimately exonerate the six officers on trial. It's a charade."

Michael Stewart was arrested and beaten unconscious in the early morning hours of 15 September 1983, for allegedly scrawling graffiti on a subway wall near Union Square. The D.A. admitted that 40 witnesses saw the cops kicking and bludgeoning their victim. Stewart was in police custody for about an hour. When they brought him to Bellevue Hospital, hogtied and handcuffed, his ankles bound together and with more than 60 wounds on his body, he was already brain dead. He remained in a coma and died 13 days later. The massive cover-up, which continues today in court, was begun.

Chief medical examiner Elliot Gross, Koch's Dr. Mengele, who is currently

facing eleven counts of gross incompetence or negligence from the state health board, secretly removed Stewart's eyes, since the massive hemorrhaging indicated that he had been strangled. Gross's report stated that Stewart died of "cardiac arrest," i.e., he died when his heart stopped beating. Three cops were indicted for manslaughter, not murder. But when a dedicated grand juror,



Amsterdam News



Michael Warren

Michael Stewart lies dying after savage beating by New York cops.

schoolteacher Ronald Fields, began a real investigation and charged that Morgenthau's office was protecting the police, the D.A. threw out the charges! Now the cops' lawyers are trying to turn the dead victim into a criminal.

In an important early moment in the trial, it was revealed that Stewart was with a young white woman that night, Patricia Pesce, and they kissed good-night on the subway steps only moments before he was attacked. Determined to discredit Miss Pesce's devastating testimony, Morgenthau's legal hatchet men have viciously insulted her on the stand.

Moreover, the prosecutors refused to let her review her earlier testimony to the grand jury. As her lawyer, Louis Clayton Jones, said, "It was then that we started to think seriously that Pesce was being set up for a perjury indictment. Why else would the prosecutor refuse Pesce permission to refresh her memory on things she said almost a year before?" (*City Sun*, 31 July).

The testimony of Robert Rodriguez, a former auxiliary policeman who was wrapping bagels at a nearby Blimpie's restaurant, blew the lid off Morgenthau's cover-up. For the first time the public heard the horrifying blow-by-blow account of the murder. Rodriguez said he saw a transit officer emerge from the subway with a prisoner handcuffed from behind:

"And suddenly, the witness said 'he grabbed the prisoner by surprise and then threw him down to the concrete cement floor. The transit police officer then threw himself on top of the prisoner...."

"Then this big transit officer took over," Mr. Rodriguez testified. "He grabbed the prisoner, turned him over. He slapped the prisoner. Then he knelt down and picked him up by the chest, like he was taking a real look at him."
"He pulled him towards him. They were face to face. And then he let him go. His head hit the concrete."
—*New York Times*, 30 July

Rodriguez testified that at one point, five cops surrounded Stewart and kicked him so hard his body "ricocheted." Then they took him to the transit cop station in Union Square, where, out on the street, they beat him so savagely that 27 students in a nearby dorm were awakened by his screams at about 3:10 a.m.

Rodriguez's testimony also served as a powerful indictment of the D.A.'s office. After he made his original statement regarding the lethal beating of Stewart, one prosecutor told him "to take a vacation until this whole thing blows over." Rodriguez told the prosecutors assigned to the case: "Listen and listen good, I don't want any cover-up." Rodriguez said initially he wanted "leniency" for the transit cops who killed Stewart, but that now "I want blood in this thing."

Michael's parents, Carrie and Millard Stewart, a retired NYC transit worker, have filed a \$30 million lawsuit against the TA cops and a \$10 million suit against Elliot Gross; and they deserve every penny. But there is no justice in the bosses' courts. Despite the mountains of lies and the enormity of the cover-up, millions of New Yorkers know what really happened to Michael Stewart on the morning of 15 September 1983—Koch, Gross, Morgenthau and the NYPD can't wash the blood from their hands! Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen have put the struggle to stop the racist cop terror at the center of their campaign, "New York City: For the Working People!" Stamberg and Kartsen say: Put the lynch mob killers-in-blue in Attica and throw away the key! The working class in power must avenge Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry, Eleanor Bumpurs and all the victims of Koch's killer cops! ■

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 16)

All this is part of a war drive, the attempt to restore the strength of U.S. imperialism following its debacle in Vietnam. The American ruling class wants to restructure the world so that it can find itself happy, comfortable and secure against its enemies—from the Soviet Union to blacks and labor at home. But Reagan and his front man in New York, Edward I. Koch, are not all-powerful—there's another pole in this

country, that of the oppressed, the ground down, the exploited millions. And they don't believe in an "American dream" today. That's why, despite all the anti-communist "new patriotism" rhetoric, we do not see a McCarthyite witchhunt atmosphere in this country.

The Spartacist campaign seeks to mobilize the masses of this city in struggle to stop the racist terrorists in white sheets or blue uniforms, to take back the "givebacks," to say no to the rent gougers and real estate robber barons. We say, "America needs its financial and political capital, and New

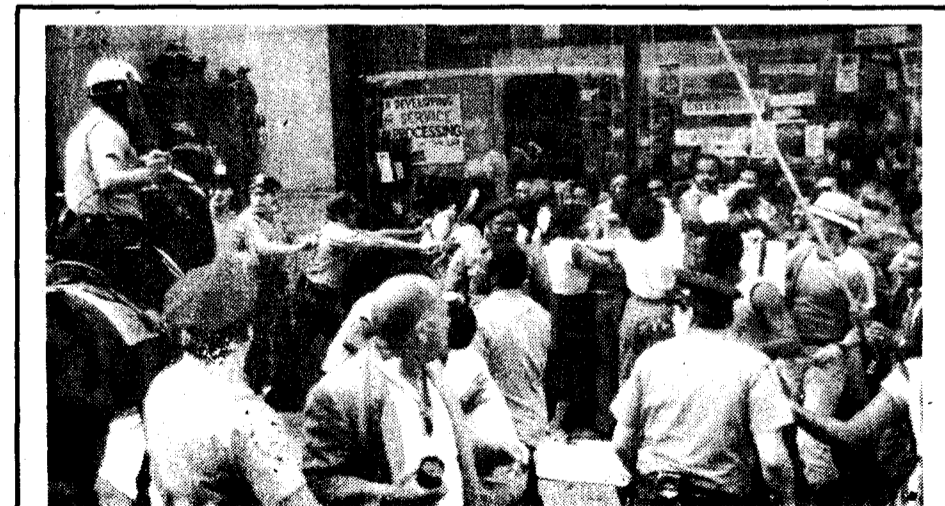
Yuppie candidate Carol Bellamy (right) tries to out-Koch Koch. Herman Farrell (left) ran as Koch's spoiler to split black/Hispanic vote.



Boenzi/NY Times

York can't run without black transit workers, Hispanic hotel workers, hospital workers—the whole powerful integrated city union movement.... We need a labor- and minority-led fight for a workers government which will seize

all major industry without compensation and institute a planned socialist economy. New York City: For the working people! Vote Spartacist! Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor! Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President!" ■



Ted Cowell

KOCH'S COSSACKS RAMPAGE AGAIN: Twenty people were injured, two seriously, Saturday, August 3 as NYC mounted and foot police charged a thousand-strong Haitian demonstration in midtown Manhattan. The attack took place as the protest, called in response to the latest bloody crackdown by Haitian strongman Jean-Claude Duvalier, paused in front of the Haitian consulate on 42nd Street. Whether it's against Harlem residents protesting a hospital closing, black and Hispanic hotel workers on strike or refugees from U.S.-allied dictatorships, Koch's rent-a-cossacks are guns for hire. Smash cop terror with labor/black mobilizations!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Campaign in NYC Elections

Stop Racist Cop Terror!

Black youth gunned down by the cops in Harlem, racist police roundups of hundreds in Brooklyn, "torture precincts" in Queens: the wave of racist cop terror gripping New York City is the issue in this election year. Yet none of the bourgeois candidates, including the black Democrats, will touch this "hot potato." Spartacist supporters out gathering petition signatures report our campaign to "Kick Out Koch! Stop Racist Cop Terror!" has touched a real chord in this city. Black New Yorkers and all decent people in this city are outraged as new grisly details emerge daily in the belated trial of (some of) the transit police lynch mob that murdered young black artist Michael Stewart. And they still haven't got rid of New York coroner Dr. Elliot Gross the ghoul, specialist in eyeball-gouging and cadaver-switching.

While Koch gleefully counts up the notches on the NYPD's service revolvers, Democratic challenger Carol Bellamy calls for *more* transit police...so there will be *more* Michael Stewarts bludgeoned to death in the name of fighting "quality of life crimes." The bourgeois pols try to take the heat off the cops and blame the victims, but Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg for mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president say, "When the cops are terrorizing the population, who's going to protect society from the cops?" Stamberg and



UPI



AP

Koch's cossacks enforce killer cutbacks on black ghetto, such as closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital in 1979.

vative British *Economist* (1 June) asks, "Are New York's 'finest' no better than common criminals?" They point to the cops' "blue wall of silence" against charges of police brutality, and lecture about "cops running amok." But the killers-in-blue are taking their cue straight from the top. NYC mayor Ed Koch came to office in 1977-78 pushing the death penalty and joining in the cops' "Fear City" hysteria campaign. And when Koch praises the police hit squad that blew away Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs (who owed \$387.40 in back rent) for just

D.A. and coroner cover up the crime. New York governor Cuomo, however, is concerned that this official Murder Inc. could touch off a riot. But even though the state board charged Gross with eleven counts of incompetence and negligence, they refused to release details of the charges, saying they might damage his credibility in the Michael Stewart case. Damn right, his credibility is damaged. Gross's lies have kept these killers out of jail, but the jury is not supposed to know the truth because it would undermine the sanctity of the state.

So what about the "alternatives" to Koch? This year's mud-slinging, all-sides-squalid Democratic primary race can match anything Boss Tweed ever pulled. Democratic City Council president Bellamy is trying to out-Koch Koch, campaigning on a racist "crime-stoppers" shopping list as long as your arm. She wants a thousand more cops on the subway trains, triple the transit cop/dog teams, more cops in the cruisers, life imprisonment without parole and abolition of the Parole Board. Bellamy and Koch both call for special kangaroo courts in the subways, so they can nab turnstile jumpers, try them on the spot and ship them off to Rikers Island. Spartacist candidates Stamberg and Kartsen have an answer to turnstile jumping: get rid of the turnstiles, make the subways free for the people.

Meanwhile, obscure black machine politician "Denny" Farrell suddenly throws in for the mayoral primary. The Harlem "gang of four" (Rangel, Paterson, Dinkins, Farrell), in exchange for some pork barrel perks and expectations that their man David Dinkins will take over Percy Sutton's old bailiwick as Manhattan borough president, broke up any chance of a united black/Hispanic coalition around the popular former deputy mayor Herman Badillo. Was anybody really surprised to learn that spoiler Farrell's signatures were gathered by Koch people, or that his top money men are also contributing to the mayor's campaign? So Bellamy, in a dirty maneuver, challenges Farrell's petitions, knocking the only black out of the Democratic Party primary;

whereupon supreme hypocrite Koch denounces this undemocratic move, cynically posing as champion of the black people.

This year the Communist Party is not even running in its own name. Instead CP mayoral candidate Jarvis Tyner is heading a "People Before Profits" ticket, calling for "democratization of the police by instituting civilian control." But it's no more possible to "democratize" the police, whose job is to keep the oppressed and exploited in line, than it is to get the capitalists to put anything before their profits. Back in 1964 when massive rent strikes swept Harlem and the NYC police launched bloody cop riots against blacks, the liberals and their CP camp followers tried to defuse the exploding social struggle with calls for "civilian review boards." The Spartacist League called for the organization of the ghetto into block committees and tenant councils, laying the basis for defense patrols to protect the community against the cops. "Such patrols," we wrote, "are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution."

Police brutality is basic to capitalist "law and order," but it escalated in New York under Koch and his predecessor Beame. This wave of repression accompanied the bank-engineered "Big MAC" fiscal crisis which slammed massive cutbacks in social services and union wages down the throats of New Yorkers. A sign at Sydenham Hospital (1979) protesting "Koch's Killer Kuts" caught the racist character of the cutback drive. The budget ax that came down on New York was the cutting edge of the drive to shore up American capitalism by dismantling the social welfare programs that had been built up out of the New Deal. "Reaganomics," this calculated policy of eliminating financial reform for the masses, was begun by the Democrats. Already it is showing up in the vital statistics: life expectancy is down, infant mortality is up. And now they want to slash the budget for the Atlanta Center for Disease Control—typhoid, AIDS, TB, all left to run uncontrolled.

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WV Photo

Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen petitioning at Borough of Manhattan Community College.

Kartsen call for integrated, armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women, to stop the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform. "Everyone has the right to defend himself!" the Spartacist candidates say, "Gun control kills blacks! Mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks!"

The so-called "epidemic" of police brutality in New York City has captured international notice. The liberal *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (23 June) headlines, "A creeping madness in the New York precincts," while the conser-

doing their job, who's surprised that 10,000 of these gun-toting, uniformed thugs should surround the Bronx courthouse protesting slap-on-the-wrist indictments of their buddies.

Now another commission has accused New York's cover-up coroner Gross of gross malfeasance. Last April Koch's whitewash Liman Commission alibied "New York's own" Dr. Mengele, excusing his systematic refusal to classify the deaths of victims of the rampant cop terror as homicide because it was "standard practice." Which of course it is—the NYPD kills, then the