

## Irangate—Contragate



President and Attorney General Meese—turning slowly in the wind.

AP/Wide World

# Ratfink Reagan

DECEMBER 2—For years, Ronald Reagan has gotten away with murder. From the KAL 007 spy plane provocation to the 241 dead Marines in Beirut to the rape of Grenada to the reckless rush to launch the space shuttle Challenger in time for his State of the Union speech, the White House course was strewn with bodies sacrificed on the altar of the anti-Soviet war drive. How did he get away with it? Lies—Big Lies, little lies, lots of lies. Of course, lots of influential people didn't really believe the lies, but the alternative was too awful to contemplate: another W----gate. And *Reagan* seemed to believe his lies (he's good at script reading). With a phalanx of corporate advisers and the "free but responsible" mass media to cover up his crimes, nothing seemed to stick on the "Teflon president." Until now. Now the unmentionable is on everyone's lips. As Vice President Bush is wont to say, this administration is "in deep do-do." And as for George and the '88 elections, he's history.

In quick succession things started

falling apart: the Daniloff spy-trade—that's-not-a-trade, revelations of a White House disinformation plot as the excuse for U.S. terror-bombing of Libya, the bumbling Reykjavik summit in which Reagan pulls a no-nukes "peace" proposal out of a hat only to discard it to preserve his crackpot first-strike "Star Wars" scheme. Then the Nicaraguan Sandinistas shoot down a CIA supply plane and capture loser gunrunner Eugene Hasenfus, who confesses all on TV even before being put on trial. The dam burst with election-night reports of a bizarre U.S. operation shipping arms to the Iranian ayatollahs to entice them into the anti-Soviet alliance. And last Tuesday, Teherangate joined Contragate with the announcement that White House officials had been laundering Iranian money through Swiss bank accounts to finance the Nicaraguan contras. Now Congressmen on both sides of the aisle are complaining about the American people being lied to and federal laws broken. Ronald Reagan may have

found his quagmire.

The country is buzzing with talk of Watergate. Paper shredders in the White House basement are running overtime on holidays and weekends. (They now pulverize documents into fine dust, ever since mullah-led fanatics in the Teheran embassy seizure pieced together U.S. documents shredded the old way.) The *New York Times* (26 November) reported: "The major question on Capitol Hill today reminded many legislators of a question asked by Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. about President Nixon during the Watergate investigation: What did the President know, and when did he know it?" (Columnist Russell Baker, pondering that cake-shaped-like-a-key Reagan sent to Khomeini, wondered: "What else did the President bake, and when did he bake it?") Suddenly all the president's men are in jeopardy; members of the administration start publicly throwing deleted expletives at each other. One or two of the guilty parties are selected for sacrifice, but this only raises questions

implicating the president directly.

On Saturday, Reagan broadcast his weekly radio message from his mountaintop retreat Rancho Cielo urging Americans to remember that "there are many other issues"...like the deficit. (Quite a mouthful coming from the administration that has turned Treasury bonds into junk bonds.) The Democrats' reply fell to Senator Daniel Moynihan, who addressed Reagan:

"Your Presidency, sir, is tottering... Washington is awash with rumor, intrigue, treachery. Out there in the Santa Ynez mountains, you cannot know how bad it is, for you have never been through anything like it. I have been. I tell you it is deeply dangerous."

Democrat Moynihan served the Nixon cabinet during Watergate, and when it comes to intrigue and treachery, he knows whereof he speaks. With half-colonels and vice admirals in the National Security Council running endless secret global operations, with reports of "grumbling... at the highest levels" of the Pentagon (*Los Angeles*

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### British Labour Traitor Tours U.S.

## Scab Kinnock

The Spartacist League/U.S. is picketing British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock during his current American tour. Demonstrations are planned in Boston on December 2 and Washington, D.C. December 4. On November 28 the SL/U.S. issued the following statement:

In the mining villages of England, Scotland and Wales they call him "Judas" Kinnock. This scabherder, red-baiter and class traitor worked overtime to break the heroic 12-month-long British miners strike.

When "Iron Lady" Thatcher launched her legions of police strikebreakers against the coal miners, Kinnock condemned the *strikers* for defending their picket lines. Now, with an eye on the polls, he's coming to America to let Reagan and the Democrats know they've got nothing to worry about from Her Majesty's Labour Party. There's not a chance this pro-NATO, anti-Soviet yellow "socialist" will keep American nuclear subs out of Britain. Maggie Thatcher may be "Reagan's Poodle," but Neil Kinnock wants to



Cagnoni/IFL

Neil Kinnock, class traitor.

show he's housebroken, too.

Kinnock says he's "very comfortable" in America—and in the circles he travels in there are a lot of people who think just like him. He'll be stopping off at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, dubbed

by the Pentagon an "intellectual strategic reserve." Kinnock's Labour Party mentors like Denis Healey have beaten a well-worn path to the CIA over the past several decades, helping to wreck left-led unions across Europe. Former Labour prime minister—now a lord—Harold Wilson went "all the way" with LBJ's dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Last month Kinnock made his anti-Communist pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall to listen to British officers brief him on how the city could be "defended... as it was in the final days of the Hitler regime" against the victorious Red Army. Perhaps Kinnock was trying to make up for missing Reagan's grotesque homage to the Hitlerite SS killers at Bitburg. Cold Warriors and class traitors—there's an integral connection: when miners' leader Arthur Scargill correctly denounced

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# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

In the 1920s, under its founder and first secretary James P. Cannon, the International Labor Defense (ILD) conducted a Christmas Fund drive for imprisoned worker-militants and their families. Geronimo Pratt, Ruchell Magee, David Rice, Ed Poindexter and Hugo Pinell have each spent more than a decade of Christmases behind bars! Following the ILD tradition, the PDC is initiating a holiday fund appeal for today's class-war prisoners as a message that they are not forgotten. We urge all PDC supporters and *WV* readers to contribute to our holiday appeal. Send cards, stamps and greetings of solidarity. Send contributions to help us buy requested gifts.

MOVE member Janet Africa wrote us, "I don't know if mona [Ramona Africa] told you or not but once a year this prison sells nuts, dried fruit and cheese for Xmas. ... They've done it for the past 2 or 3 yrs but we were in isolation and couldn't get the package." The PDC sent holiday gifts of \$25 to MOVE members Janet, Ramona and Consuewella Africa to purchase these holiday packages. Geronimo Pratt told us he would like to resume reading the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, so we have purchased a subscription for him.

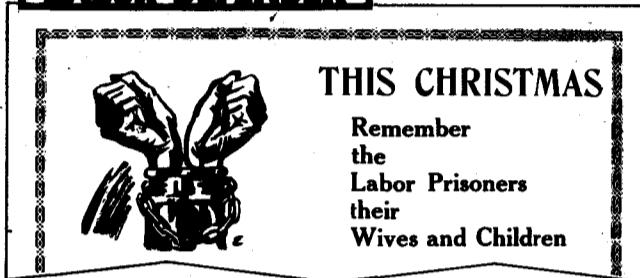
We have sent cigarettes and sweatshirts to Ruchell Magee and have ordered books requested by David Rice. Some of the class-war prisoners have asked for stamps and other items such as books, which we are obtaining.

As this year's Christmas chill nears, hundreds of thousands are living in the



Labor Defender

### LABOR DEFENDER — December 1927



We stand in tradition of James P. Cannon (left) and the International Labor Defense.

streets—victims of capitalist austerity and real estate gentrification. In the savage bombing of black Philadelphia in May 1985, eleven members of the MOVE family were intentionally murdered and the homes of dozens of black families left in ashes. The capitalist cops and courts seek to assure that those who

fight the poverty and racism endemic to capitalism are "safely" housed in prison hellholes or in their graves. No better motivation for our appeal can be made than that made by James P. Cannon on behalf of the ILD's 1927 Christmas Fund drive:

"The *New York Times*, the organ of big business, is making its annual plea for contributions for Christmas to the '100 Neediest Cases.' Other capitalist papers and organizations are conducting similar drives. The men, women and children of the working class, who have been on the rack of capitalist exploitation and are now dropped into the abyss of misery and poverty, are chosen and classified by these arch hypocrites—so their sanctimonious appeal can be made to the comfortable capitalists, to soften the bitterness of these few workers with the insult of charity, and to save their own conscience by acts of 'generosity'.

"This horrible farce is annually repeated in scores of other cities.

"The militant workers have nothing

"The workers belonging to the I.L.D. and supporting its work have not forgotten them and their dependent families.

"The men in prison are still a part of the living class movement. The Christmas Fund drive of the International Labor Defense is a means of informing them that the workers of America have not forgotten their duty toward the men to whom we are all linked by bonds of solidarity. It is the Christmas drive of Labor and must have its generous support!"

—"A Christmas Fund of Our Own," *Daily Worker*, 17 October 1927 (reprinted in James P. Cannon, *Notebook of an Agitator*)

\* \* \*

Los Angeles Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt recently won the right to appeal the denial of his motion for a new trial to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Pratt wrote to the PDC requesting that we "be sure and let those who wrote concerning my freedom know of my gratitude and that their kind words have boosted my morale and strengthened my resolve."

\* \* \*

Since publishing the second issue of our newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* we have enlisted four new sustaining contributors. We have now reached 50. One new sustainer who sent \$10 told us, "Sorry it's so little—I'd hoped to be employed by now." A more fortunate sustainer sent us \$1,200 in memory of Molly Brover: "If I try to break it up into 12 monthly payments I'm sure I'll forget to mail it somewhere along the ways, so consider this my annual contribution." We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send your donation and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy of issue number 2, send \$.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

### Rumor-Mongering and Petty-Bourgeois Frenzy

As Trotsky wrote of the "third camp" Shachtman/Burnham opposition in 1939-40, gossip-mongering, lies and slanders are the stock-in-trade of petty-bourgeois enemies of Bolshevism. Recently, the Spartacist League has been the target of violent provocations and deadly slanders by a rotten bloc of renegades and revisionists, "third camp socialists" who oppose the Soviet Union in its necessary defense against imperialism.



LENIN

Rumors, personal speculations and simple gossip cannot help but occupy an important place in petty-bourgeois circles where people are bound together not by party ties but by personal relationships and where no habit has been acquired of a class approach to events. It is passed from ear to ear that I have been visited exclusively by representatives of the majority and that I have been led astray from the path of truth. Dear comrades, don't believe this nonsense! I collect political information through the very same methods that I use in my work generally. A critical attitude toward information is an organic part of the political physiognomy of every politician. If I were incapable of distinguishing false communications from true ones what value could my judgments have in general?

—L.D. Trotsky, "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene" (January 1940)

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Corrections

In the *Young Spartacus* pages of *WV* No. 413 (10 October), we reported that Spartacist supporters carried signs at a September 28 baseball game in Berkeley featuring the Nicaraguan national team. The comrades did not carry signs but collected donations in buckets bearing slogans such as "Smash U.S. War Moves! Defend Nicaragua!"

In *WV* No. 411 (12 September), in the article "Bloody U.S. Cops of the

World," we referred to "18 F-118 Air Force bombers" which were flown into Britain. The aircraft in question were F-111 bombers.

In *WV* No. 405 (6 June), in the article "Workers: Smash AIFLD!" we mistakenly reported that Irving Brown had become head of the AFL-CIO's strikebreaking, redbaiting international operations upon the death of Jay Lovestone. Our report of Lovestone's death was exaggerated.

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# BT Provocation Fizzles

On November 21, the Spartacist League was compelled to take the very unusual step of changing at the last minute the location of its public meeting from Dwinelle Hall on the University of California Berkeley campus to a site in nearby north Oakland. The move was taken to head off plans by the highly dubious and unsavory Bolshevik Tendency (BT, formerly External Tendency) to organize on a larger scale a repeat of its premeditated and violent provocation against the September 19 SL forum held on the UC Berkeley campus (see "ET/BT: A Calculated Provocation," *WV* No. 412, 26 September).

Earlier in the week the SL learned from several sources that the BT was planning to stage some kind of disruption of the talk by comrade George Crawford titled, "Fight Reagan Reaction with Class Struggle!" Our decision to move the forum off campus, motivated by concern for the safety of those attending it, was strikingly confirmed by events on campus the night of November 20. UC Berkeley cops, clad in riot gear, brutally ambushed students protesting a closed-door student conduct hearing aimed at disciplining anti-apartheid activists. A number of students were savagely beaten. One of them, protest leader John Winters, was slammed into a glass display case by the rampaging cops and later booked on frame-up charges of resisting arrest and assault on a police officer.

Some months ago following an SL forum held at Dwinelle Hall a comrade of ours was foolish enough to get into loud argument with a BTer. He was very quickly confronted by four campus cops, who said they heard there was a fight. At the September 19 forum, two minutes after the BT started a fight rather than leave the hall as requested at the conclusion of the meeting, at least ten UC Berkeley cops in four prowl cars arrived on the scene, nightsticks ready, asking where was the fight. As reported in the 24 September *Berkeleyan*, a weekly paper printed by the University administration for faculty and staff, the police blotter said, "An altercation erupted between two factions of the Communist Party in Dwinelle Hall." It sure seems that COINTELPRO is alive and well at UC Berkeley!

The "two-minute response time" of ten cops in four prowl cars indicates a prearranged ambush. The BT blandly assert in their lying account of the September 19 events that police just showed up. We are not naïve. Given the strong yet so far mysterious gravitational attraction between BT provocations and UC Berkeley cops "looking for a fight," we thought it prudent to move the forum out of this particular gravitational field.

The evening of November 21 a sign was posted on the door of the room in Dwinelle Hall where the forum was to be held announcing the new location. Several comrades were present to direct those wishing to attend to waiting vans which would transport them to the new site and return them to UC Berkeley at the conclusion of the meeting.

At 7:30 p.m., the time at which the forum was scheduled to begin, the BT and its assorted allies from the anti-Soviet sewer, some 25 people in all, arrived on the scene en masse. Included in this motley crew was the Left Trotskyist Tendency (LTT, a recent split from the Internationalist Workers Party, followers of Argentine political bandit Nahuel Moreno), at least one member of the Revolutionary Workers League (associates of British scab Alan Thornett), and what appeared to be sundry seedy Berkeley "street people."

Marching two abreast the BT contingent entered Dwinelle Hall so rapidly that when they came to the closed door with the sign announcing the change of site, the head of the column led by the obviously myopic Howard Keylor came to such an abrupt halt that elements further back collided with each other. Clearly the intent was to simply barge into the meeting, which in any case was open to them. Disoriented by the change

from provocation or assault, they would have been given their full democratic rights. Once inside had they attempted to disrupt the meeting or refused to abide by the rules of the meeting they would have been escorted out. It is our obligation to protect ourselves and to protect those who come to our public meetings to hear our views, whatever their political opinion of the SL. In the event, we held a successful forum,

Spartacist forum, "Fight Reagan Reaction with Class Struggle!", held in Oakland, November 21.



in location, the BT declined repeated offers to transport them to the new meeting site. After a brief caucus outside Dwinelle Hall the bulk of their erstwhile allies departed for places unknown.

Some 20 minutes later eight or nine BTers and supporters showed up at the meeting hall, located in the basement of a church in north Oakland. A large workers defense guard, including trade-union friends of the SL, greeted them and explained they were welcome to come into the meeting after submitting to a search for weapons. One BT supporter did enter the meeting, only to be called back out by his friends some ten minutes later. The rest of the BT decided to not submit to a search.

We're not surprised. One of the BT's friends there that night was Earl Gilman, a former Morenoite and best described as a walking culture medium for every deviation known to Marxism. To the best of our knowledge Gilman is a white-collar clerk, yet he arrived with what in the most charitable interpretation looked like a kit of carpenter's tools! Apparently unwilling to divest themselves of various implements, the BT walking hardware emporium argued heatedly among themselves and trudged off clanking into the night.

Had the BT decided to come in, on terms guaranteed to protect the meeting

attended by a number of UC Berkeley students.

The BT's antics certainly raise some questions. According to the current December issue of *Working Class Opposition*, newspaper of the Morenoite IWP:

"On November 21 the Spartacists are holding another event in Berkeley. The BT is planning to form a bloc of different groups to 'teach the Spartacists a lesson' at that forum (including the LTT, which curiously enough has made this kind of confrontation their *only* political activity since they appeared)."

Well, the Morenoites ought to know! Why? Because the BT and LTT invited them to be part of their bloc on November 21! We hear through the grapevine that the BT describes their bloc as one for "workers democracy." Yet the BT and LTT invite into this bloc the IWP, which on November 2 physically excluded both these groups from a public debate called by the Morenoite-infested Peace and Freedom Party petty-bourgeois swamp! Further, the Morenoites are notorious for their potentially lethal 1982 hammer attack against members of the Spartacist League in Los Angeles. "Workers democracy" coming from the mouths of the BT has about the same credibility as the words "trust me" coming from the mouths of Ronnie Reagan and his National Security Council.

Reports reaching us indicate that the BT held at least three meetings to plan their November 21 action. The question that poses itself is why did a simple change of location of the meeting and a search for weapons stop them from attending? Further, why did no one from this bloc attend the subsequent meeting, held as scheduled the next night in San Francisco? To our knowledge the LTT exists only in San Francisco and a number of BTers and BT supporters live there. In his capacity as chairman of the November 21 meeting, comrade Al Nelson commented on the absence of the BT: "I would offer an opinion that they miss their friends on the Berkeley campus, the ones in tan uniforms, who perhaps they feel a little safer with, as a shield."

The early, defining act of the BT was a COINTELPRO-style campaign aimed at smearing the SL as "violent." BT princeling Bob Mandel got into a loud argument with two SLers on a picket line, then falsely claimed he was physi-

cally assaulted. The BT launched an international petition campaign accusing the SL of attacking Mandel. Months later Mandel, attempting to defend the BT slanders in a public meeting, admitted he was not physically assaulted but claimed he had feared he *might* be (!) assaulted because the altercation was so "intense." In other words, the BT campaign was a lie! Yet the BT has now revived its false accusation. Mandel meanwhile has reportedly departed the BT and a new group with new initials is supposed to emerge, but the BT (which is so fond of announcing fictitious "splits" in the SL) has said not one word about the split with Mandel, like the earlier split of the former Cleveland ET.

The BT's early provocation led us to adopt the policy of requesting them to leave the room at the conclusion of our public events. For some years they abided by this requirement, while protesting their "democratic right" to "mingle" with SLers after our meetings—i.e., to seek to create incidents for new campaigns of slander and libel. Unable to do so, the BTs have escalated to a new, more sinister level of provocation.

Embittered ex-members, most of them quitters, whose sole activity for years has been to "get the SL" any way they can, the BT have offered themselves up as anti-Spartacists for hire. And lately they have had plenty of takers.

For starters there are the inhabitants of the fake-Trotskyist, third-camp social-democratic swamp in which the BT has so deeply ensconced itself. These fragments, ranging from the Slaughter wing of the British WRP to Harry Turner to Sy Landy's LRP, are trying to cement together yet another centrist amalgam that will accomplish nothing but to besmirch the name of Trotskyism. That Landy's LRP, for example, embraces sight unseen the BT's anti-Spartacist provocations is indicative of the anti-communist spinal reflex of these dyed-in-the-wool third campists to the SL's defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The BT, which sometimes ventures "left" criticisms of the Spartacist League, lives in comfortable symbiosis with all these Russia-hating "third camp" Democratic Party hangers-on; the perfect unity they have on opposing the communists of the SL is undercut only by the penchant of one or another component to beat each other up from time to time.

More serious, there are the forces of bourgeois reaction. The BT's whole lying campaign against "Spartacist violence" dovetails so neatly with the central ploy of the government's "Cold War II"—to equate Marxist political opposition to the regime with "terrorism" and "crime." Right now at UC Berkeley, the cops, following the lead of Reagan and Meese, are waging a campaign of terror against the campus left. Hundreds upon hundreds of students have been savagely beaten, arrested and framed up for protesting against the policies of U.S. imperialism.

Spartacus Youth League member and UC Berkeley student Guillermo Bermúdez was an early victim of this vicious

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Jane Scherr  
SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez choked by UC Berkeley cop, 1985. BT provocations play into the hands of these racist thugs.

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# Ratfink Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

*Times*, 19 November), Moynihan felt compelled to remind the president of the rules of American bourgeois democracy. The Reaganites' contempt of Congress is so blatant that it's frightening much of the ruling class, and not just them.

It certainly comes as no surprise that the rulers of this country lied, cheated, stole and murdered. When Shultz quotes Winston Churchill about the need for hiding the truth behind a "bodyguard of lies" in wartime, he's justifying the World War II imperialist allies' criminal firebombing of Dresden, the U.S.' wanton atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the countless lies and My Lais of the dirty war on Vietnam. It's been an open secret that the White House was one way or another secretly financing the contras against Congressional prohibitions—"private" donations wouldn't even come close to the \$100 million plus annual price tag; if Congress "didn't know," it was because they didn't want to know. But in the last several months the administration has made a spectacle of incompetence, and the Teheran caper took the cake. Now sober minds in the ruling class are wondering if the Reagan gang are fit to govern. Capitalist governments have fallen over less.

Even the *New York Times* (26 November), ever ready to cover up for Reagan, felt compelled to editorialize that "now the powder trail runs right to the Oval Office":

"The whole affair, from Israeli arms shipments through Swiss bank accounts to subsidizing the contras, smacks of a pattern of lawlessness."

Their conclusion is to call for a Congressional investigation. In Congress the Democratic leadership says it is primarily concerned with "protecting the President's credibility." But even the best efforts of the "responsible" Democrats may not be enough to keep this government from unravelling. There is a lot of pent-up anger in this country over the Reaganites' arrogance in power, an administration which could be summarized as Greed Unlimited at home and an international Murder Inc. There could be an explosion of social struggle in America as these bullies are going down. And already Sandinista Nicaragua is breathing easier: the contras see their pipeline maybe drying up, and the Yankee invasion has had some "scheduling problems."

## Watergate Replay

When claims of "national security" won't silence Congress and the media, the White House PR men turn to stonewalling. When that fails, they try damage control. But Reagan's November 19 press conference claiming the



Kazemi/Sipa

**U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus (right) sentenced by Sandinista court to 30 years for gunrunning to contras. His orders came from the White House basement.**

NSC had arranged "a modest shipment of defensive weapons and spare parts to Iran" merely raised more questions. "The operation is mine, and mine alone," Reagan insisted, but instead of ending the affair, this admission opened the floodgate of leaks. Attempting to look "in control," the president called another press conference November 25 to announce that his old pal, Attorney General Ed Meese, will investigate the White House. Then Reagan fled the room while Meese dropped the big one: the secret U.S. arms shipments to Iran, with the Israeli government acting as go-between, netted a \$10-30 million rakeoff deposited in a Swiss bank account for use by the Nicaraguan contras. (In the spirit of Adolf Eichmann, the Israelis say they were just following orders from their *Führer* in Washington.)



Hosefros/NY Times Photos

**Reagan/Meese's "damage control" press conference announces ouster of Lt. Colonel North and Vice Admiral Poindexter (left and right). Scapegoating and know-nothingism can't cover up this one.**



Suddenly the operation is *not* Reagan's, but that of Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, National Security Council deputy director of political-military affairs. North was "the only person" who knew about the Iran-contra arrangement, insisted Meese, even though the NSC includes Reagan, Bush, Shultz, Weinberger, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, CIA director Casey, and Meese. He hinted that with the help of high tech "intercepts" of electronic communications, the "intelligence community" had traced the source of the operation to... the White House basement. So North is fired, while his boss, National Security Adviser John Poindexter, resigns ignominiously. Meese insisted the president knew nothing, the CIA was not involved, the amount was only \$12 million in arms, and it all took place "between January 1986 and the present time." We kid you not.

Within days, Meese's story fell apart. According to confidential memos obtained by the defense in a Manhattan "Iran arms sale" trial (involving no sale of arms to Iran, but only a Customs Service "sting" operation), an Oregon businessman innocently tried to tip off Vice President Bush about the U.S.-Iran-contra connection but got a knowing brushoff. Another memo showed that Poindexter approved the sale of 10,000 antitank missiles to Iran in December 1985. New reports surfaced from Iranian exiles that as many as 20 planeloads of American weapons were delivered to Iran in May by former National Security Adviser McFarlane, estimates of the value of the cargo now go as high as one *billion* dollars, Israel has been delivering arms to Iran with tacit U.S. permission since 1981, and both Angolan and Afghan contras received part of the Iran dollars.

Meanwhile, the capos in this global conspiracy are being identified. Phone records from a CIA "safe house" in El Salvador had already pinpointed the heads of the "private" Nicaraguan contra supply operation as Colonel North (who was repeatedly called at the

White House) and "retired" General Richard Secord. These two were also on the plane to Teheran with McFarlane in May, and it turns out both the trips to Iran and the contra air drops were arranged by the CIA-connected Southern Air Transport. Secord's firm, Stanford Technologies, employed "ex"-CIA operatives Edwin Wilson and Frank Terpil, and he was investigated over their clandestine supply of U.S. weapons to Qaddafi's Libya during the Carter administration. North, meanwhile, in addition to being point man for the contras has reportedly run every NSC clandestine operation, from the Grenada invasion to the post-Achille Lauro skyjacking of an Egyptian airliner.

The revelations keep cascading. The 1983 murder of a GM executive found in

a lake near Bear Mountain, New York has been linked to the Iran arms smuggling. And now the Saudis move to center stage: it all began at a birthday party in Spain for notorious merchant of death Adnan Khashoggi which was attended by a U.S. ambassador, assorted Israeli arms dealers and Brooke Shields. Michael Ledeen, of Claire Sterling "pope plot" fame, is another key link. And George Bush is in the middle of it. "First, he was up to his Stetson in pressuring the Saudis for higher world oil prices—this was what Iran wanted...but it was also what Bush's Texas oil producers wanted," an ex-CIA man told columnist Warren Hinckle. And Bush was "deep and dirty" in the illegal contra arms supply network: "They've been running a rump CIA out of the vice president's office" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 December). North is a gung-ho anti-communist, all right, but no rogue "cowboy": he was following orders.

Now the administration is stonewalling. After hiding behind a Thanksgiving turkey out on the coast, Ronald Reagan returned to the capital to proclaim Oliver North "a national hero." North, rebuffed at the White House door sneaking in for a last shredding session, took the Fifth (Amendment) at a Senate hearing. Vice President Bush promises a statement this week to stand by his chief. The normally aggressive White House chief of staff Don Regan has hunkered down behind claims of "executive privilege." And the embattled president is calling Richard Nixon for advice. *Newsweek* asks, "What did the president forget, and when did he forget it?" One is reminded of the climax of the Wizard of Oz, when Dorothy finds that behind the booming voice and intimidating façade of the wizard there is nothing but a dull-witted little man living in fear of discovery.

## Democrats to the Rescue ... for Reagan

Republicans in Congress are now talking of a special session, the first since

1948. The Democrats want a select committee like the one which investigated the Watergate affair. The opening shot of a political counteroffensive against the White House? Not at all. Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd declared, "This is my President. He's in trouble. And I don't want to see the Presidency damaged." Democratic presidential front runner Mario Cuomo said he was "praying that we never learn that he knew all about this." Teddy Kennedy urged caution, Walter Mondale "warned that the worst thing for the country and the party would be an all-out attack on the President" (*New York Times*, 27 November). Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, soon-to-be chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, intoned: "We must, all of us, help the President restore his credibility in foreign affairs. We can't have a crippled President for two years."

"Credibility" here has a double meaning: does anyone believe Reagan's telling the truth, but more importantly can he stick it to the Soviets, or the Sandinistas? Reagan has blown it on both counts. Before the Contragate revelations a November 19 ABC News poll reported 59 percent thought Reagan was not telling the truth about the Iran deal. Afterwards, only 34 percent thought the president didn't know of the contra funds diversion. And now his approval rating has taken a sharp dip, falling to its lowest point since early 1983. For a president who constantly flaunts his popularity, this is disaster. For the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries, it's worse. "Contra Chiefs Say the Iran Affair May Have Doomed the Insurgency," headlined the *New York Times* (1 December), quoting a contra official who said: "We may now be seen as nothing more than the pet project of a lame-duck President. If that's the way it is, we're finished."

The Reaganite war plan has been to "roll back" Communism, starting with the left nationalist Sandinista regime—which dared to defend itself against U.S. aggression by acquiring Soviet arms and expertise—then on to Cuba, and finally, the big American imperialist wet dream: the destruction of the Soviet Union. The ayatollahs' 1979 ouster of the shah in Iran put a temporary crimp in the anti-Soviet plans by cutting the U.S. off from its Iranian bases. But while beating on Jimmy Carter for looking like a wimp against Khomeini, the Reaganites understand they have something in common with the theocratic reactionaries in Teheran: they all hate progress, secular humanism and... Communism. As the Heritage Foundation wrote in its program for Reagan's second term, *Mandate for Leadership II* (1984):

"In the long term, good relations with Iran remain far more important than with Iraq. With a population of 45 million and borders on the Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf, Iran undeniably is a strategic prize."

The mullahs and the contras have more in common than a Swiss bank account.

In the meantime, the U.S. bourgeoisie has a first-class political mess on its hands. And unlike Watergate, this time the domestic crisis is intertwined with an international crisis. Boston University professor Allen Weinstein noted the "dismal spectacle" of the American presidency in recent years:

"John F. Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson removing himself from contention after one term; Richard M. Nixon leaving in disgrace; Gerald R. Ford, an unelected incumbent, rejected by the voters, and Jimmy Carter soundly rebuffed in his re-election bid. All in all, not quite the saga of a 'banana republic' but hardly a textbook model of stability.... Another failed presidency looms, the sixth in a quarter century."

—*New York Times*, 30 November

Weinstein called for a "bipartisan rescue operation," depending on two conditions: that "improprieties and possible illegalities" in the Iran-contra affair be "thoroughly dealt with," and "that no 'other shoe' hits the ground, deepening the scandal." That's quite a condition, for there are more shoes in the White

# Massacre of Iranian Communists

## Khomeini: Executioner for CIA

Teherangate may make lame duck soup out of Reagan's second term. But for the contra-funding spooks, the Star Wars kooks, the social bigots who make the mullahs look like swingers—for all the rats who inhabit the byzantine cellar of the White House, the "Iran connection" produced one big payoff. In 1983, Ayatollah Khomeini joined hands with his supposed nemesis, the "Great Satan" in Washington, to imprison and murder thousands of Communists, members of the once powerful though cravenly capitulatory Tudeh ("Masses") party. For both Reagan and Khomeini see the Soviet Union as an "Evil Empire," and back up their ravings with counterrevolutionary terror.

In late 1982 an opportunity presented itself for the imperialist West to do a deal with the Imam. A Soviet diplomat stationed in Teheran defected to the British, providing them—and through them the CIA—with Tudeh membership lists. Any hard feelings over "anti-imperialist" stunts like the 444-day seizure of the American embassy by the "followers of the Imam's line" were put behind them as the CIA turned over to Khomeini's regime its hit list for a *jihād* (holy war) against Soviet Communism. On 6 February 1983, squads of *pasdaran* arrested 30 leaders of Tudeh including its first secretary, Nureddin Kianuri.

In early May Tudeh was banned and Soviet diplomats expelled. By the end of 1983, some 10,000 Tudeh members had been thrown into the dungeons built by the Pahlavis, where they were tortured by the former SAVAK agents trained by the CIA and Israel's Mossad. Khomeini publicly thanked Allah for the "miracle" that led to this slaughter. Less publicly,



AP

his anti-Communist bloodlust was rewarded on earth as the White House opened the floodgates of its military arsenal through Israeli and South Korean middlemen, and then directly.

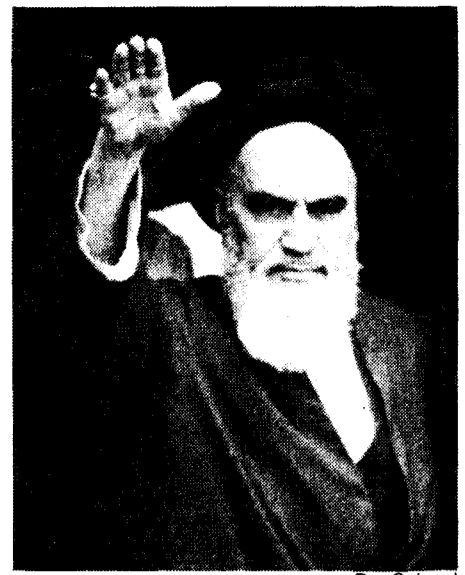
Because the widely-hated Shah was installed and propped up by his patrons in the U.S., Khomeini came to power with the aid of the suicidally opportunist left, which lauded his phony "anti-imperialism" while Tudeh used its support among oil workers to muzzle labor. During a fleeting "détente" between Teheran and Moscow, the Stalinists sent their cadre into the theocratic regime. They hailed the consolidation of Shi'ite clerical reaction, which meant imposition of the veil on women, savage wars against the Kurds and other minorities, and the jailing and massacre of thousands of other leftists.

Tudeh's servility did not spare them, especially when they called for a "negotiated peace" in Iran's squalid border war with Iraq, a Soviet military client. The day after its leadership was seized,

Tudeh issued a statement pleading that Kianuri was "one of the resolute defenders of the combatant clergy." Even more revolting was the conduct of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKE) and its American cohorts in Jack Barnes' SWP, who alibied the massacre saying that because of its refusal to unconditionally back Khomeini in the Iran-Iraq war, "the Tudeh Party has left itself open to attack." But the belly-crawling HKE soon found itself in jail.

And then there were the Healyites, sinister finger-men for the world bourgeoisie who not only hailed the execution of 21 Communists by the Iraqi Ba'ath regime in 1979, but even provided to its London embassy photos of Iraqi leftists who protested the executions. Four years later, the American Healyites, headed by the dubious David North (not known to date to be a relation of Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North), cynically remarked:

"There is no doubt that the jailing of the Tudeh members will be seized upon by



Der Spiegel

Reagan sends arms and hit lists to Islamic fanatic Khomeini, butcher of Iranian workers movement, leftists and national minorities.

the Stalinist and revisionist parties, such as the CPUSA and the SWP in the United States, to vent their hatred of the revolutionary masses of Iran and the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini." —*Bulletin*, 24 May 1983

Thus Healy-North cover for the CIA-engineered execution of Iranian Communists by Khomeini.

When the Pahlavi autocracy began to totter in late 1978, we warned that Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalism was every whit as reactionary and repressive. While the opportunists hailed the ayatollah, we proclaimed: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" The latest revelations that the CIA fingered Tudeh Communists for Khomeini's executioners, that Reagan sent arms to woo the Imam for the "Free World," underscore a fundamental truth: the imperialists and religious reactionaries, in all their guises, are united in fear of world socialist revolution and hatred for the Soviet Union, the first victory of that revolution. ■

House basement waiting to hit the ground than Imelda Marcos had in her closet. For starters, the Iranians claim to have tapes of last May's telephone conversations between McFarlane in Teheran and "someone in the White House," showing that Reagan has "lied" to the American people. We say, play the tapes! And who is Brooke shielding? Enquiring readers want to know.

As the spectre of Watergate re-emerges, various reformists are raising their "radical" solution to the Teherangate/Contragate crisis—impeach the president. Communist Party leader Gus Hall, long-time donkey for Democratic Party "progressives," declared last week the "Iran connection" was "grounds for impeachment," and urged the "new Democratic majority" to take such a course (*People's Daily World*, 13 November). This was the CP's litany 13 years ago when moves to impeach Nixon were under way. As we wrote then, which holds true today as well:

"For his truly enormous crimes against the working class Nixon should be removed from office at once. Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough! We do not seek to perpetuate bourgeois democracy, the system that has produced a quarter-century of imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the bombing of Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Great Depression. To limit the labor movement to calling for impeachment of Nixon, as do the AFL-CIO tops and the Communist Party, is to wind up supporting Gerald Ford. A class-struggle answer to Watergate must shift the axis of struggle. The fight to remove Nixon must become a fight not to replace Nixon with Gerald Ford, but a fight to replace the rule of capital with a workers government!"

—"What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973

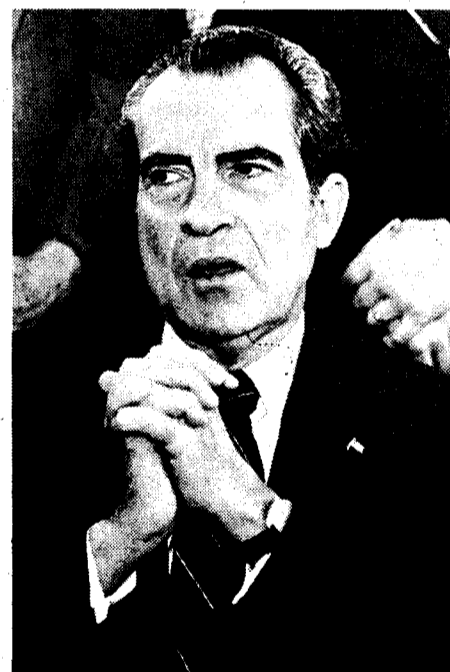
### Get 'em While They're Down

Watergate and the simultaneous U.S. defeat in Vietnam marked a low point

for the "imperial presidency." But Nixon was replaced by Gerald Ford, who was replaced by Jimmy Carter, who was replaced by Ronald Reagan, and here we are with an even more aggressive and dangerous U.S. imperialism "rolling back" union rights and black gains at home while it pursues a crusade against Communism from Managua to Moscow. Moreover, virtually every anti-Soviet military program and union-busting scheme pushed by Republican Reagan was initiated by Democrat Carter. In Congress, both capitalist parties vote for Reagan's war budget and social welfare cutbacks. The Democrats were pulled into line supporting "contra aid" because they share the goal of restoring the hegemony of U.S. imperialism. Thus they are no less concerned about restoring the "credibility" of the imperial presidency.

What makes Teherangate such a disaster for the Reagan presidency is that above all it is the true-blue Reaganites who feel betrayed and discredited. Remember, Reagan won the presidency in 1980 in no small measure by flaying Jimmy Carter for "humiliating" America by paying ransom to Khomeini for the U.S. embassy hostages held by his followers. In speech after speech, year after year, Reagan has denounced "state-sponsored terrorism" with Iran high on the list of alleged sponsoring states. For many white Middle America types, the ayatollah Khomeini—not Gorbachev, Castro or Qaddafi—is the foreign leader they most hate and despise. So when Reagan sends arms to the fanatical Iranian ruler who calls America "the Great Satan," the shock effect on the Republican right is only slightly less than if their president was exposed as a KGB mole.

And America is not Reagan country. The much-touted "new patriotism" following the Grenada invasion and '84 L.A. Olympics was only skin-deep. And while Reagan was re-elected with a



Actualidad Española

Nixon to Reagan: be sure to destroy all the evidence.

record vote, he has never had a majority of the population with him on decisive issues—particularly the drive to war in Central America to overthrow the Sandinistas. The White House media managers could whip up hysteria over "terrorism" (spring '86) or drugs (summer-fall '86). In the process, the Meese police have targeted just about everybody. They can stage anti-Soviet, anti-Communist horror shows, like the upcoming ABC maxi-series *Amerika*. But Reagan "went too far" in saluting Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. Try as they might, they have not been able to bring back the McCarthy era. The bonapartism of the Reagan White House and the skulduggery in its cellar is a direct reflection of the *unpopularity* of Washington's anti-Soviet war measures. Recently not only black workers but white trade unionists as well have been snapping up the *Workers Vanguard* article on "Bonzo's Gonzo Diplomacy."

And an opera has opened based on the life of Malcolm X. This is not Reaganism triumphant.

For six years the U.S. ruling class has gloried in the return of a strong imperial president who got "America standing tall again." The Moral Majority, Rambo and Clint Eastwood were riding high, while the Ku Klux Klan operated in the shadow of the White House. With its hysteria over drugs and "terrorism," anti-porn witchhunts and attacks on abortion rights and evolution, the Reaganites tried to create the political and moral climate of some kind of totalitarian right-wing police state. But the Reagan counterrevolution, unlike German Nazism, was never based on a mass mobilization. It was all lies and PR hype. And Teherangate/Contragate has utterly exploded that. The Reaganites' usual response in such a jam is to stage another anti-Soviet provocation, like the Grenada invasion, Tripoli bombing, etc. But today that could backfire.

Union militants, blacks, Hispanics, civil libertarians and leftists have felt isolated in the Reagan years, and more than a little scared. But the unions were not broken by police-state terror; they've been shackled by a cowardly, sellout bureaucracy. The deep hatred for Reagan in the black ghettos was diverted by hustlers like Jesse Jackson and demagogues like Farrakhan. But now America's workers and oppressed minorities face a suddenly *weak* right-wing president, looking ridiculous and contemptible. It's time to strike back for the exploited and oppressed. What's needed is a revolutionary leadership to smash Reaganism, whether it's wearing a Republican or Democratic label. To bust the union-busters, to stop the lynchers and cross-burners in their tracks, to reverse the tide of social reaction and smash the imperialist war drive we must forge a class-struggle workers party fighting for socialist revolution, at home and abroad. ■



## Organizing the Waterfront

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) stands at a watershed in its history. Cut-rate, non-union ports have been spreading in the last couple years, particularly along the Gulf Coast. This spring ILA locals in the South Atlantic and Gulf swallowed whopping concessions on wages and manning scales, supposedly in order to remain "competitive" with the scab operations. The shipping bosses saw this as a wedge to attack union conditions in Northern ports as well. *Dun's Business Month* (October 1986) predicted a "Showdown On the Waterfront," hoping that "the labor component of U.S. shipping costs could plunge as much as 75 percent in a single year." When the bosses tried to do this, angry East Coast longshoremen from Norfolk to Maine walked off the docks October 1. But Southern ports continued working, and the strike was called off after three days.

ILA leaders have now agreed to a two-tier wage structure pitting high seniority workers against lower-paid new-hires and cutting wages for ore and grain workers. While ILA spokesman Jim McNamara claimed the giveback pact was "an improvement in light of conditions in the shipping industry," the *Wall Street Journal* (14 November) commented: "The new contract is considered a victory for waterfront management which for the first time in decades has won concessions in wages, work rules and benefits from the powerful ILA."

Two-tier systems have become a standard part of the employers' union-busting offensive. In seeking to play off older against younger longshoremen, Northern ports against Southern ports, container workers against bulk workers, the bosses are striking at the guts of the ILA. Union solidarity on the docks is a relatively recent achievement, preceded by decades of hard, bitter and often losing struggles. The first unionwide strike was called in 1953, over 60 years after the founding of the ILA. That strike was part of the fight waged by ILA longshoremen to defend their union against an alliance of the shipowners, government and AFL tops (see "How Longshoremen Stopped the Finks," *WV* No. 414, 24 October). Thereafter, the demand of "one port down, all ports down" became the watchword of militant longshoremen. Despite several retreats in the face of government injunctions against coastwise strikes, the ILA cohered into a powerful union exercising effective job control along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

Cohering effective unions on the docks was a long and difficult struggle, going back over a century. The work was dirty, backbreaking and low-paid.



Louisiana Weekly

Striking New Orleans longshoremen, October 1986.

Those recruited for it were blacks, Irish and German immigrants, later Italians and East Europeans, and the employers sought to keep the workers divided by playing on racial and ethnic divisions. In the port of New York during the Civil War, draft riots were stirred up by pro-slavery agitators claiming that freed blacks would take the jobs of the mainly Irish longshoremen. It wasn't until the 1880s that black and Italian longshoremen established themselves in New York, having been introduced as strikebreakers. When it became apparent that they were there to stay, the unions sought to organize them in order to prevent their use as scabs. And as the ILA later absorbed the old New York dock unions, it consisted of a patchwork of separate Irish, Italian, black, German and Hungarian-centered locals—a setup that continued many decades.

The early struggles to organize the docks were often led by radical labor organizations that challenged the prevailing "wisdom" of craft unionism by fighting for racial equality and the extension of unions to the most oppressed; unskilled workers. The principles of class solidarity they fought for, though never fully realized, had a significant impact on waterfront unionism. In the South, the bitter struggles of longshoremen were fought under open shop, Klan-dominated conditions. This meant that every union battle posed a burning necessity for interracial solidarity of black and white workers. Black longshoremen played a predominant role on the waterfront, compelling respect from white trade unionists and fear from the racist labor haters. As one

Southern ILA man told us during the recent strike, speaking of the KKK, "We don't have much problem with them around here. They know we'll get vengeance."

The militancy of Southern longshoremen has often put them in the forefront of labor battles, from the earliest times to the present. The longshore union has been viewed by the Southern black masses as a bulwark against Jim Crow racism. Medgar Evers, the head of the Mississippi NAACP who was assassinated by KKK-type racists in 1963, was a member of the Gulfport local of the ILA. In the 1970s, when Louisiana students wanted to protest the racist Rhodesian regime, they sought out New Orleans ILA locals to initiate a boycott of Rhodesian chrome. And in 1982, a key to the success of the Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. was the early support of black longshore locals and the ILA International. In a very concrete sense, black longshoremen in the South have been in the vanguard of their class and their race.

### The CNLU and the Knights of Labor

The entire history of the ILA demonstrates that struggles for black rights and union rights are inseparable. In the South black dock workers played a central role in the fight for unionization going back to the Civil War. The first organization of blacks occurred under the impulse of Reconstruction: in 1867, black stevedores in Charleston formed the Longshoremen's Protective Union Association and won a strike for higher wages. That February the dock workers of Savannah, Georgia, nearly all black, struck against the city council's poll tax of \$19 on all persons employed on the wharves and won repeal.

As the Savannah example shows, the early black longshore unions in the South necessarily engaged in political struggles centered on combatting the racist reaction against Reconstruction. Among the most active organizations to defend black working people was the Colored National Labor Union (CNLU), whose co-leaders were Isaac Myers and the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass. Douglass had worked in the shipyards in Baltimore while still a slave. One day he was badly beaten by white apprentices. Describing this incident in his autobiography, Douglass wrote: "The slaveholders, with a craftiness peculiar to themselves, by encouraging the enmity of the poor laboring white man against the blacks, succeeded in making the said white man almost as much a slave as the black slave himself" (*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* [1892]).

The CNLU was not socialist in its political views, but had a radical democratic program, centering on support for Reconstruction which meant that across the South, blacks and poor whites held political power under the guns of the occupying Union Army (and the black militias of the Union Leagues) while the former slavocracy was disenfranchised. They also fought against Jim Crow segregation in the labor movement, for admission of blacks into apprenticeships, etc. According to Philip Foner's *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1981* (1981), "In several communities the CNLU stimulated black and white workers to form local unions, which then won strikes. It helped to organize

black dock workers into the Longshoremen's Association No. 1 of Baltimore in 1871 and led their successful struggle to secure a wage increase from twenty to twenty-five cents an hour."

Meysers and Douglass sought an alliance with the mainly white National Labor Union (NLU) headed by William Sylvis. The NLU did not have a color bar but it allowed its affiliated unions to determine whether they would admit black workers. Far more often than not, the existing craft unions excluded blacks. One celebrated case involved Douglass' son Lewis, who obtained work in the Government Printing Office but was driven off the job by the International Typographical Union. In sharp distinction to almost every other union organization, the CNLU defended Chinese immigrants against rampant and frequently lethal racism. But the CNLU's attempt to forge unity between white and black workers ultimately failed, defeated by the forces



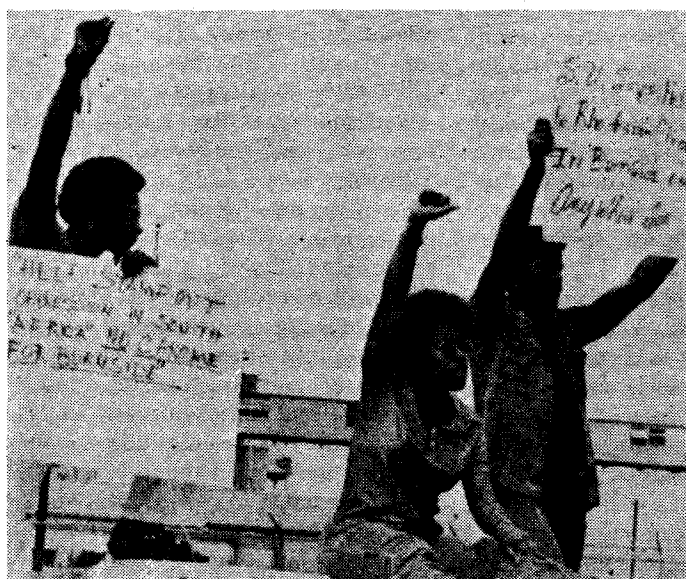
Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

National Association of Knights of Labor, Richmond, Virginia, 1886: pioneers of organizing American labor.

of racism within the trade unions and the betrayal of Reconstruction.

One other early attempt to build an organization encompassing unskilled as well as skilled workers was the Knights of Labor. At its peak in 1886, the Knights had almost a million members. Its position on the race question was equivocal: while it persuaded many unions to admit black members and held integrated rallies, demonstrations and social activities, many of its local assemblies were segregated. Nonetheless, the Knights had a substantial black component (almost 50 percent in the South). There were branches among waterfront workers in almost every major port on the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts. An important longshore battle led by the Knights of Labor was the "Big Strike" of 1887, which was precipitated when the Old Dominion company, whose ships ran between New York and Newport News, slashed wages at the same time as coal handlers in New Jersey were subjected to a pay cut. A massive general strike on the New York-New Jersey waterfront resulted, with 50,000 dock workers striking.

The bosses went to court, charging that the strike was organized to gain the same wages for black dock workers in Newport News as NY longshoremen. Although this was not strictly true, the Knights did dispatch envoys to the South and persuaded workers there to "hot cargo" Old Dominion. It thus became the first major trade-union struggle that linked Northern and Southern dock workers, cutting across racial lines to unite predominantly Irish workers in New York and mainly black



James W. Terry III

Louisiana students demand boycott of Rhodesian chrome in 1972. ILA dockers refused to unload ship.

workers in Virginia. Although James Quinn, the head of the NY Knights, was jailed and armed Pinkerton scabherders were unleashed in New Jersey, the strikers held firm. Railroad workers threatened to shut down the Reading Railroad in solidarity with the coal handlers. The strike was only defeated because the union leaders agreed to a separate settlement of the coal handlers dispute, leaving the Old Dominion strikers out in the cold.

The "Big Strike" took place at a critical moment for the Knights. On 1 May 1886, large demonstrations for the eight-hour day were held in several cities. In Chicago's Haymarket rally bombs were hurled, for which several anarchist labor leaders were subsequently framed up and executed. The "anti-red" hysteria unleashed over the Haymarket affair by the bosses and their press was endorsed by the leadership of the Knights, including its Grand Master Workman Terence Powderly. A few months later the organization made a major retreat over the race question. At the Knights' convention in Richmond, Virginia a black delegate from New York, Frank Ferrell, was denied hotel accommodations. The New York delegation refused to stay in the hotel, and later accompanied Ferrell to a performance of *Hamlet*, further enraging the Southern segregationists. But Powderly wrote a despicable letter of apology to the Richmond press.

The issue polarized the Knights, and militant blacks and whites soon began deserting in droves. It soon became an openly white supremacist organization. The demise of the Knights of Labor did prove one thing, though: racism and anti-socialism are poison to the union movement.

### Longshore Battles in New Orleans

The destruction of the early labor organizations that promised to unite black and white workers, along with the political defeat of Reconstruction, profoundly shaped the subsequent development of the American labor movement. The vast majority of blacks lived in the South at the time. With the Ku Klux Klan in the saddle and a system of enforced peonage, blacks were tied to the land under semi-serf conditions. When industry was built up in the North the steel mills and auto plants brought in immigrant workers from southern and eastern Europe—not Southern blacks. At the time of the Civil War the majority of skilled craftsmen in the South were black, but they were driven out of these trades by Jim Crow unions. Outside of sharecropping and domestic service, the only jobs for blacks were the dirtiest, hardest and most dangerous: on the docks and in the mines.

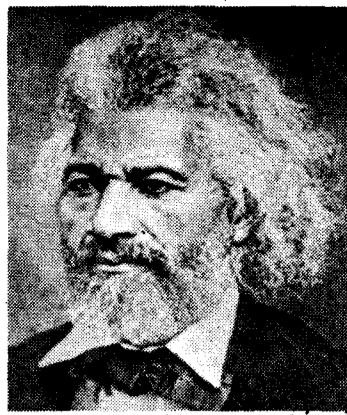
New Orleans was for many years the most important port in the South. The first black general longshore union was organized in 1872. Initially blacks were excluded from skilled work: white longshoremen reserved the highly paid screwman's job of stowing cotton bales aboard ship. But by the end of the 19th

century a black screwmen's union was organized, and a formal union structure existed on the New Orleans waterfront. Longshore work was divided into several crafts: within each there was a black and a white (mainly Irish) local, and all work was divided equally between the locals. Since black workers were the majority on the New Orleans (and other Southern) docks, this setup in fact discriminated against blacks. White longshoremen were often given more desirable jobs; white longshoring gangs were traditionally assigned to the side of the ship adjoining the pier, a practice designed to assert white supremacy.

However, there were a number of powerful examples of class solidarity between black and white waterfront workers. The New Orleans general strike of November 1892 was precipitated by a strike of the Triple Alliance (packers, scalesmen and teamsters) for a ten-hour day, overtime pay and a union shop. The bosses refused to sign an agreement with the teamsters, a black union, but the Triple Alliance held firm. When a general strike of 49 unions affiliated to the city's Workingmen's Amalgamated Council was declared, the bosses attempted to break it by appealing to white workers to reject "Negro domination." The governor called out the militia but the employers eventually agreed to arbitrate. Although the settlement did not grant the union shop, this citywide general strike—the first in the history of the American labor movement—was a powerful example of labor solidarity in the Deep South that cut across racial lines.

In 1901 a New Orleans Dock and Cotton Council was established. The 72 delegates—half black and half white—represented 36 dock unions including the longshoremen, screwmen, teamsters, scalehands and others. The officers of the Council were divided equally between white and black and were rotated annually, so that one year there would be a black president, then a white president, etc. In October 1907 the Council called a strike of 10,000 black and white workers in its affiliated unions. After 20 days the employers agreed to arbitrate, but they refused to meet with black delegates. The New Orleans press "warned" that blacks were using the strike as a means of "trying to further pull down the barriers which bar them from equity in all things with the superior race."

But this appeal to white supremacy failed. The bosses had to back down and meet with the black unionists. The strike issues were settled on the unions' terms. The president of the Council commented: "The whites and Negroes were never before so strongly cemented in a common bond and in my 39 years of experience of the levee, I never saw such solidarity." The gains of this strike were not long-lived, however. The screwmen's job was automated out of existence by the invention of the cotton press shortly thereafter, and the employers took advantage of the decline in jobs to attack the unions. A series of losing



Historical Pictures Service

**Black leaders Frederick Douglass (left) and Isaac Myers organized "Colored National Labor Union" in 1869. Black workers on the docks in 1860s (below).**



Schomburg Collection



National Archives

strikes was fought between 1916 and 1923 that resulted in the unions being greatly weakened. There was substantial interracial scabbing during these strikes. It was not until the late '30s that the longshore unions were solidly re-established on the docks of New Orleans.

When the longshore locals affiliated to the ILA (about the time of the establishment of the Dock and Cotton Council), the segregated union structure was maintained. The ILA locals on the Gulf were not integrated until 1983! However, on the Southern waterfront the black unions were dominant: white labor has looked to black unionists for leadership. In 1968, when Martin Luther King was assassinated, the black ILAers in New Orleans called a three-day protest strike; the white longshoremen announced they weren't working without their black brothers! Several years later in 1977 black and white longshoremen in New Orleans staged a militant wildcat to shut down all shipping in the port when the ILA International struck only containerized cargo.

Nonetheless, the persistence of segregated locals perpetuated discrimination against black workers. Marxists call for one integrated union. Abolish the craft structure that has guaranteed that jobs like clerks and checkers have historically been the preserve of white workers. For full union control of hiring, with jobs dispatched on a rotary basis, and upgrading on the basis of seniority!

### ILA and IWW

The ILA chartered its first local in Chicago in 1887. For some years it was pretty much confined to the Great Lakes. Beginning around 1900, it began to affiliate existing local unions. In its early years the ILA was headed by Dan Keefe, a conservative trade unionist

who was quite friendly with Mark Hanna, a prominent Cleveland industrialist and Republican Party bigwig. Keefe was a major backer of Hanna's National Civic Federation, an organization set up to promote "good relations" between labor and management. Keefe's business unionism was quite compatible with that of Sam Gompers' AFL, to which it was affiliated.

While the ILA maintained the Jim Crow setup typical of the AFL, it was challenged by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The IWW was a revolutionary syndicalist organization that believed capitalism could be overthrown by organizing working people into "one big union." The IWW believed in solidarity of workers throughout the world, organizing on an industrial rather than craft basis. The "Wobblies" militantly opposed racial segregation; no Jim Crow locals were ever built by the IWW, North or South. The IWW had support among dock workers in several areas, including the West Coast, Galveston, New Orleans and Baltimore. But its major success on the waterfront was in Philadelphia.

The ILA had established a foothold in the 1890s but lost it when it failed to support striking longshoremen in 1898. For 15 years the Philly longshoremen were without a union, as the bosses played off black workers and white workers against each other. Blacks represented slightly more than half the workforce. Then in May 1913 some 4,000 black, Irish, Slavic and Italian dock workers shut down the port. At a mass meeting the strikers turned down the AFL and decided to affiliate with the IWW, becoming Marine Transport Workers Local No. 3. The main strike organizer was Ben Fletcher, a prominent black IWW leader. The shipping bosses claimed they would never deal with the "lawless IWW," but they were forced to eat those words. The successful strike won union recognition for Local 3. Later the IWW local won union control of hiring on the docks.

Following World War I, the government launched a vicious witchhunt, rounding up IWW and other socialist militants including Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, driving the newly formed Communist Party underground and encouraging attacks on the unions throughout the country. Fletcher, the black Philadelphia IWW leader, was sentenced to ten years in prison. But the surviving local leadership capitulated to the witchhunt: in 1921 the IWW general executive board had to expel its Philly marine transport local for scabbing on the Russian Revolution. The longshore leaders had ordered members to load explosives for Pilsudski's Polish army which, along with the U.S. and other imperialist powers, was trying to

*continued on page 13*

San Francisco Public Library



**San Francisco, 1934: Cops attack ILAers in bloody battle of Rincon Hill (left). General strike shut down SF days later (rally at Civic Center, right).**

Doubleday & Co.





# Student Strikes Rock France

PARIS, December 1—Over the last week, French universities and high schools have exploded in a massive student struggle in which hundreds of thousands of demonstrators have come up against the police and faced fascist attacks. On November 27, one million students took to the streets against the proposed Devaquet law which would sharply increase class privilege in education. More than 200,000 students demonstrated in Paris in front of the National Assembly. Suddenly, the May 1968 New Left student revolt which sparked a proletarian general strike and pre-revolutionary situation, scaring the capitalist rulers (and the reformists) out of their wits, was on everybody's lips. Could this be a new '68?

The Devaquet law has now been sent back to a parliamentary commission for "review." In the face of the outpouring of student discontent, it may simply be dropped. As we go to press, the student strike is continuing, with many faculties—including Nanterre, the starting point for May '68—occupied by students.

For the moment, the government is treating these youth with kid gloves, in fear that the student revolt could touch off something much deeper. After the debacle of the discredited popular-front government of Socialist Party (PS) president François Mitterrand, and the ascent of the present right-wing regime, the country is markedly unstable. The working class has been subjected to vicious "austerity" and mass layoffs, while its sizable immigrant component longs to fight back against government roundups and deportations and the rampages of extralegal racist terror. Fascist groups under demagogues like Le Pen have grown ominously. And the brutal cops, including the notorious CRS (riot police), are itching to teach the unruly students a bloody "lesson."

The students, meanwhile, under slogans like "68, c'est trop vieux—86, c'est mieux" ("1968, old hat—1986, better"), and abetted by the aspiring student bureaucrats mainly associated with the PS, have taken up the idea that the



Hundreds of thousands of French students march through Paris, November 27, protesting right-wing onslaught against higher education.

student revolt should be "apolitical." The Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF, French sister section of the SL/U.S.) in a leaflet issued this morning explained:

"What is criminal in this situation is to pretend that the so-called 'apolitical' character of this movement constitutes protection against eventual attacks by the police or fascists who, clearly, are raring to demonstrate their usefulness to the bourgeoisie. The reaction wants to buy time, but it is preparing its revenge. It's sinister: according to *Le Monde* (30 November-1 December), [minister of the interior] Pasqua 'was afraid he could not continue to keep order without violence'—in other words, if the Devaquet proposal is upheld, his attack dogs could be unleashed against the students. Meanwhile the [fascist] National Front has seized the moment to denounce the 'weakness' of the government."

Already, fascist thugs with iron bars and gasoline bombs have launched potentially deadly attacks on students at Jussieu and elsewhere.

However, the social-democratic misleaders of the strike are aggressively pushing the "no politics" line in order to censor leftist opposition. And the "far-left" goes along with this hypocritical evasion. Lutte Ouvrière openly declares that the movement should not be "politicized"—in the name, of course, of "unity" with the social-democratic

misleaders of the student strike, who LO says are the only possible—and desirable—leaders!

At Nanterre, in meetings on November 26 the student bureaucrats actually tried to bring in speakers from the UNI, the Gaullists' campus shock troops, notorious for their CIA funding. The comrades of the LTF vigorously (and mainly successfully) opposed these attempts to provide a platform for a fascist front group. In their despicable endeavor the Nanterre student bureaucrats on one occasion enlisted the support of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the old famous names from May '68. Cohn-Bendit smeared the LTF as "red fascists"—to New Left leftovers like him, the communists of the LTF and not the fascist menace are what students have to watch out for. Nicknamed "Danny the Red" in '68, Cohn-Bendit today is more like "Danny the Yellow [scab]" said the LTF leaflet, noting that the PS and Cohn-Bendit "share the UNI's enthusiasm for the medieval Afghan mullahs and the company-union clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność, and concentrate their fire against the Spartacists whose intervention in the student assemblies cuts against the anti-Soviet consensus. No platform for fascist thugs—drive them

off campus!"

It's easy to understand why the PS and its coterie want to keep the student movement "apolitical." It was the Mitterrand popular front government of 1981-86 which laid off hundreds of thousands of workers and gave the green light to the brutal anti-immigrant dragnets and the deportation of thousands, while beating the war drums for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade in Europe. The popular front's bankruptcy opened the door to the return of the present reactionary regime, which has made its own the old Vichy slogan: "Work, Family, Fatherland." This record of betrayal has a lot to do with the hostility of many of the students to "politics" as they perceive it—namely, parliamentarism and class collaboration. But as the LTF leaflet put it, "Rejection of politics and an anti-organization phobia can lead only to cooptation or impotence."

The popular-frontist "far-left," which sees no answer except to continue to tail the PS as it orients to the 1988 presidential elections, is working hard to put across the "apolitical" alibi for treachery. But the student movement is volatile—in the space of one hour, on November 27 in front of the National Assembly, the students' slogan changed from "CRS, join us!" to the battle cry of '68, "CRS—SS!" The LTF leaflet put forward a proletarian perspective for the student struggle:

"To protect themselves against the fascists and the police repression, the students must call upon the power of the working class, French and immigrant.... Cops out of immigrant neighborhoods! Abolish the CRS, paramilitary groups of the bonapartist state! For mass workers' mobilizations to sweep away the fascist scum! For immigrant/trade-union defense squads against racist terror!"

Students looking to break out of the university "ivory tower" to join in an effective fight against class privilege, social regimentation, racial/national oppression and war need a Leninist vanguard party to lead a workers revolution against capitalism. For a new May '68 that goes all the way! ■

## Cops Assault Steel Pickets, Labor Fakers Blame Japanese

On November 25, five hundred members of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1104 came out to stop USX from shipping scab steel by rail from its Lorain, Ohio plant. But the reactionary, protectionist USWA bureaucracy diverted the strikers' anger against the steel bosses into an obscene spectacle of flag-waving and anti-Japanese racism. Overturning a foreign car on the tracks, steel workers planted an American flag on the car and chanted "Iwo Jima." The USWA tops' protectionist poison only serves the steel bosses, pitting American steel workers against their class brothers in Japan and Korea, and emboldening racist reaction against black, Latin and foreign-born workers.

The next day Lorain steel workers got a taste of stars-and-stripes "justice" when the strikebreaking cops kicked pickets as they lay on the ground. A small army of 168 cops in riot gear, with attack dogs and gas masks, waded into 200 workers who were attempting to stop the shipment of scab steel pipe from the Lorain works. Fourteen workers were arrested, including four who were hospitalized, among them USWA Dis-

trict 28 director Frank Valenta and Local 1104 president Al Pena, both of whom face felony charges for "inciting to riot."

Following the breakoff of negotiations in Pittsburgh, USX has threatened to start widespread shipping of scab steel from plants around the country. One shipment of pipe left the Lorain plant in September, when 50 USWA members were arrested at the railroad tracks leaving the Lorain plant. At Fairless Steel outside Philadelphia, some 1,200 USWA members blocked a scab rail shipment in October. What's necessary are plant occupations and strike action to shut down the steel industry. But this will take a militant, internationalist leadership that opposes import quotas designed to rob Japanese and Korean workers of their jobs, and which would appeal to these workers for their support by not boosting exports during a real steel strike.

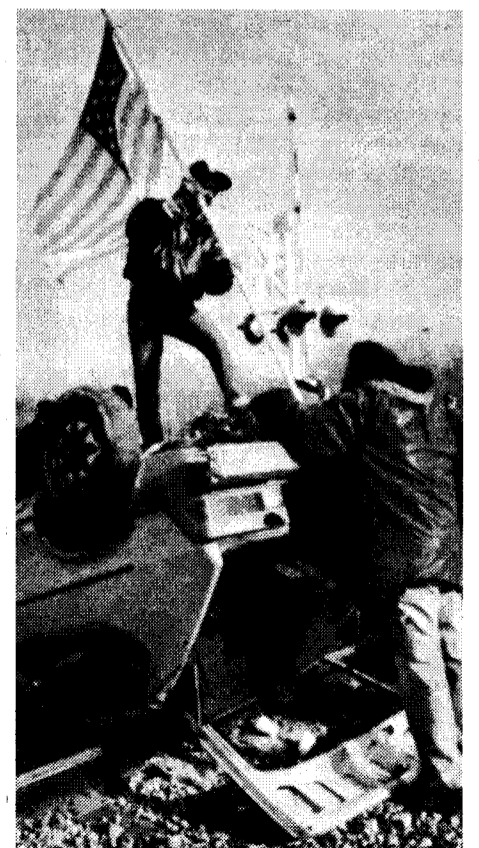
As the lockout enters its fifth month, this has now become the longest steel "strike" in U.S. history, yet production has actually fallen at the other steel



Orosz/The Journal [Lorain]

Cops beat and kick striking Lorain steel workers, despite the USWA bureaucracy's flag-waving and anti-Japanese racism.

companies. After looting the industry for decades, the "rust bowl" capitalists are bailing out, leaving massive unemployment and poverty. Rumors are flying that USX will use the shutdown to divest itself of antiquated mills and furnaces, and abandon steel for its gas



Tombaugh/The Journal [Lorain]

and oil holdings. But the only answer of the labor tops is more givebacks and protectionist "unity" with their "own" bosses. It will take a socialist planned economy, under a workers-government, to rebuild steel and the rotting core of American industry. ■



# Young Spartacus

## U.S./South Africa:



Workers revolution will avenge proletarian martyrs! Racist bombing of Philly MOVE (left), signature of Reagan years. South African militants at funeral procession (right) in defiance of Botha regime, August 1985.

# "Free World" Butchers

On September 23, the Spartacist League held a forum at Howard University in Washington, D.C. The speaker was SL Central Committee member Ed Kartsen, who was the party's candidate for Manhattan borough president last year. The forum was a significant political event at Howard, attracting students from a broad political spectrum.

Addressing the relationship between South African apartheid and U.S. imperialism, comrade Kartsen exposed the Democratic Party's role in the division of labor with Reagan in blocking militant class and social struggles. Kartsen explained that the Democrats share Reagan's program on all essentials of anti-Communist warmongering abroad and repression at home. The capitalist rulers require the services of Democratic front men, like the black mayors of most of America's major cities, to carry out the program of the more openly racist and labor-hating Reaganites. To keep the angry inner-city masses in line and to wrest from all the working people the sacrifices necessary for new wars of imperialist aggression, the rulers need some "black elected officials" and have uses even for some who posture as more "independent" from the racist system, like black

demagogue Louis Farrakhan.

It was this insistence which caused sparks to fly at the Howard forum. When comrade Kartsen exposed Farrakhan's "self-reliance" schemes as cynical and reactionary, one Farrakhan supporter stormed out of the room saying,

**Ed Kartsen:** I'm going to start off with a basic premise. There's something called U.S. imperialism, which right now is an organized effort on the part of the Reagan administration to terrorize the world. And U.S. imperialist terror internationally is accompanied by anti-

political environment of Reaganism in this country. The KKK now gets away with prime-time cross-burnings on TV. The flag of the defeated Confederacy—the flag of slavery—is getting more and more public display; it appears in Army-Navy stores in the major cities, at public events. It flew at the 350th anniversary of Harvard University. Racist provocations are staged from Chicago this summer to the Mexican border, where hooded commandos round up immigrants at gunpoint. In Norfolk, Congress and the courts are rolling back busing for racial integration in the schools. The Klan simultaneously has been staging cross-burnings in the Tidewater area.

The racist murders committed by South Africa's apartheid government are backed by Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement." South Africa, after all, is part of the "free world." It is a junior partner in racist terror and anti-communism. Reagan only complains when South Africa pulls the same war provocations against the so-called "front line countries" as the U.S. pulled against the North African country of Libya.

The primary target of U.S. imperialism is the rollback of the Russian Revolution. The Democrats are at one with the Republicans in this aim. In southern Africa, the policy of containing Russia means giving military support to Jonas Savimbi of UNITA against the Cuban- and Russian-supported government of Angola. Savimbi wants to turn all of southern Africa into a massive bantustan to enslave more of the continent to apartheid exploitation. Angola would have lost its independence at the moment it defeated the colonialists if the USSR, Cuba and East Germany had not intervened with technical and military support to crush the South African invasion of Angola backed up by the bandit Jonas Savimbi.

South Africa's population is defiant, the country is in a prerevolutionary situation—it could easily explode in revolution—but a *revolutionary party* is lacking. The masses have been heroic, ready to put their lives on the

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## Howard University Forum

"You can't say that about the brother!" Another drifted out after him.

A lively discussion period followed the presentation, exploring the need for a revolutionary party to lead the struggles of South Africa's oppressed masses against racist capitalism and for working-class power. Equally, the discussion concerned the Spartacist League's strategy of revolutionary integrationism as the key to an effective fight against racist terror and for socialist revolution in the U.S.

*Young Spartacus* is pleased to publish here comrade Kartsen's presentation along with some of his remarks from the discussion period and summary. All of this material has been edited and condensed for publication.

communist, racist terror domestically. Reagan is in the business of rolling back every gain that's been won through social struggle in this country. That is, every gain won by the workers' movement in the '30s and after that, every gain won through the civil rights movement, even the Civil War and the American Revolution.

This is a broad statement, strongly supported by political events in this country during the last few years. For example, the massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia—eleven people were burned to death, including five small children. The MOVE massacre is reminiscent of the massacres going on in South Africa. Hundreds of blacks are being gunned down in the streets of Soweto, while here in Washington Caribbean students are being attacked like they're in Soweto.

From Libya to Nicaragua, from the Gulf of Sidra right off the coast of Libya to the Sea of Okhotsk in the Soviet Union, Reagan has planned *strikes of terror* which are pushing this world closer to the brink of World War III. The Republicans and Democrats are basically united in a domestic crackdown on the Bill of Rights to facilitate this war effort. And here I'm talking specifically about the drug crackdown. The black Democrats—like Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's Mayor of Murder—are pushing Reagan's program in the anti-drugs campaign. Internationally, anti-drug hysteria has been used as a cover for American forces to intervene in Bolivia, for U.S. police intervention in Mexico.

The KuKlux Klan and Nazis are seeking to come together to exploit the



Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: We stopped the Klan! 5,000 join Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to stop terrorist KKK.

# Howard...

(continued from page 9)

line—that's been clear in every newspaper story. Their political leadership, however, is nationalist, not communist. The movement does not have at its head a communist *vanguard party*, capable of leading the working class to smash apartheid. South African unions have the power to deny the South African capitalists their superprofits. They can hit them at the most strategic and critical point. But the leadership subordinates the working-class movement to nationalism and divestment schemes. And divestment is a strategy that only weakens the potential power of the working class.

In South Africa, democratic freedoms can only be won and defended by the working class under revolutionary leadership. A strike campaign directed immediately at the abolition of the state of emergency would bring massive social force to bear. But the nationalists are politically *opposed* to working-class power. They want to get rid of the white capitalists, but their program is for a black capitalist system. We are for a black-centered workers government to transform society. Working-class leadership must unite all the oppressed ethnic groups in South Africa and all elements opposed to apartheid in an anti-capitalist struggle.

## Anti-Communism Walks with Racist Terror

Here at home, black Democrats, along with white Democrats, sound more and more like Reagan. Anti-communism walks hand in hand with racist terror. Between Feinstein on the West Coast, the SF mayor who loves the Confederate flag, and Metzger, former "grand dragon" of the Klan, and Wilson Goode, the black mayor who



NYC, August 1985: Ed Kartsen (right) at labor anti-apartheid march. SL stands for international labor action against apartheid butchers, not pro-imperialist divestment schemes.

burned eleven black people to death, the Democratic Party is trying to keep in step with Reaganism. They push racist terror and anti-Soviet war provocations.

The MOVE massacre is a signature of the Reagan years. The KKK and Nazis are seeking to exploit the reactionary climate created by the anti-Soviet war drive. The fascist filth have to be stopped and they have to be stopped effectively. Where the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are overbold in driving to exploit the Reagan years, they have to be confronted and *defeated*. The Confederate flag is a spearhead. Its existence is a racist provocation. It is a calling card of the Ku Klux Klan. Wherever the Dixie flag is displayed, Klansmen feel comfortable in escalating into open racist terror. *It's a flag that's a prelude to lynching.*

The black Democrats as represented by Jesse Jackson in particular are keeping up with the main line of the Democratic Party, which is: out-Reagan Reagan, out-right the right. And the drug witchhunt was designed specifically to be used as a popular campaign amongst black people particularly, as a means for the Democrats to



William Campbell

Apartheid terrorists at Angolan border. Hail Cuban troops defending black Angola!

Spartacists protest Angolan contra Jonas Savimbi, New York, February 1986.

get on the bandwagon and out-Reagan Reagan. So every community group this summer, every Democratic Party-dominated community organization, had massive street rallies against crack, and Jesse Jackson came out with his bootlicking statement that drugs are worse than the Klan.

What the anti-drug witchhunt really is all about is it's Reagan's attack on the Bill of Rights. Reagan and the Democrats are getting ready for a Vietnam-style war in Central America. And as black people are gunned down by racist cops and lynched by fascist terrorists, Jesse Jackson is talking like Reagan in blackface. Reagan and his Democratic Party allies want to start a Vietnam War in southern Africa too. They want to support the bandit Savimbi and the South African regime against the independent government of a former Portuguese colony in Angola.

The contras of the world have to be defeated—the Angolan contra Savimbi, the Nicaraguan contras, U.S. contras like the KKK and Nazis. This country needs an authentic *workers party*: a

to set a moral standard for the rest of the world. So we have racist cop terror, mob terror, scab violence, Klansmen, Nazis—all running amok, directed and protected by the American capitalist class. Remember Greensboro, where federal agents and cops helped the Klan and Nazis, so they could kill leftist demonstrators.

The Reaganite rulers want to honor the Confederacy. They want to praise and honor reactionary butchers, like Jeane Kirkpatrick at Columbia University. They want to corrupt science and culture with "creationism"—that's supposed to be a moral standard superior to South Africa? Not for anybody with brains—but brainlessness is also part of Reagan's program. They want to enforce the teaching of creationism; they want the people of this country to become fanatical American mullahs who will "kill a commie for Christ." There's no superior moral authority held by the United States, which is the only country ever to use the atomic bomb, and against civilian populations—the ultimate war crime.

The liberal left refuses to see that *the main enemy is at home*; they capitulate to the imperialist war drive. Their refusal to fight against racist terror in this country is a capitulation to domestic apartheid. This country went through a bloody *Civil War* to destroy the slave system. Black and white soldiers fought hard to defeat the Confederates. Based on the anti-scientific doctrine of racial inferiority and on the notion of one day becoming slaveholders themselves, the Confederate soldiers fought very hard for slavery. Their legacy remains; the drum roll of the right-wing movement of today can be traced to the drum roll that led the Confederate armies, and today again it is associated with the Confederate flag.

A movement to roll back the right is urgent, and it must be coupled with a campaign to reverse the capitalist takebacks. American workers have to come to understand the critical link between the war drive internationally and the capitalist attacks on the unions.

## Farrakhan Allies with White Racists

Farrakhan's influence has represented a serious obstacle to combatting this rightward mobilization. It has to be remembered that *Farrakhan wanted Malcolm X dead*. Farrakhan's anti-Semitic tirades have won the praise of Klan Democrat Tom Metzger.

The most powerful black revolutionary force in America's history was armed black soldiers who fought heroically in the overthrow and military defeat of the slave system. Today, that revolutionary tradition must be carried on *in opposition* to Farrakhan's reactionary and utopian strategy of "black capitalism." The followers of Farrakhan are infected by the Reagan years, in fact they have been encouraged by the Reagan years. They hope the racist terror of the Klan and Nazis will drive black people into an American bantustan system which will make them susceptible to exploitation by black



WV Photo

capitalists instead of white. By allying with the white racist terrorists, Farrakhan hopes to *deepen* racist divisions in this country. Farrakhan, like Savimbi in Africa, has allied himself with the forces of anti-communism and racism.

The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis must be *stopped*, not ignored. The mobilizing of the labor movement and the integrated neighborhoods can spike the KKK provocations. In Atlanta this summer an integrated community stopped the Klan from rallying in a section of Atlanta. Revolutionary leaders must fight to complete the Civil War by organizing actions that will stop the KKK and Nazi threat.

## Anti-Drug Crusade: Regimenting the Workers

The current bipartisan anti-drug witchhunt attempts to place the blame for the disintegration of capitalism on the working class. The danger to workers from industrial chemicals is completely ignored by the anti-drug crusaders. In South Africa 177 miners died because toxic and explosive gases were released in the mine. It is the ruthless exploitation of the workers in the attempt to squeeze out further profits that is the cause of the major increase of industrial accidents and the general increase in the danger of industrial work. The government is trying to place the blame for a rotting capitalist system on the working class. Workers are forced to undergo drug tests if they dare to raise a grievance against unsafe job conditions. Mass victimization of workers who show the least resistance to intensifying management pressure is becoming commonplace.

That's what the capitalist class wants to institute throughout this country. They want every worker to be terrorized into total submission to the war drive, to passively accept increasingly brutal exploitation. Both the Democrats and Republicans know they can't successfully conduct any war—against Nicaragua, Libya, Angola, Cuba and ultimately the Soviet Union—without the subjugation of the working class. Strike actions would detract from the imperialist war effort.

Racism, nationalism and anti-communism are the political weapons the labor traitors use in the workers' organizations to keep in step with the Reaganite political climate and the capitalist takebacks. But black and white workers united in concrete class-struggle actions against the legacy of slavery in this country would spike the capitalists' right-wing campaign.

## Workers Revolution Must Disarm the World's Contras

I suspect that some of the people who walked out disagree with what I have to say. It would have been preferable if they had stayed and discussed the questions. There is a need for political dialogue, particularly against the illusions propagated by nationalism and also by the liberal left. *The American left is keeping up with the anti-Soviet*



war drive. That's very important. This is why there are sharp disagreements between us and people who follow Farrakhan or the divestment movement. They're trying to keep up with mainstream American politics. But mainstream American politics is following Reagan, so what they have to do is keep up with rapid rightward movement.

Internationally, the fight against racist capitalist repression is linked to the defense of the Soviet Union, the defense of the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. You can't fight for new social gains unless you are capable of defending gains that have already been won. The capitalist system is attempting to pump life into a dying system by imperialist war. It wants to enforce class peace at home, through anti-drug witchhunting, through union-busting and racist terror, while the rulers seek to provoke worldwide reactionary movement. And South Africa is part of that. South Africa is an important regional component of the world anti-communist drive.

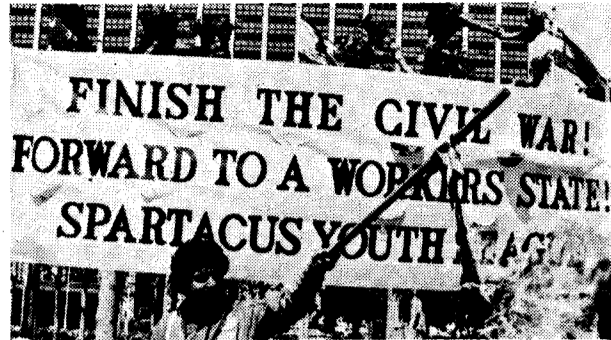
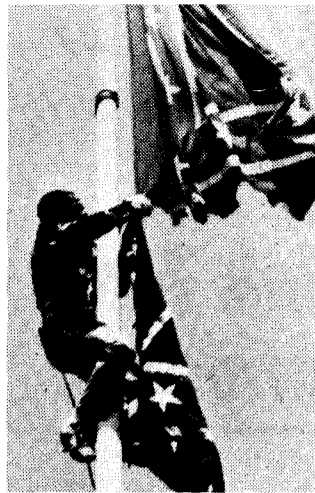
Pacifism won't stop the war drive. Internationally the contras of the world must be disarmed by the armed working class. That's the only road that exists to peace. The policy of "peaceful coexistence" advocated by the Russian Stalinists propagates a dangerous illusion that some understanding between the Americans and Soviets can achieve peace and eliminate imperialist threats. But the U.S. is an imperialist country in decline, and in decline it becomes increasingly dangerous and violent rather than less. The Reaganites and the Democrats are determined to solve the problems of capitalism by exploiting more and more of the earth. But there's a problem with that. They have to run directly up against the Soviet state that stands in the way.

The architects of nuclear apocalypse are the main danger in this country. They have to be stopped by the social power of the working class fighting to finish the Civil War, fighting for international solidarity with workers of other countries against imperialism, to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution. Fighting to establish the international organization of the economy on the basis of human needs, socialized planning as opposed to profit. That's what we are struggling for.

### Discussion: Black Nationalism Opposes Struggle

Jesse Jackson has had an effect in disorienting black people and inhibiting them from finding a revolutionary road. Farrakhan talks a lot more militant and therefore has greater influence. But at the base of his ideology is channeling the

South African regime, but they exploit black people. They are nationalists who live comfortably off selling black labor to the racist apartheid regime. Farrakhan supports segregation in the U.S. where the politics of segregation is associated with everything reactionary.



WV Photos  
Spartacist supporter in Union Army uniform rips down Confederate flag from S.F. Civic Center, April 1984 (left). Demonstrators then burned the hated emblem of slavery (above).

By pushing "black capitalism" and separatism, by his anti-Semitism and racist formulations, he allies himself with people like the Ku Klux Klan.

Look what Farrakhan himself said—he said that Hitler was a great leader. Farrakhan's influence is rather a depressing aspect of the black political movement to this point: it indicates the backwardness that exists. It's also very pervasive and must be dealt with seriously. Even the claim that Hitler was a great man has to be dealt with seriously for black people. *Hitler was not a great man.* Even for the nationalist aspirations of the German people—the Third Reich was supposed to expand the national boundaries of Deutschland to all the world? That was driven back; Germany is now cut into pieces.

Farrakhan identifies with the reactionary nationalism of Hitler. Hitler was a reactionary; Hitlerism must be opposed. That means there must be mobilizations of the working class and black people to confront and destroy the KKK and Nazis. *That's not Farrakhan's program.* He is not for mobilizing the masses of black people to stop cross-burnings and the Klan! He feels that segregation is a good thing. That is why I mention his name, and why his is a dangerous ideology. Because it represents an *obstacle* to the effort to finish the Civil War and to fight those people who want to reinstitute slavery. Not slavery only of black people, but black people as the first scapegoats, because racism is the basis on which this country is built. The reactionaries want to reinstitute slave-labor conditions for the working class—black, white, people from Latin America, all races.

Mobilizing to stop the Klan and Nazis, who are anti-Semitic and racist killers, is key to revolutionary mobilization in this country. Whether someone is for or against that determines where they stand politically. The Spartacist League and unions from the Washington/Tidewater area and black residents mobilized to stop the Ku Klux Klan on November 27, 1982. Farrakhan was not in the vanguard of that movement; he was in the rearguard.

### Summary: Farrakhanism vs. Communism

It's clear that the debate tonight has been between Farrakhanism and communism. Jesse Jackson is put forward as a respectable black Democratic Party politician. But he's not really taken that seriously. Farrakhan is the glue that binds black students at this campus to Reagan's administration, to its major positions. This country is moving sharply to the right; Reaganism was in this room tonight, in the form of this debate on Farrakhan. What you saw here was a debate which most clearly characterizes the political spectrum that exists with regard to the black movement.

We want to lead the black and white workers in a movement that will finish the Civil War and establish a workers

government here and internationally; Farrakhan supports the right-wing movement to divide black and white, suppress the workers movement and facilitate Reagan reaction, which means attacking democratic rights and laying the basis for this country to go to war.

The Farrakhanites cannot stand to be exposed as lining up with the legacy of the Confederacy. But that is what they believe in. Black nationalism is associated with the spearhead of racism and segregation in this country.

I want to end by making a pitch for socialism. Exploitation of labor is what capitalism runs on. It's the gasoline that makes that engine run. The "magic of the marketplace"—that's what the Reaganites are pushing. And that's what Farrakhan is also pushing. He gets up at conferences and says, "Hey, buy black shampoo, check out the black-produced product we have here, you-all consumers can dig it." What is he doing? He's exploiting black labor. Who produced those goods—black labor. He wants to get in on the action: hey, the white man can exploit the hell out of the world and maybe blow it up, well how about the black man.

The magic of the marketplace? The United States is becoming more and

**Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead, pushes segregation and capitalism. The bow tie isn't the only thing he shares with Reagan.**



Fortune



Chenet/Newsweek

more *de*-industrialized. It is degenerating, decaying. The future of this country is bleak because of the "magic of the marketplace"! The cause of this decline has to be laid clearly at the door of the "great capitalist architects," the "super-industrialists" that Farrakhan wants to follow. Capitalism has run the industry of this country and other countries into the ground.

This country used to be the master of the world capitalist system, as Britain was before that. Japan with its more modern industry now dominates sections of the world market that the U.S. used to dominate. The capitalists want to blame the workers for America's industrial decline. And they want to take it out of the workers' hides. They attack the unions; they destroyed the air controllers union as a prerequisite for attacking all organizations of labor.

The imperialist war provocations are attempts by the capitalist class to export the domestic economic crisis to other countries. So government terror rules in Latin America, Africa, Asia; the U.S. supports governments like South Africa and Chile in order to extract from their workers increased profits to ensure that the American banks get their interest payments. Apartheid terror is used to maintain the system of exploitation. U.S. imperialism backs the South African regime as an ally to intensify the exploitation of the working people of southern Africa. To separate apartheid terror from the system of capitalist

exploitation is like trying to separate H<sub>2</sub>O from water. To separate the struggle to smash apartheid from the need to put the working class in power is like trying to separate the ocean from the waves.

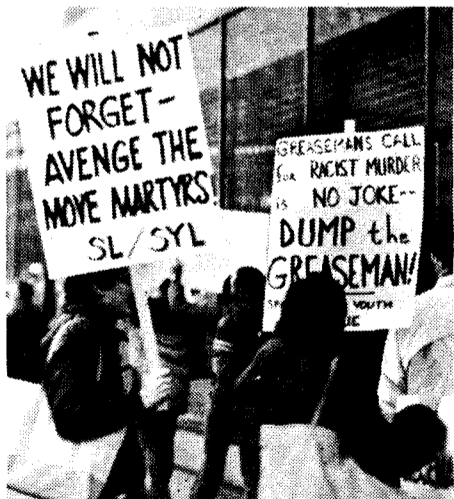
### Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The crisis of human civilization must be resolved. The capitalists who run the world—except for those sections of the world which have been ripped out of its money-grabbing hands—are driving this planet toward destruction. *A leadership must be forged that will put the working class in power.* Only the working class in power can institute a rational, socialist plan for society that can rebuild this country and this planet on a new foundation. Socialist property and peace instead of imperialist war. Science and culture will begin an explosive advance reminiscent of the Renaissance. Instead of racism and creationism, new generations will study evolution and cosmology. Instead of "Star Wars" and anti-homosexual bigotry—the peaceful exploration of space and a cure for AIDS. Instead of anti-drug hysteria, enforced with government repression—real job programs, full employment, free higher education. Instead of anti-abortion and anti-sex crusades—comprehensive sex education, 24-hour day care.

In order to spike racist reaction from South Africa to the U.S., a party must be built, committed to the revolutionary transformation of society. *Workers Vanguard* readers' circles can be a springboard for a political fight to roll back the right, reverse the capitalist takebacks and conduct effective confrontation to defeat Klan and Nazi terror. The American left is looking to pressure the labor misleadership instead of fighting to replace it. They ignore the KKK and Nazis or rely on the government to ban them, instead of mobilizing

to stop them as the Spartacist League has.

While the "free world" butchers push closer to the brink of world war, fascist terror intensifies. The danger on the right can't be fought so long as pacifism and nationalism dominate the working class. Political education and political combat constitute the foundation on which a workers party can be built in this country. A party to combat the ideology of Farrakhan, to expose illusions that "peaceful coexistence" will result in a better world. To smash the fascists, who are the vanguard of the drive to reinstitute slavery and slave-labor conditions in this country. I would like you to think seriously about becoming politically active in this struggle. ■



Young Spartacus

Spartacist supporters join Howard student protest against racist DJ, "the Greaseman," February 1986.

black movement into a utopian and reactionary scheme. "Black capitalism" is not only reactionary but it's utopian because the racist rulers of this country will not allow black capitalism to develop in any way, shape or form.

Farrakhan thinks we should have no argument with the people who run the bantustans in South Africa. These people are basically just lackeys for the

### Spartacist Forum

**Sex Snoops, Racists and Book-Burners Run Rampant**

**Fight Reagan Reaction With Class Struggle!**

Speaker: Ed Clarkson  
SL Central Committee

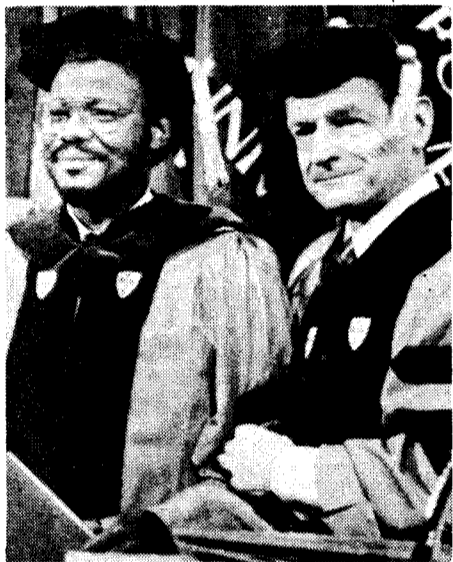
**Saturday, December 6, 7:30 p.m.**  
Ida Noyes Hall, 59th and Woodlawn  
University of Chicago

For more information: (312) 663-Q715

**CHICAGO**

# Boston University: Silber's Mullah "Journalism" Project

The U.S. Information Agency, a well-known CIA front, recently gave Boston University several hundred thousand dollars to train Reagan's Afghan contras as "journalists" in Peshawar, Pakistan. This is a training program in CIA-style *disinformation*, part and parcel of Reagan & Co.'s global anti-Soviet war drive, with the backing of supposed "free academics." The "ideals" the Afghan feudalist barbarians are committed to are the "freedom" to sell women like chattel slaves, the veil and mass illiteracy. You can bet they won't be training too many women journalists in Peshawar! As far as that goes, the "curriculum" includes such items as identification of Soviet weaponry, com-



Thiebauth/B.U. Today

**Two imperialist lackeys: BU führer Silber gives honorary degree to apartheid front man Buthelezi.**

bat tactics and combat information. The project has backers in the "contra Congress" and seems to be extremely well funded. One million dollars is guaranteed from Congress and the USIA and rumors abound of "private donations" (like those Israeli deposits in Swiss bank accounts which funded the contras in Nicaragua?), \$700,000 or so from the National Security Council (of Iranian arms infamy), and the USIA is said to be seeking \$2 or 3 million more.

The "Afghan Media Project" has been for BU what McFarlane & Co.'s "Teherangate" Iranian arms fiasco is for the Reagan government. Formerly gung-ho instructors begged off after the program was moved at the USIA's behest from Boston to Peshawar. As one prof put it, "No one wants to go down to Pakistan and get their tushes blown off." Faculty cited "the Pakistan environment teeming with secret agents, poor communications facilities, drug-smuggling and theft" (*Editor and Publisher*, 23 August). The latter are no mere extracurricular activities—the

## Down with BU Think Tank for Contra International!

Afghan "resistance fighters," with the help of the CIA, are one of the biggest drug-smuggling operations in the world.

Bitter infighting has led to resignations, firings and a McCarthy-style redbaiting campaign against College of Communication ex-dean Bernard S. Redmont, whose worst "crime" appears to be not wanting to get his behind blasted. A group of "pro-Peshawar" faculty and an associate dean, Jasper K. Smith, circulated information alleging Redmont has ties with the Communist Party, including 35-year-old newspaper clips linking Redmont to the Alger Hiss "spy" case, a masterpiece of paranoid frame-up which starred Richard Nixon. While the whole episode smells of a falling out among thieves, one journalism professor noted that "What really bothers me about all this is that there seems to have been an effort to make one's views on communism the litmus test on every other issue" (*Daily Free Press*, 19 November). Indeed, that's exactly how BU president John Silber wants to run the university, with each department a loyal command post in the Cold War.

Redmont's resignation last summer left one Hans Joachim Maitre—an East German defector, sometime journalist of military affairs and frequent visitor to U.S. military outfits, whose hobby is nuclear aircraft carriers ("I've flown off all of them")—as acting dean of the College of Communication and head of the "Afghan Media Project." A rabid backer of the U.S. "contra international," Maitre spent three weeks last spring fighting with the CIA-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Force, producing a 27-minute video that was used to lobby Congress for another million dollars for the bloodthirsty contra mercenaries.

Why was BU selected for this disinformation program? It's surely got a lot to do with Silber's track record of craven loyalty to the imperialist masters of this country. A few years back, Silber broke a bitter faculty strike at BU. In 1984 he was on Reagan's Kissinger Commission on Central America, where he pushed for millions of bucks for the killer contras. Recently a BU student was disciplined for hanging an anti-apartheid banner out his window. Despot Silber must be one of the most unpopular university heads in America among his own students and teachers, so

the ruling class recognizes a kindred spirit.

And Silber is hard to beat when it comes to open contempt for truth. Commenting on the U.S. government's recent disinformation campaign against Libya, Silber said, "Democracy may be undermined by its own principles..." and encouraged the founding of a disinformation center at BU to see "to what extent is the manipulation of the news essential to America's national survival." Too, Silber's own social values come as close to the mullahs as anything this side of the Khyber Pass. Silber claims that in families in which "both parents are at work" there is "less likelihood of providing an environment that encourages education" for children, thereby blaming working women for the "disarray" in American family life (*Boston Globe*, 21 December 1984). What's next? Will Silber order BU coeds to adopt a mullah dress code and wear a long black veil to class? Deny women the right to an education at all? His mullah pals *shoot* women for the "crime" of learning how to read books.

Anything goes for government lackeys like Silber and Maitre as long as it furthers the anti-Soviet war crusade. And especially support to the mullahs, for it is in Afghanistan that American-supplied bullets kill not just so-called "Soviet surrogates" but actual Russian soldiers. This is why Congress gives regular, enthusiastic support to this "covert" war. We say, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the Russian October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" If the mullahs were to regain control of the country, it would mean a life of chattel slavery for women. It took the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to liberate central Asia from feudal backwardness. In Soviet Central Asia today, the literacy rate is 98 percent, while just across the border in Afghanistan only five percent of the population can read. For women in particular, the difference is literally between life and death.

When the U.S. rulers rev up their war aims abroad, it means increased austerity and repression on the home front. BU's John Silber wants students to get in line, shut up, and march to the war drums. He won praise from Reagan's education secretary Bennett for enforcing draconian "no knock" dorm room

searches for (of all things, considering the operations of his Afghan friends) drugs. And in Reagan's America, if you object, you are presumed guilty. Silber says, "If students cherish privacy to the point where they don't agree with that policy, let them go elsewhere. This is no haven from authority" (*Boston University Today*, 17 September).

But some BU students don't seem to be going for Silber's combination of intimidation of students and pimping for "free world" butchers. On November 17, 500 students led by the black student organization Umoja came out to protest Silber's awarding an honorary degree to apartheid's black front man Gatsa Buthelezi. In a symbolic ceremony, protesters presented an ANC representative with an honorary degree for jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and then marched to Buthelezi's fete chanting, "Free Mandela, Jail Silber!"

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are seeking to win students to the revolutionary program linking up opposition to the regimentation of youth with the decisive social power of the working class. This sick capitalist system revels in the mullahs' efforts to reinstitute feudal slavery for Afghan women, in the Nicaraguan contras' dirty war of sabo-



Planeta Publishers

**Afghan women learn to read, defended by Red Army. Silber's mullahs want them back under the veil.**

tage and bloody terror against the workers and peasants, in the atrocities of the apartheid slave regime in South Africa. A revolutionary party based on an internationalist program must be forged to weld together the struggles of the workers, the youth and all the oppressed in successful class struggle against capitalism. ■

Spartacus Youth Club  
Class Series

### The Fight for Socialism

Saturday, December 6, 2:00 p.m.  
Memorial Union (For room see  
"Today in the Union")

For more information: (608) 257-8625

**MADISON**

Spartacus Youth Club  
Class Series

### The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.  
Next class: January 13  
Room to be announced  
University of Chicago

For more information: (312) 663-0715

**CHICAGO**

Spartacist Class Series

### Revolutionary Marxism and the Fight for Black Liberation

Tuesday, December 9, 7:30 p.m.  
Harvard Hall 102  
Harvard University

For more information: (617) 492-3928

**BOSTON**

Spartacist Class Series

### The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.  
First class: December 6  
Also offered Tuesdays, 6:00 p.m.  
First class: December 9  
41 Warren Street

For more information: (212) 267-1025

**NEW YORK**



# Longshore...

(continued from page 7)

destroy Soviet Russia. Earlier, in 1919, the Seattle longshoremen, influenced by the IWW, had uncovered a shipment of machine guns labeled "sewing machines" bound for the White armies in Vladivostok and refused to load them.

Despite its inglorious end, the Philadelphia IWW union had made a major breakthrough in smashing the color bar on the waterfront. When it was later taken over by the ILA, it was for many years the *only* integrated local in the ILA. In the 1920s, when Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement had great strength among the black masses, disillusioned by resurgent racist reaction and Klan activity, a concerted appeal by the Garveyites to black Philadelphia longshoremen got no results—such were the traditions of integrated class struggle on the Philly docks (Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, *The Black Worker* [1968 edition]).

During the war the government maintained extensive control over shipping. To keep out the IWW, they did business with the ILA, assigning it jurisdiction over large areas of the docks. In turn the union guaranteed "labor discipline" on the docks, enforcing bans on strikes. But when the war ended, the government's witchhunting of the reds became the spearhead for a major union-busting attack. The ILA, having encouraged reliance on the capitalist state, was easy pickings. A number of strikes were defeated in this period: in Norfolk, where the dock workers were almost entirely organized during the war, union membership fell

controlled hiring hall. When this was repudiated by the ranks, Ryan unsuccessfully tried to split the strikers by making separate settlements in each port. Then in July the bosses tried a frontal assault: at the "Battle of Rincon Hill" the police blasted away with tear gas, pistols and shotguns at the waterfront pickets. Two strikers were killed, 109 wounded.

A general strike was declared which shut down the city solid for two days. The general strike petered out when the AFL leaders, swept along in the first spontaneous protest against the killings, ordered an end to the stoppage. After eleven weeks the longshore strike was ended with an agreement to arbitrate. Within a year, in job action after job action, dock strikers won the union hiring hall up and down the coast. The gain of the union hiring hall was soon extended to West Coast sailors; the struggle also gave impetus to maritime organization on the East Coast, leading in 1937 to the establishment of the CIO National Maritime Union. The West Coast strike also had a powerful impact on Gulf Coast dockers. A year later 7,500 ILA workers from Pensacola to Corpus Christi struck in an attempt to restore the union's power. There were a number of bloody picket line battles, and in New Orleans (where company unions were then dominant) the bosses got a federal injunction against the ILA.

Finally ILA head Ryan threatened a general shipping boycott of all struck cargo by East and West Coast longshoremen. Although Ryan never followed through on his threat, the union had a powerful lever: with the organization of West Coast dock workers there existed for a brief period of two years a single longshore union with the power



UPI  
Striking ILAers stop scab truck on Port Elizabeth, New Jersey docks, October 1986.

particular, because Bridges campaigned for racial equality on the waterfront (although in actuality a number of ILWU locals had notorious Jim Crow practices for years). But Bridges no more than Ryan was capable of waging a real fight against racist capitalism. The Stalinized Communist Party had made a sharp turn to the right, embracing Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. The pro-Roosevelt labor leaders subordinated union rights and black rights to the war drive of the American imperialists (see "Harry Bridges and the Communist Party," *WV* No. 66, 11 April 1975).

Bridges and other Stalinist maritime leaders advocated that seamen surrender their union hiring hall and embrace a scheme for government-run hiring. (Some years later, New York longshoremen got a bitter taste of this through the Waterfront Commission.) In February 1940 Bridges introduced a "five-year peace plan," offering a no-strike guarantee for five years in the maritime industry in return for a compulsory arbitration setup. Later he tried to extend the no-strike pledge even after the war ended. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (which opposed the imperialist war) denounced the class-collaborationist Bridges Plan. The SWP called for independence of the unions from the government control represented by the joint boards pushed by the Stalinists; for a sliding scale of wages (full cost-of-living protection), a labor party based on the trade unions and a workers and farmers government.

## For Fighting Maritime Unity!

Trade-union solidarity remains a critical question on the docks today. The heart of the shipping bosses' attack on the maritime unions in the postwar period has been through automation. The unions traded thousands of jobs for royalties on containers and so-called "pay guarantee" schemes. The ILA hung a little tougher than the ILWU, and has maintained some jobs through a contract provision that guarantees the union the right to handle all containers stripped and stuffed within 50 miles of union ports. But manning scales have been slashed on all coasts, and a good chunk of containers are handled by non-union workers or Teamsters, at half the longshore wage rate. Now, under the impact of the bosses' union-busting offensive, scab operations have opened up in the South and the ILA has responded by making new concessions.

What about the ILWU? Last year it sent "observers" to the Gulf. They visited terminals, talked to the ILA, and then issued a report quoting ILA members saying that scab operations on the Gulf were facilitated because the ILA was "too expensive" and "not competitive" (*Journal of Commerce*, 15 April). So the ILWU has already negotiated record concessions agreements in the Northwest, ostensibly to keep the "scabs" out! The unions are racing each other—not to fight the bosses—but to see who can sell out more, faster.

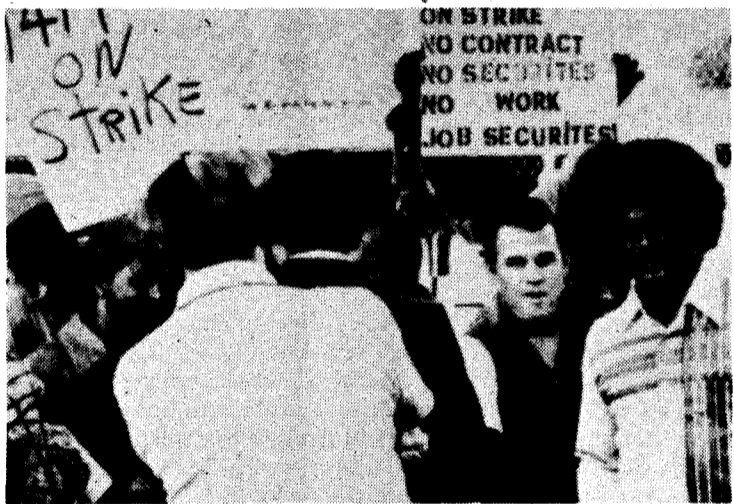
This has got to stop—and the longshore unions have the power to stop the scab operations. One of the most notorious scabherders is Hank Milam,

who's now trying to get a scab operation going in the port of Houston. Milam boasts he's going to extend his union-busting operations to New York. But as one shipping agent observed, that's not so easy: "To deal with nonunion labor you have to pull out of the best ports, you become known as a carrier that uses nonunion labor, and your cargoes are picketed in the Northeast" (*Dun's Business Month*, October 1986). So why don't the unions do it—why don't they hot cargo the ships loaded in scab ports on the Gulf? To do that you have to stand up to the government and its laws prohibiting this kind of solidarity action.

Of course, in the face of concerted longshore strike action a nervous bourgeoisie will likely invoke Taft-Hartley, as has happened a dozen times in the past—and when that happens the unions generally back down. Taft-Hartley is "nonpartisan": both the Republicans and Democrats—Eisenhower, Nixon, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Carter—have used it against labor. But dock workers have never won any victories without standing up to the bosses' government and its political parties: workers need their own party to fight for a workers government. A second element is union solidarity. But exactly the opposite has been happening, particularly since PATCO. When Reagan declared the strike "illegal" and fired the air traffic controllers, the union bureaucrats fell into line and ordered their members—Teamsters, Machinists, pilots, etc.—to cross the picket lines. The strike was smashed, and the union too.

On or adjoining the waterfront there are three powerful unions—the ILA, ILWU and Teamsters—along with the seamen's unions. The 1934 San Francisco general strike, the New Orleans Dock and Cotton Council battles at the turn of the century—these fights were won because maritime and transport workers fought together against the bosses. Today the unions raid each other for a shrinking number of jobs. Instead, there should be a joint fight to ensure that pay and conditions are upgraded to the highest level for all longshore and container workers, *regardless* of what union they're in. Organize the unorganized, and fight for jobs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay: that's how to pose a real alliance between longshoremen, Teamsters and seamen, pointing the way to a powerful national maritime/transport union.

And organizing the unorganized in the South means you've got to deal with the Klan, the racist terrorists who double at hiring out to smash unions. Every time you pose integrated class struggle the racists will try to smash it up. The unions must be mobilized to crush these fascists. It's not so simple in the Deep South, but there's a powerful base with the organized black longshoremen. While there's been a long and tortuous history of organizing on the docks in this country the elements of a class-struggle strategy have existed in concrete reality, here and there. They have to be utilized today in constructing a militant leadership of labor to defend the interests of the workers and all the oppressed. ■



Daily World  
Black and white New Orleans longshoremen wildcat to shut down all shipping during 1977 ILA container strike.

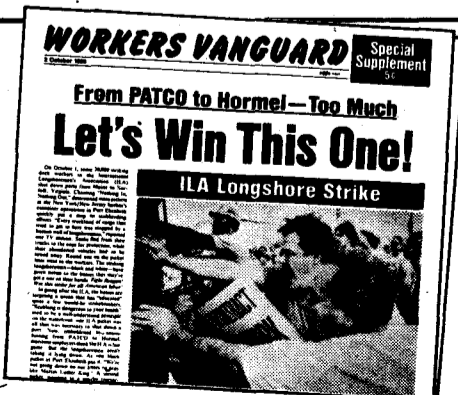
to a third of the workforce, while in New Orleans and Mobile the ILA almost completely disappeared for a number of years.

## The San Francisco General Strike

The most important battle on the docks that took place in the '30s was on the West Coast, centered in San Francisco. The strike was led by Harry Bridges, who had recently come into the orbit of the Communist Party. In May 1934 thousands of members of the ILA went on an "unauthorized" strike. The workers had been organized into the ILA but they soon found themselves up against their own leadership, as well as the shipowners and the cops. ILA top Joe Ryan flew into town and immediately signed an agreement giving up the strikers' main demand—a union-

to shut down shipping on all three coasts. But in 1936 Bridges split from the ILA, became West Coast CIO director and formed the ILWU. This was a real blow at industrial unionism. In 1937-38 a bitter jurisdictional battle broke out between the ILA and ILWU, when Bridges attempted unsuccessfully to raid the Gulf ports. In New Orleans two CIO supporters were shot, and the cops raided CIO headquarters and arrested its union organizers (*Louisiana Weekly*, 2 July 1938). Despite massive redbaiting, the ILWU got a fair measure of support, only narrowly losing a representation vote in Mobile.

This episode pointed to the fact that there was a real basis for fighting *within* the ILA against the Ryan machine. Black Gulf longshoremen were attracted to the ILWU because of the militancy of the San Francisco strike and, in



Workers Vanguard special supplements: organizing tools for labor victory.

# Scab Kinnock...

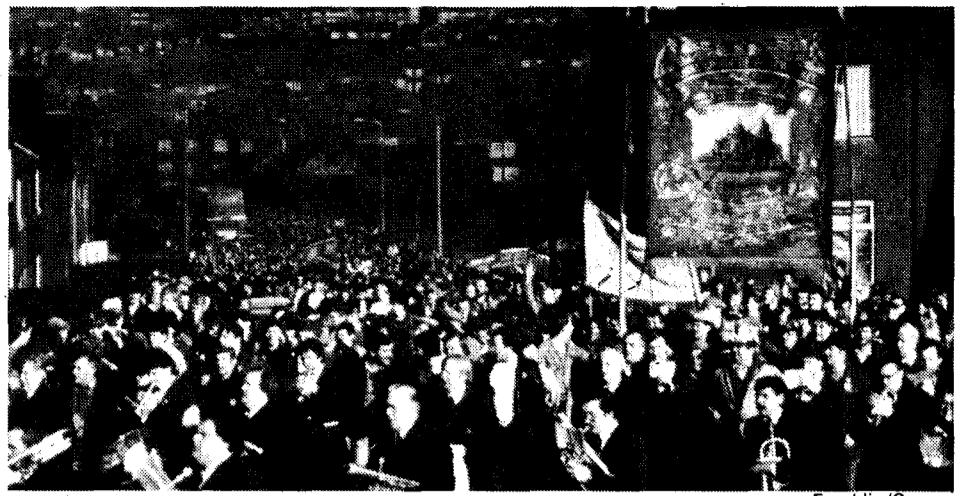
(continued from page 1)

Polish Solidarność as anti-socialist, the Labourite tops (instigated by Gerry Healy's political bandits) witchhunted him on the eve of the miners' strike. Then they strangled the urgently needed industrial solidarity which could have brought down the hated Tory bitch.

Kinnock is here to tell American rulers not to be too upset over Labour's paper "no-nuke" resolutions. British capitalism is too decrepit to afford a credible nuclear arsenal anyway, so Kinnock wants to throw more NATO "non-nuclear" forces against the Soviet bloc. The British armed forces, dis-

patched to Northern Ireland by a Labour government, didn't need nukes to do their dirty work there, or to sink the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, wantonly killing more than 300 sailors on board, in bloody Thatcher's Falklands/Malvinas adventure. Maggie's war was supported by the Labour Party maggots of rotting British imperialism.

Neil Kinnock is a certified enemy of socialism. With dozens of coal pits closed down and 100,000 miners out of work, with hundreds of trade unionists fired and some still in jail, this Labourite scabherder is a disgrace to every Welsh miner's son. And just last week he endorsed police terror against black people in Britain by laying a wreath at the grave of Blakelock the Cop, killed when London police brutally occupied the West Indian ghetto of Tottenham.



Franklin/Sygma

**Defeated but still defiant, British coal miners march back to work after heroic, year-long strike. Miners call scabherding Kinnock "Judas."**

Kinnock truly fits Jack London's description of the scab, the lowest of creatures "with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue."

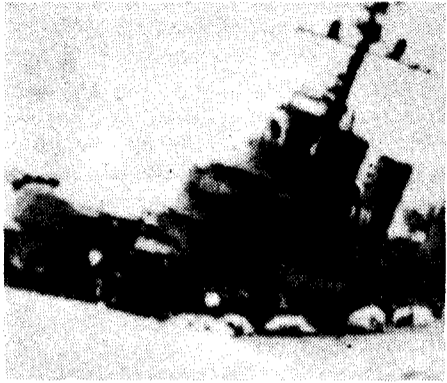
Genuine Trotskyists—as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy "Militant" group in England—say no support to labor traitor Kinnock. Slogans to be raised by Spartacist demonstrations will include:

- Judas Kinnock and Ratfink Reagan
- Strikebreaker Kinnock mourns racist killer cops
- Kinnock stabbed British miners, salutes anti-Soviet warmongers

- Kinnock is bloody Thatcher's poodle! Remember the *Belgrano*!
- Honor Kim Philby—Hate Neil Kinnock!
- Drive CIA fifth column out of Labour Party!
- Abolish the monarchy, House of Lords, the established church and licensing hours!
- Free IRA prisoners! British troops out of Northern Ireland!
- Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!
- Workers to Power! For a Socialist United States of Europe! ■



Press Association



Der Spiegel

**In Falklands/Malvinas war Kinnock's Labour Party rallied behind Iron Lady Thatcher, who gratuitously murdered 368 Argentine sailors aboard the cruiser *Belgrano*.**

# NYC Cops...

(continued from page 16)

mushrooming corruption scandal, they actually indicted 13 on charges ranging from drug shakedowns to burglary. One cop, Brian O'Regan, facing an 82-count indictment, checked into a Long Island motel and blew his brains out. He was found wearing a T-shirt: "77th Precinct—The Alamo Under Siege."

To put a crimp in the police drug trade, Ward announced a plan to rotate cops out of the precincts every five years. Why, it takes that long to build up a lucrative "pad," cops complained.

PBA chief Phil Caruso screamed for the resignation of the black commissioner, giving the high sign for a racist backlash. The cops turned O'Regan's burial into a rally, eulogizing the cocaine-dealing cop as a hero. It was the Bumpurs case all over again when the PBA threatened to descend on City Hall with an army of tens of thousands of gun-toting cops. Koch put the commissioner up front to take the flak. On the eve of the cop mobilization, Ward "blinked," and the transfers were postponed until further city/PBA negotiations. The transfer plan was later dropped.

In the present climate of rampant corruption scandals in New York City,

it's pretty ludicrous to see the Democratic city administration acting sanctoriously while Koch cronies like Donald Manes and Stanley Friedman raked off millions in Parking Violations Bureau bribery, etc. Certainly working people weren't complaining as cops stopped issuing parking tickets and there was a lull in the activities of the legalized car theft and extortion ring known as the towing bureau. But the cops' threat of a massive armed mobilization was an ominous show of force against any civilian control, in effect, a plan for a coup at the municipal level. Minorities and working people understood: these racist killers are out for blood.

ets carrying high-powered rifles surrounded her house at dawn Saturday morning, November 22, throwing occupants onto the street and carrying out a six-hour search. Now they've brought in the FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force to lead search-and-destroy missions terrorizing Bronx neighborhoods. The danger is not from a lone lumpen criminal on the lam, but from 30,000 cops running wild, armed and dangerous, acting like they've got a license to kill. The problem is, they do. The NYPD says not to worry, if the fugitive's cornered, they'll treat it like a "hostage situation" and call in the Emergency Services Unit—that is, the gang who blew away Eleanor Bumpurs!



WV Photo

**Brooklyn, September 12: SL, Labor Black League join protest against cop terror.**

Sure enough, on November 19, some 27 cops surrounded the Bronx apartment building where accused drug dealer/killer Larry Davis was holed up. Davis blasted his way out with a shotgun, shooting six cops inside the apartment, and then slipping through the police cordon as the cops ran for cover, crawling into nearby apartments. Davis, by all accounts, is bad news, accused of execution-style drug murders of five people. But it's indicative of how much the cops are hated that Davis has become something of a cult hero. They're getting up to 1,000 calls a day on the COP-SHOT hotline, mostly sighting Davis at various drug dens around the city. But others claim to be Davis, boasting about the getaway, and complaining about police brutality. "He's making us look like fools," a high level police source said.

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, initiated by the Spartacist League and forged in the successful struggle to defend victimized black transit worker James Grimes, is fighting for labor/black mobilizations to defend working people and minorities. At a demonstration outside the Brooklyn D.A.'s office last September 12 demanding justice in the case of Dennis Groce, an elderly black man killed by the cops last spring, the Labor Black League carried signs proclaiming, "We Will Not Forget—Dennis Groce, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, Willie Turks!", "Reagan/Meese's Anti-Drug Witchhunt Means More Cop Terror!", "Stop Koch's Killer Cops!" and "Jail the Killer Cops and Throw Away the Key!" The LBL calls for "Break labor and blacks from the Democrats and Republicans!" and "For a workers party to fight for a workers government!" Such independent labor/black mobilizations are urgently needed to smash racist terror in Koch's New York and Reagan's America! ■

The cops are insane with rage and taking it out on black people. They have raided Davis' mother's house three times, the first time causing her to have a heart attack. *Ninety cops* in flak jack-

# BT...

(continued from page 3)

police terror campaign. While leading a militant protest against the presence of Marine Corps recruiters on campus Bermúdez was grabbed in a choke hold by a campus cop, had his arm broken and was then framed up on the same phony charges the UC cops have now filed against John Winters.

The SL and SYL mobilized wide support in defense of Guillermo Bermúdez, including in the labor movement, among prominent civil libertarians and from thousands of students. As a result the frame-up charges were dismissed and the brutal terror campaign of the campus cops was widely exposed. Vindictively the UC administration, defeated in the courts, suspended Bermúdez from school. And the administration's cops have been thirsting to revenge their defeat.

Enter the BT, whose extremely mild interest in the Bermúdez defense cam-

paign was intended solely to better deflect students who supported the case away from the SL. In both the Bermúdez defense campaign and more generally on the campus the BT has failed (but not from lack of effort) to isolate the SL and poison the campus against revolutionary Trotskyism. Their recent efforts at provocation are a frenzied recognition of this failure, and a confirmation of the strength of the Marxist program of the SL.

Commenting upon the BT in 1985 in "ET: New Name, Same Game?" (*WV* No. 388, 4 October 1985) we observed:

"Those who are guided by intense subjective malice as a political program are just asking to be someone's tool, witting or unwitting (sometimes both)... But applying the criterion *cui bono* (who benefits) to the ET/BT suggests answers ranging from the merely unsavory to the downright sinister."

We concluded: "And a word to those seeking anti-Spartacists for hire: *caveat emptor*—let the buyer beware!" Amen! ■



**Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs and artist Michael Stewart, killed by racist NYPD.**

NY Daily News

Amsterdam News



# Haiti...

(continued from page 16)

landowners; and there has been an outpouring of calls for vengeance against the sinister Tontons Macoutes (Duvalier's private army), calling for "déchouquage" (rooting out) the Duvalierists, including the new government. The vague promises of the CNG then gave way to gunpowder and bullets. After barely a month in power, on March 19 the Leopards (an elite army corps trained by the U.S. in counter-insurgency warfare) fired on a demonstration in Martissant supporting a strike by public transport drivers: five dead, more than 20 injured. On April 24, police killed three workers on strike at Chancelles. Two days later, outside the former political prison of Fort-Dimanche, the army opened fire on a demonstration commemorating the victims of Duvalier's massacre of 26 April 1963: eight dead, 50 injured.

As in the all-too-recent past, "disappearances" have begun again—such as Charlot Jacquelin, a literacy teacher in Port-au-Prince, arrested on September 19. Another sinister fact: the Tontons Macoutes are preparing to reactivate, announcing that they are forming their own party—with the government's blessing! The CNG aided the escape of several of the more notorious Macoutes; when they arrested some, it was to protect them from the wrath of their victims. For every Luc Désyr, head of Duvalier's political police, who was condemned to death by the junta as an escape valve for the masses and a sign of democratic good will, how many Ti Boulés, "Madame Max" and other Macoutes are still running around! To crush the masses the army will need these highly experienced anti-communist terrorists.

The bonapartist junta is stepping up repression in the face of mass mobilization, but each measure against the masses reinforces their determination to



Pearson/AFP

**Haitian junta chief Namphy (right). Duvalier's henchmen continue reign of terror and misery.**

get rid of the CNG. The first political demonstrations following the fall of Duvalier were more or less limited by the "opposition" parties to the individual "rooting out" of members of the CNG who are too prominent Duvalierists. Now, throughout the country and extending even to the most remote rural areas, the masses are calling for the "déchouquage" of the entire CNG. The discrediting of the regime was reflected in the failed October 19 elections (less than 5 percent of the voters participated) for a caricature of a "constituent assembly."

Such an explosive situation cannot last long. The masses no longer wish to live as before, the ruling classes can no longer govern as before. Either the working class places itself at the head of the peasantry and all the oppressed to install a workers and peasants government; or the army will restore capitalist "order" and drown the revolt in blood. When the army swept through the entire country July 29, placing Port-au-Prince under a state of siege, it was not only to intimidate the population and prevent a supposed attempt at "radical de-Macoutization of the country." It was

also a dress rehearsal for a coup d'état.

On the walls, as *Haiti-Progress* (10 September) reported of government buildings in Aquin, you're beginning to see slogans like, "Aba ameriken, KNGP, nou vle yon gouvènman revolisyonè, viv kominis!" (Down with the Americans and the CNG, we want a revolutionary government, long live communism!) Ever since the overthrow of Duvalier we warned: "Haitian workers: beware of coups 'made in USA,'" and added: "People's tribunals to dispense revolutionary justice against the Duvalier regime's professional assassins is an urgent democratic demand. So too is the call for a revolutionary constituent assembly, to oust the junta and root out the dictatorship that has oppressed the Haitian masses for decades. But there will be no democracy for the toilers without workers revolution..." (WV No. 397, 14 February).

These murderers are raising their heads again and beginning to strike out. Today it's a question of life and death that the working people and oppressed organize not just against the Macoutes but against the cops and the army, in self-defense militias to protect demonstrations, meetings, residential areas, strikes, land occupations, organizational offices.

But out of fear of a revolutionary mobilization and as a sign of their loyalty to Washington, the "opposition" parties have disarmed the masses' vigilance. The CLFD coalition—which brings together the extremely anti-communist Christian Democratic Party (linked to the social-democratic Second International, which in May gave its support to the "democratic" junta), the Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), the Committee of Democratic Unity (KID), and numerous other groups—last July was still "appealing to the democratic sentiments of patriotism and nationalism of the National Government Council" (*Haiti Libérée*, 22 July). The United Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) claimed, even after the Fort-Dimanche massacre, that the government "responds to the pressures of the popular movements and is led to make concessions. It is correct to speak of an apprenticeship in democracy; that is also true of the CNG itself" (*Le Monde*, 15 May). The PUCH even disavowed the June 12 general strike called by the CATH against the junta.

In the name of the Menshevik-Stalinist program of "two-stage revolution," in which a mythical "democratic stage" brings together the workers with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie, the PUCH today finds itself joined with the entire "opposition" around the "Political Resolution of September 24 for National Salvation." This respectfully calls upon the CNG to "resign" and calls for a "new provisional civilian-military [!] revolutionary government comprised of three members": Gérard Gourgue, ex-colonel Detave Cayard—two old Duvalierists—and "a patriotic military man of the highest rank, to be designated" (*Haiti Observateur*, 5 October). To call for confidence in this army which supported Duvalier, which was installed and trained by the U.S., which covers for the Tontons Macoutes with whom it is inextricably linked, which fires on demonstrators and is preparing a coup d'état, is a crime against the exploited and oppressed of Haiti!

### For a Trotskyist Party!

In the imperialist epoch, there is no room in the backward countries for an independent national capitalism, no possibility for even a halfway stable bourgeois democracy. Haiti is the flagrant proof. Since the end of the 19-year U.S. military occupation in 1934, Haiti has been subjugated (excepting the brief interludes in 1946 and 1956) by dictators supported by the United States. It is one of the poorest countries of the world, after having been the "pearl of the Antilles." The capitalist powers made it pay dearly for the political independ-

ence which it won in 1804 against the English, the Spanish and above all the French. Haiti was subjected to economic pillage and, in the case of France, to pure and simple extortion. Today, Haiti, an agricultural country, is reduced to importing much of its own food supply. Officially, two-thirds of its population is unemployed and all but the narrowest petty-bourgeois layer and a handful of rich live in abject poverty. Eighty to 90 percent of the population is illiterate.

A revolutionary party must be built

materiel in Haiti. Having launched an anti-Soviet war drive to "roll back Communism" throughout the world, from Nicaragua and Cuba to the USSR, Reagan cannot tolerate a revolutionary explosion in Haiti which could spread throughout the region. For this year, the American Congress has appropriated \$4 million in military aid to Haiti. Even Mitterrand-Chirac's France, the second imperialist power in Haiti, has offered its counterrevolutionary aid to the junta, as it did in Duvalier's days. Immediate independence for the An-

**Brooklyn, January 1986: As Duvalier regime tottered, Spartacists called for workers to power.**



on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, at the head of the oppressed nation and above all its peasant masses, who are the overwhelming majority, can resolve the urgent tasks of national liberation and democracy: freedom of assembly, of organization and the press, the right to return to the country, etc. And only the proletariat can bring to the agricultural workers and the poor peasants the agrarian revolution giving the land back to those who work it, encouraging collectivization of the land and expropriation of the large American-owned sugar plantations. But this means an implacable fight against the entire bourgeoisie. Since February there has been a flowering of newly created organizations—unions, residential areas, women, youth, peasants, etc. What the masses need are organizations of dual power—soviets—to lay the basis of a workers and peasants government, expropriating the imperialist trusts and the local capitalists who are their accomplices and agents.

Cuba, the next-door neighbor to Haiti, shows that only a workers state, precisely because it has expropriated the bourgeoisie, can break with imperialist dependence and overcome unemployment, hunger, poverty and illiteracy. But the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state, isolated, permanently threatened with a new Bay of Pigs, also shows to what extent "socialism in one island" is a nationalist utopia. Even more so in half an island like Haiti, in this economically and militarily strategic region at the very doorstep of the imperialist citadel.

Symbolically, at the very time when the anti-CNG protests were being brutally repressed, an American C-141 plane offloaded several tons of military

tilles, Guiana and the other French colonies! Defend Nicaragua! Defend Cuba and the USSR! Imperialist hands off Haiti!

A workers revolution in Haiti must immediately be extended to survive, beginning by uniting with the working people of the Dominican Republic, where thousands of Haitians toil in semi-slave conditions. Haitian workers abroad—more than a million spread through the Caribbean and North America's Eastern seaboard—will have a central role to play. The future cadres of a Haitian Trotskyist party are to be found today principally in Montreal, New York and Miami. Above all, any struggle for national and social emancipation in the "American lake" of the Caribbean must be waged together with a fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. itself. A revolutionary Haiti would have a tremendous impact on the American proletariat, with its powerful black component and a common enemy in U.S. imperialism. Against attacks on Haitian and other refugees from rightist dictatorships, we demand: *Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!*

Since the fall of Duvalier, we have called for an internationalist fight (WV No. 379, 14 February): "The Haitian Revolution of 1793-1804...sent shock waves through the Caribbean, inspiring slave revolts in Jamaica, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica and Curaçao as well as the American South. Today, the Haitian masses, beset by decades of U.S.-imposed dictatorship and IMF-dictated starvation, can spark a revolt against capitalist wage slavery, for workers revolution throughout the region. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the program of the international Spartacist tendency." ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Build a Bolshevik Party!

# Haitian Masses Rise Against Junta

## Workers, Peasants Want Revolution

The following article is adapted from *Le Bolchévik* No. 68, November 1986, newspaper of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

A desperate struggle is under way in Haiti, in the heart of the explosive region of the Caribbean and Central America. Just a year ago, the savagely oppressed Haitian masses rose up against the bloody dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier. Fearing another Cuba, Ronald Reagan with the aid of French president Mitterrand dismissed his puppet, who was offered a gilded exile in France—land of exile for toppled dictators. The imperialists installed in his place a military-civilian junta beholden to them, filled with men hand-picked by the Duvaliers, father and son, and led by army chief of staff General Namphy. Now, increasingly, the Haitian masses are rising up against this Duvalierism without Duvalier.

The Americans are worried: Namphy

comes to Washington to receive Reagan's blessing, Secretary of State Shultz meets with American-trained Colonel Regala. But in Haiti the National Government Council (CNG) is deeply discredited. While New York's archbishop O'Connor visits Port-au-Prince, in the churches they are chanting "Down with the CNG." The so-called opposition which yesterday supported the army seeks a new barrier to hold back the mass mobilization. For the approximately 200,000 people who went into the streets November 7 to demonstrate against the junta, the "opposition" held out the perspective of a "popular government"—a new class-collaborationist alliance to protect the Duvalierist army and reassure their imperialist masters. The Chilean *Unidad Popular* is too fresh in the memory to forget that such popular-front governments only pave the way to bloody military coups.

But the workers, peasants, youth,

200,000 take to the streets of Port-au-Prince, November 7.

slum dwellers are determined to put an end to the horrible terror and misery which has crushed them for decades. They want revolution. In recent demonstrations the slogan has appeared, "Live free or die," the watchword of the heroic Haitian Revolution of 1793-1804 which under the leadership of the great revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture freed the slaves and put in place the first black republic in history. Today a socialist revolution is needed to carry out the aspirations of the Haitian masses, putting an end to the Duvalierist state and imperialist oppression. But a new Haitian revolution to free this impoverished land is only possible in conjunc-

tion with revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic, the other half of this divided island, and aided by sharp class struggle against American imperialism at home. And a Bolshevik party is urgently needed to lead it.

### Sweep Away the CNG! For Workers Power!

The junta didn't take long to drop its mask. The workers went on strike for wage increases, the removal of their Duvalierist bosses, for the right to form trade unions; peasants occupied lands stolen from them by Duvalierist large

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Haiti-Progrès



Meyers/NY Times

Police sharpshooters terrorize the Bronx ghetto following spectacular escape of Larry Davis.

On November 25, the New York State Court of Appeals announced it was reopening the case of Stephen Sullivan, the SWAT cop who two years ago blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment. That Sullivan may finally stand trial, although only on a manslaughter charge, is due in large part to the determination of Mary Bumpurs, Eleanor's 41-year-old daughter. "All I want is justice," she vows. The fight to put away killer cop Sullivan will be a focus of the fight

## Koch's Cossacks Threaten Mutiny

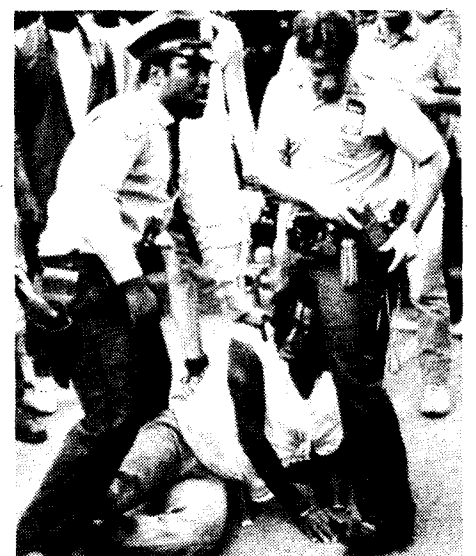
# Racist NYC Cops Out for Blood

against police terror in New York City, at a time when the racist cops are on a rampage over getting caught in their drug-dealing scams.

Eleanor Bumpurs' eviction by murder (she owed \$387.40 in back rent for her public housing apartment) says it all about the racist nightmare for black people that is New York City. On 29 October 1984 the "Emergency Services" police strike force kicked in her apartment door. Equipped with shotguns, mace, bulletproof vests and gas masks, the cops swarmed at her with riot shields and "restraining bars." Triggerman Sullivan's 12-gauge shotgun blew away the old woman's hand which the cops say held a knife. Then Sullivan fired the

second fatal round at her chest.

Sullivan was briefly suspended following a grand jury indictment for manslaughter, but immediately reinstated with police commissioner Ward ruling the shooting-murder was "within departmental guidelines." Bronx D.A. Mario Merola snapped back that "Hitler's people were also following his guidelines." And on 7 February 1985, some 10,000 armed New York City police, resembling nothing so much as a mob of Nazi stormtroopers, surrounded the Bronx Supreme Court building demanding the indictment be overturned. Two months later compliant judge Vincent Vitale threw out the charges.



JINX

Drug busts: pretext for cop brutality against black people.

Koch & Co. have been wrangling with the cops all fall. It began in the 77th Precinct of the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, where the drug dealers complained that the cops weren't just cutting themselves in on the action as usual, but were stealing their stuff outright and selling it. At first the police brass tried to cool it out and ran a sting operation to catch a few "dirty guys." But there were hardly any "clean guys." Facing the spectre of a

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# Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart!