

## Soviets K.O. Cold War Olympics

MAY 21—The Russians have already won the XXIII Olympiad. America's rulers incited and sanctioned a campaign of intimidation, harassment, even possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against Soviet-bloc Olympic teams. Going beyond the usual patriotic flag-waving, they have been gearing up for a real orgy of anti-Communism in Los Angeles next month. The purpose: to mobilize the population for war against the Soviet Union. But Moscow finally said "Enough!" and told Reagan to take his Cold War games and shove 'em. The withdrawal of the USSR and East Germany in particular, the top medal winners from the last two Olympics, along with other allied nations, means the absence from the games of the world's greatest athletes, and reduces the games to a farce. Now the "first capitalist games" will explicitly be nothing but the "NATO Olympics."

First there was Democrat Carter's boycott of the 1980 Moscow games; now it's Republican Reagan scuttling the Los Angeles Olympics. When the Russians refused to get shafted, Washington wailed: "the Soviets are saying they are so angry they won't play games with us any more," as one State Department official remarked. These are not just games. And contrary to the talk of a "double-cross," Soviet officials have been complaining for months about the lack of adequate security in L.A. A Kremlin spokesman replied,

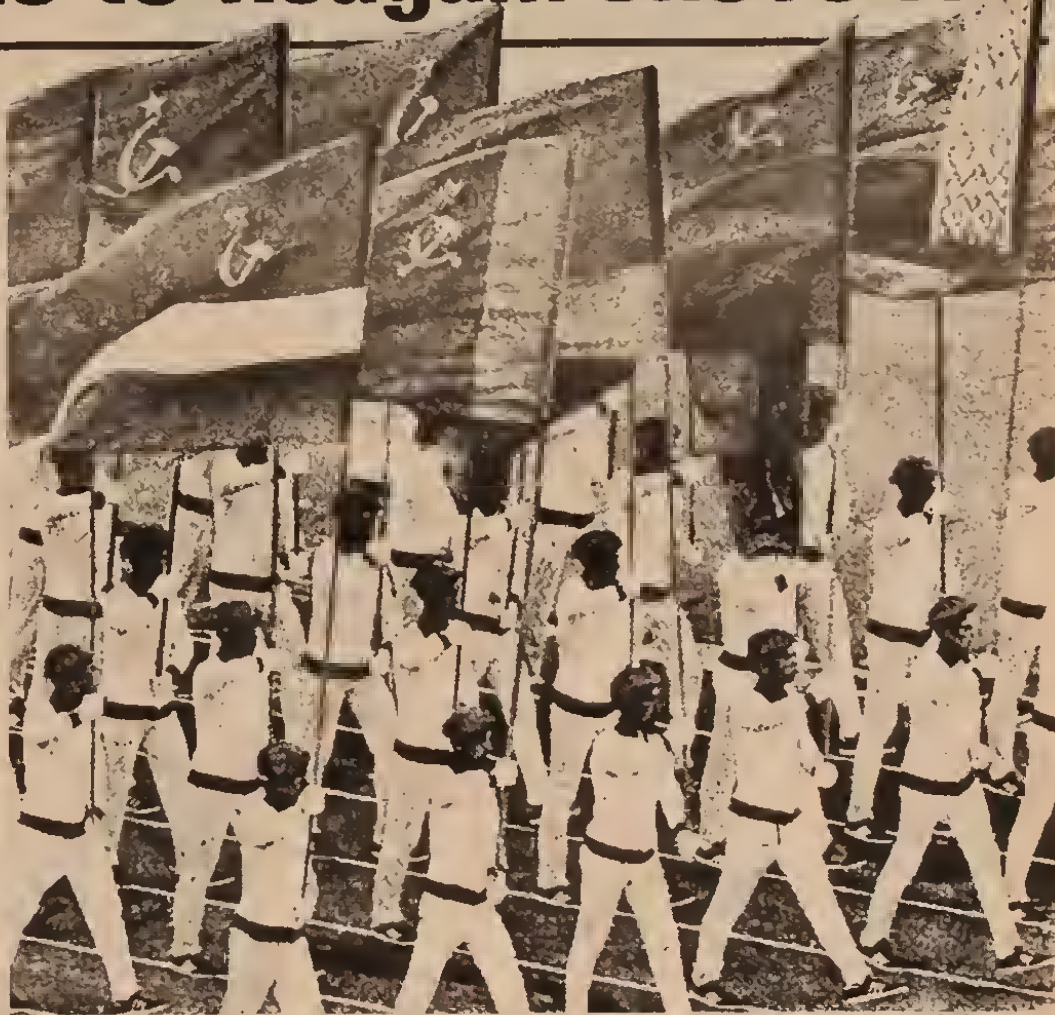
*continued on page 9*

### Russians to Reagan: Shove It!



Camera Press

Soviet defense minister Ustinov termed U.S. missile deployments in Europe a "dangerous miscalculation." Don't mess with Russia!



B. Svetlanova

## El Salvador's Duarte: CIA Front Man for... Death Squad "Democracy"

MAY 22—They're doing the dance of the death squads in Washington as Ronald Reagan leads "Joe Napoleon" Duarte around town as the newly "elected democratic" leader in El Salvador. This winner of an election, bought and paid for by the CIA, is the man who presided over 30,000 murders during his rule from 1980-1982. But the CIA didn't shell out \$2.1 million for nothing. The State Department needs Duarte rather than the certified Death Squad torturer, "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson. Duarte is imperialism's Great Moderate Hope to "stop Communism on our doorstep." So from "Meet the Press" to meet the Congress, this front man for death

squad "democracy" does a "free world" jig to get the money to continue Reagan's bloody war of terror.

And despite the massive revulsion against Reagan's policy among the American people and the hellyacbing in Congress, time after time the war budgets are rubber-stamped on Capitol Hill. The Pentagon is also supplying the "friendlies" directly through various forms of "creative accounting." And to make certain that the Democratic "doves" would keep the money flowing, Reagan went on TV May 9 with an overdose of that old-time McCarthyite anti-Communist religion. The Russians are coming, he railed in a speech that would make

John Foster Dulles blush. "Soviet surrogate forces" are creeping ever closer: "San Salvador is closer to Houston than Houston is to Washington, D.C." He raved about the spectre of "pro-Soviet" dominoes and appealed to the racist fears of hordes of brown-skinned refugees surging over the Rio Grande. The Nicaraguan *contras*, the most sadistic collection of killers and torturers in this hemisphere since Batista's gang fled to Miami, Reagan hailed as "freedom fighters." The petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime which (unfortunately) hasn't executed a single Somozaist butcher since coming to power, he labeled a "Communist reign of terror."

The U.S. liberal imperialists are embarrassed by such primitive anti-Sovietism. (The *New York Times* has even begun quoting Richard Nixon against Reagan as a more sophisticated "elder statesman.") But this kind of "Who Lost Central America?" hectoring works on the Democrats. It always has. So the day after Reagan's speech the Democrat-controlled House voted \$261 million for the murderous Salvadoran dictatorship. No one should be surprised. At bottom the entire ruling class is pushing the anti-Soviet war drive. So even as Walter Mondale on the campaign trail tries to toughen up his criticism of Reagan's policies in Central America, he is quick to add: "He [Reagan] sees the Soviets and their proxies—as do we all" (*New York Times*, 16 May).

Unlike the Democratic liberals who try to present McCarthyism as some kind of bizarre paranoid aberration of healthy American democracy, Marxists understand that anti-Communist nuts like Reagan are driven to their

*continued on page 2*



# Salvador Death Squads...

(continued from page 1)

manias by a desperate determination to defend the class interests of the dying imperialist order. Behind Salvadoran guerrillas fighting against a local landlord-military dictatorship, Reagan sees the spectre of revolution throughout the hemisphere and around the world. He's made El Salvador the front line of the Cold War. If he can stop them in El Salvador, then it's on to Nicaragua, Cuba and ultimately the powerhouse of the victorious proletariat—the Soviet Union. That's why the Spartacists say, "Defense of Cuha/USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

The anti-Soviet nut in the White House is setting the stage for an invasion of Central America. U.S. imperialism's militarization of the region escalates daily. On May 23 the second phase of the Granadero "exercises" is scheduled to begin, an operation which will mass thousands of American troops along the Honduran border with the Salvadoran province of Chalatenango, a leftist-held zone. The current maneuvers follow on the heels of the Navy's "Ocean Venture I" which featured reinforcement of the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba and a practice invasion at the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

For Reagan it is a stark choice: intervene or lose. But so far all the Reaganites' attempts to mobilize mass sentiment for military intervention have flopped miserably. Congress voting hundreds of millions in "aid" is one thing, but sending U.S. troops to die in some tropical forest or the cratered slopes of Guazapa Volcano for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade is something else again. Memory of the Vietnam debacle is still vivid in the U.S. population. And they've got an army based on black and Hispanic recruits who may prove unreliable as cannon fodder for racist imperialism's dirty wars.

The U.S. bourgeoisie knows they can't win in Central America without direct U.S. military intervention. But they know if they do send in combat troops, this country will explode. What is a big problem for the ruling class is a



Der Spiegel

**Victims of right-wing death squads. Duarte provides "democratic" cover for mass murder of workers, peasants and intellectuals.**

big opportunity for revolutionaries. The Trotskyists fight for workers revolution throughout Central America, and its extension north to Mexico and the imperialist heartland. To provide real solidarity with the Salvadoran leftist rebels it's necessary to defeat U.S. imperialism on its home ground. Not a hullet, not a bomb, not a penny to drown our Salvadoran class brothers in blood! The Spartacist League calls for labor to "hot cargo" arms and materiel to the Central American dictatorships! For labor strikes against imperialist intervention! What is needed is not efforts to pressure Democrats but revolutionary struggle in the United States itself—for mass labor strikes to bring Reagan down!

The imperialist "doves" want a smarter anti-Soviet strategy and sharper tactics in Central America. Their dilemma: like Reagan, they fear what will happen in Central America if the U.S. does not intervene militarily. At the same time they fear what will happen if they do. During the Congressional debate on Reagan's military aid package, Stephen Solarz, Democratic Congressman from Brooklyn, expressed this

problem succinctly as he worried out loud about the "Vietnam syndrome": "The American people don't want any more Cubas in Central America, but neither do they want any more Vietnams." Thus the Democrats, to prevent another defeat for U.S. imperialism, want to buy off those "leftist" sectors in Central America which are willing to prove their loyalty to the capitalist order. And those sectors are on the market.

The rad-libs and reformists of the El Salvador movement like CISPES tail these Democratic liberals and the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/

FMLN) in the search for a treacherous "political solution," which is in fact another military solution—one which would leave the Salvadoran army intact to drown the workers and peasants in blood should they put down their guns. For this betrayal Mr. Duarte is the key figure.

In a recent interview Guillermo Ungo, leader of the FDR and Duarte's school chum and running mate in the 1972 presidential election, raised this point in exactly the terms of the U.S. capitalists: intervene or negotiate with the hatcher Duarte.

"He [Duarte] is the best choice insofar as providing window dressing for further U.S. intervention. In theory, he is also the best man for negotiating with us because he is supposed to be a moderate. Only he can resolve that contradiction."

—Los Angeles Times, 8 May

And how will Duarte "resolve" the contradiction? The man who fronted for D'Aubuisson's killers for two years as head of the Christian Democratic/military junta says he will never "negotiate" with the guerrillas, except their terms of surrender, or share power with the left. He won't even—can't even—investigate the death squads set up with aid, advice and arms of the United States. The Ungos and dissident Christian Democrats like Zamora are for sale just as Duarte is. Their problem is they haven't found a buyer.

For socialist revolutionaries the choice is not between the various forms of defeat. Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! Kill the *Contra* Invaders in Nicaragua! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Only by defeating the Yankee imperialists and their blood-thirsty oligarchs can the road be opened to proletarian revolution throughout the region. ■



TROTSKY

## Freedom and Communism

*Marxists have always maintained that communism will liberate the full potential of each individual. We reprint below Marx and Engels' inspiring vision of the socialist future of mankind.*

For as soon as the division of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot



LENIN

escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; whereas in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic.

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology* (1845-46)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Slamberg (Closing editor for No. 355: Liz Gordon)

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

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

No. 355

25 May 1984

## Corrections

A photo caption in "Black Caribbean Workers vs. Hess Oil Empire" (*WV* No. 354, 11 May) wrongly stated that a New York City protest demonstration supporting locked-out Hess oil workers in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, took place on May 2. The correct date for the New York protest was May 7. The same article identified one of the groups supporting the New York demonstration as the Labor Black League of America. This should have read Labor Black Leagues of America. The Labor Black Leagues, which are committed to the class struggle as central to the struggle for black liberation, are locally autonomous groups with chapters in Oakland, Detroit and Los Angeles; chapters are now also being formed in Washington, D.C. and New York City.

In our previous issue (*WV* No. 353, 27 April), in our political obituary on the Socialist Workers Party, "Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP," we quoted from Steve Zeltzer's *Workers Review* (January-February 1984)

an account of the Socialist Action group's gooning for San Francisco union bureaucrats against militant workers and Spartacist supporters during last winter's bitter Greyhound strike. Our article mistakenly attributed the account to Zeltzer rather than to a lengthy letter to the editor, signed by Ken Morgan, which appeared in Zeltzer's publication.

In the same *WV* article on the SWP, the photo reprinted below was identified in our caption (taken from the book, *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*, Monad Press, 1982) as a meeting of the SWP Political Committee in December 1938. We have been informed that the meeting pictured was in fact a discussion group at an SWP National Committee plenum. Of the participants, all of them SWP leaders (clockwise from top left: Felix Morrow, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, George Clarke, James Burnham, Nathan Gould, Martin Abern), two, Morrow and Clarke, were not at that time members of the Political Committee.



Monad Press



## Workers Rout Scabs, Cops, Goons

# Toledo Labor Takes Off the Gloves

MAY 22—Labor is playing hardball in Toledo, Ohio—and winning! A united force of Toledo labor swung into the union-busters yesterday in defense of the striking brothers of United Auto Workers Local 14 at the A.P. Parts plant. They beat back the cops and scabs and hired goons from "Knuckles, Inc.," in a class battle the likes of which hasn't been seen on the streets in some time. Amid the hurning cop ears and cowering scabs one thing has become certain: in Toledo scabbing is no longer a safe occupation. All of U.S. labor has a victory won through militancy on the streets. It's about time!

For the company, it was to be union-busting as usual. They had a couple of hundred scabs in the plant with cops in riot gear outside to protect them. But in this union town in the heart of industrial America, union-husting is the stuff of war—class war. So yesterday as the scabs showed up for the 4 p.m. shift change they were met by an effective mass picket of the combined force of the Toledo labor movement. The striking UAW workers, who number only 450, were joined by 4,000—from other UAW locals including the militant JEEP auto plant, striking OCAW workers at nearby Sun Oil refinery, building trades, Teamsters, etc. They fought like hell for the future of the labor movement, and this round of the battle is theirs.

The scabs were stopped. The cops went after the workers and all hell broke loose. The cops threw tear gas, but workers picked up the canisters and hurled them back. Squad cars went up in smoke. The cops came with their night sticks, but were driven back in a hail of bottles and bricks. According to UPI, a 14-wheeler semi car-carrier rammed through the plant gate—a proletarian tank!

The workers blocked the road leading to the plant with vehicles. One cop told UPI that when their reinforcements arrived at 4 p.m., "We didn't even have a chance to get out of our cars when the rocks started." Workers put the A.P. Parts plant under siege, as the scabs cowered in the plant all night while blankets and food could only be flown in by helicopter. When the tear gas had

settled there were 12 injured cops. More than 50 workers, mainly UAW strikers, had been arrested. But by 9 a.m. this morning all the scabs were "taken out." The plant is shut down. Now the bosses have promised to come back tomorrow morning with their scabs, cops and hired goons. Labor must mobilize its power now for mass picketing to keep the plant shut down! Picket lines mean don't cross! Drop the charges!

A.P. Parts is on an all-out drive to hush the UAW in the plant, which manufactures auto mufflers and tail pipes. When the contract expired on March 4, UAW officials had agreed that the workers should stay on and work without a contract. The company, smelling weakness, immediately moved in to slash wages and benefits by some \$5.84/hour, or 35 percent (!), lay off 175 men on the spot, and tighten the screws on the shop floor, handing out disciplinary write-ups for "loafing," and changing work rules every day. Finally on April 28, after 7 weeks working without a contract under sweatshop conditions, the union took a strike vote and the workers walked out on May 2.

The victory yesterday which drove out the scabs and shut down this plant was a victory by and for the Toledo labor movement. Now maybe this militant action at a small auto parts plant can spark the entire labor movement. Labor is going to have to keep on playing hardball to win. As one JEEP worker said, "This is just the beginning." The bosses also know that labor victory is contagious, and are going all-out to try to turn it around. The picket line is a battle line in the class struggle. The bosses have a policy of murder and are carrying it out: Brother Ray Phillips from Zanesville, Ohio, run down on Greyhound picket duty last December; Greg Goohie, OCAW labor martyr run down by scabs at Rodeo, California earlier this year.

The battle of A.P. Parts comes on the heels of a long string of defeats for the U.S. labor movement, set up by a tamed and treacherous bureaucracy loyal to the bosses' Democratic Party. But now with a brief upturn in the economy, the class struggle has sharpened. At Phelps Dodge, miners have been battling the

company, the state and its troops for nearly 11 months. In Toledo the struggle is razor sharp tonight.

The labor movement can turn back the bosses' union-husting offensive. What do they think they have in Toledo, another PATCO? This is the UAW. This is labor power. No more PATCOs! No more Greyhounds!

Can it be completely accidental that the streets of Toledo look like the 1930s?

organization of the UAW. Surely the workers who stand against today's union-busters know they stand in a proud tradition.

There are those who say the strategies and tactics which won industrial unionism are dead today. They are just wishing. Look at Toledo! Unionists have no other weapon than the strike, the mass picket, the secondary boycott. If we fight, we face the weapons of the



Early a.m., May 22—Workers build bonfires as they lay siege to 250 scabs trapped in Toledo auto parts plant.

For this struggle takes place exactly 50 years after the great Toledo Auto-Lite strike which climaxed in May-June 1934 and grew into a general strike. Of course vastly different in scale, the Toledo auto strike also erupted after a long series of labor defeats. In 1934, the employed and unemployed joined in a long heroic fight against cops, scabs, goons and government labor boards and courts. They defied court injunctions and waged a pitched battle with National Guard troops. And the workers won! As Art Preis wrote in *Labor's Giant Step*: "It was at this stage, when strike after strike was being crushed, that the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company struggle blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of the American class struggle." In particular it opened the way for the rise of CIO industrial unionism and the

bosses state—if not today then tomorrow. (And these days it's sooner rather than later.) So labor—let's play hardball to win!

Only 50 miles from Toledo is Detroit, the powerhouse of the UAW and a depression-wracked city where the black proletariat will be in the vanguard of militant class struggle. What's needed is a solid nationwide auto strike! UAW members are seething over the super-profits the fat-cat auto bosses have been raking in with the connivance of the UAW bureaucracy which has made Detroit "Giveback City." The auto bosses are hoping that workers won't fight. Detroit workers are surely looking at Toledo. The militant class-struggle methods that built the unions are still the key to fighting back against the union-busters—fighting to win. ■

## Phelps Dodge Strikers Battle Evictions

Phelps Dodge Corporation's union-busting war against striking Arizona copper miners is soon to enter its eleventh month. Yet 70 percent of the largely Chicano and Indian workforce remains loyal to the union. The copper miners, a coalition of 13 unions, the largest being the United Steelworkers (USWA), have had to battle gun-toting scabs protected by the bosses' National Guard and state troopers to defend themselves against Reagan's PATCO policy of union-busting, wage cuts and massive takeaways (see "The Battle of Phelps Dodge," *WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983).

The copper barons' latest ploy in their relentless attempts to break the miners' solidarity is a threatened eviction of 30 union militants from the company's housing project in Morenci, Arizona, site of Phelps Dodge's largest smelter. According to USWA Local 616 president Angel Rodriguez, the company is trying to intimidate the ranks by singling out many of the most militant picketers, charging



Striking copper workers confront scab in Clifton, Arizona.

them with "strike misconduct" and ordering them to vacate their homes by May 31.

Earlier in the strike Phelps Dodge tried to get away with massive evictions for nonpayment, but now the union has been paying the strikers' rent. So the copper bosses do not even have this fig leaf to cover their

outrageous action! In company-owned Morenci, you either live in company housing or you live on the street! You either shop in the company store or you don't eat—period!

Eviction of strikers from their homes in the western minefields has a vicious and lethal history. In 1914, striking coal miners in Ludlow, Colo-

rado were forced to live in a makeshift "tent city" that was assaulted by state militiamen who killed 21 and burned the "city" to the ground. This infamous Ludlow Massacre was carried out at the behest of John D. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Phelps Dodge is no stranger to these murderous tactics. In 1917, in Bisbee, Arizona they sent their armed guards to oust 12,000 striking miners out of their homes at gunpoint to be shipped and dumped into the New Mexico desert wilderness.

Phelps Dodge's targeting of union militants and these threatened evictions must be stopped cold. This strike can be won, but it will take the shutting down of the entire copper industry. Hot cargo scab copper! For massive picket lines and demonstrations of the entire labor movement throughout the Southwest. Breaking with the Sun Belt's "right-to-work" Democrats is key to forging this unity. Stop the evictions! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!



# The Man Who Raised Fort Sumter Flag Over San Francisco

## Richard Bradley: "I Demand a Trial!"

On April 15 Richard Bradley, clad in the uniform of a Union soldier during the Civil War, scaled a 50-foot pole in San Francisco's Civic Center and cut down the Confederate flag which had flown over that city for the last several years. The next day Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein put it back up. So Ritchie went back up, and cut it down again. This time it stayed down as San Franciscans, especially blacks, hailed the action and made it clear that they would not stand for the flag of slavery flying over their city.

On April 29, Bradley once more scaled the flagpole, this time to put up an exact replica of the 33-star flag that

*demand* a trial on these charges. I think it will be very revealing, maybe even somewhat hilarious. But at the same time I think Feinstein and the D.A. are being pretty stupid.

The really stupid thing was to take down the Fort Sumter garrison flag after I put it up, and leave the bare pole standing there. It was an outrage and an insult to all San Franciscans and everyone who fought in the Civil War. I believe the last time that flag was taken down was when it was fired on in the Charleston harbor. The Confederate flag is the flag of slavery, an ugly thing for anyone. It means blacks being terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan, who

San Francisco,  
April 29—  
Ritchie Bradley  
puts up  
Fort Sumter  
garrison flag  
to replace  
Confederate  
flag, which he  
had earlier  
ripped down.



WV Photo

great pleasure. I felt like we were fighting the Civil War all over.

**WV:** Tell us something of your experience in the civil rights movement in the South.

**Bradley:** Well, I was one of the first black students to integrate the University of South Carolina. We were fighting racism every day. Look at the pepper that got into all the salt. And all the salt wanted to get us little bit of pepper out of it. So it was like being called a nigger every day.

The highlight of my civil rights days was when we tried to integrate a bowling alley at South Carolina State College. All the whites could go in the front door and blacks went in the back door. What happened was a big sit-in blocked the front entrance. The governor called in the National Guard and state troopers; three people got killed and a lot of other people were shot. And we did finally integrate that bowling alley.

**WV:** For you, as a civil rights activist in the South who knows the terror of the Ku Klux Klan, the Greensboro massacre must have a special impact. You took down the Confederate flag on the very day the government gave the Klan/Nazi murderers the green light again in court....

**Bradley:** Yes, on the first day we pulled down the Confederate flag. But I didn't know at the time it was the day those killers got off. We heard the flash on the radio. So then I felt real good about

getting that flag these people had killed for. Greensboro proved how the Ku Klux Klan with their burning crosses and the Nazis with their swastikas are really interlinked—it was a joint terrorist action. The Greensboro trial was really disgusting. It showed how the state was behind the racist killings, and the courts say it's okay to shoot down civil rights activists and leftists.

**WV:** And now Dianne Feinstein says it's okay to fly the Confederate flag of racism, but not the Union flag.

**Bradley:** Right. Feinstein took down the Fort Sumter flag deliberately. She wants to be vice president. She wants to please the racists. And racism here runs very deep. This trial says a lot about justice in California. Moving here from New York, I found California an extension of the South, with a heavy migration of whites from Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. The *Chronicle* and *Examiner* ran letters in defense of the Dixie flag—I've never seen so much hatred in letters. And there was even a racist nut who showed up once running around the Civic Center with a Confederate flag. They all claim the flag of slavery has something to do with California history. So I said the Nazi flag is "historical," why doesn't the mayor fly the swastika? And everyone just shut right up.

**WV:** So now Dianne Feinstein has you and Peter Woolston facing charges of

*continued on page 10*

## S.F. Examiner Retracts

A potentially deadly disinformation campaign smearing the Spartacist League as "violent" and "terrorist" appeared in the media in the wake of our popular action in pulling down the Confederate flag in San Francisco. We demanded retractions of these vicious lies that set up our members and supporters for state terror (see "Witchhunter's Lies Exposed," *WV* No. 354, 11 May). The *San Francisco Chronicle* printed a statement and letter from an SL spokesman denouncing this smear campaign, and the author of the original article sent a letter of rectification to the Associated Press, UPI and the *New York Post*. We reproduce at right the retraction which appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner*.

San Francisco Examiner 21 May 1984

### Clarification

An article that appeared in the April 24 *Examiner* headlined "Weinberger protest: this time it was a different story" reported that the San Francisco Police Department had expressed concern that members of the Spartacist League would attempt to infiltrate the Weinberger demonstration and provoke a violent confrontation with police.

Some readers may have inferred from this that the Spartacist League intended to or did incite violence at the rally. The Spartacist League is a Marxist political organization whose members lawfully participated in the demonstration. Any implication to the contrary was not intended by The Examiner.

flew over the U.S. Army garrison at Fort Sumter. Feinstein has since taken down this honorable and heroic banner. Outrageously, Bradley and Peter Woolston, executive board member of ILWU Local 6, were both charged with "vandalism" for ripping down and burning the hated Confederate flag. A pre-trial hearing was held early this month at which the trial date was set for May 29. Now Bradley faces more charges for putting up the Fort Sumter flag.

A member of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense, Richard Bradley was a Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982. Bradley knows well that the present fight is more than a symbolic one. He grew up less than 100 miles from the Charleston, South Carolina harbor where the Civil War began with the firing on Fort Sumter. Recently Ritchie talked with *Workers Vanguard* about the "battle of the flags," his experiences in the civil rights movement in the South, and the upcoming trial.

**WV:** Ritchie, you know, when we were laying out the article in the last issue of *WV* on your upcoming trial, someone jokingly suggested the headline, "Don't Drop the Charges!"

**Bradley:** It's no joke. I welcome and

still carry that flag today when they burn crosses.

I saw the Fort Sumter flag for the first time when my parents took me to Charleston harbor. It was quite an experience. Charleston is an old historic place and driving around you can still see the old plantations where the slaves were. Then you whip off to the harbor and there's the flag of victory over slavery—a nice, big Union flag flying. It's quite a relief seeing the Fort Sumter flag, knowing the history of the South.

**WV:** Where did you learn that history?

**Bradley:** I sure didn't learn about it when I attended high school in the South. I talked with my parents about it, and it was clear that this was a part of history that they weren't going to teach in a black high school.

My mother had an interesting history in the civil rights movement. She strongly believed in the civil rights movement. She used to tell me stories about how white racists would spit on them when they were marching down the street. But my mother and the others would continue to march. Something like that just made me furious. People standing on the side of marches would spit on you, throw things and hit you. So taking down the Confederate flag and putting up the Fort Sumter garrison flag in San Francisco Civic Center was a

## Spartacist Forum

### We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery and the KKK!

### Finish the Civil War!

Speakers:

**Richard Bradley**

Labor Black League  
for Social Defense;  
Former Spartacist candidate,  
SF Board of Supervisors

**Diana Coleman**

Former Spartacist candidate,  
SF Board of Supervisors

Saturday, June 2 7:30 p.m.  
S.E.I.U. Hall  
240 Golden Gate Avenue

**San Francisco**

For more information: (415) 863-6963





# Presidential Directive to Kill

Last month the Reagan administration unveiled its latest terror weapons for use against a mythical "international terrorist conspiracy" of "Soviet surrogates" abroad and in stepped-up red-hunting repression at home. Top secret "National Security Decision Directive 138," signed by Ronald Reagan on April 3, is designed (in the words of Secretary of State George Shultz) to "take 'preventive or pre-emptive action' against state-sponsored terrorism" (*New York Times*, 17 April). That the Reaganites have some insane new provocation up their sleeves was ominously suggested April 20, when the administration publicized its "warnings" to six East European countries to stop supporting "international terrorism."

What is National Security Decision Directive 138? So secret that its exact contents have not been divulged, NSDD 138 reportedly calls for the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary teams and Pentagon military squads for pre-emptive strikes, as well as for intensified spying domestically and abroad by the FBI, CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency (*Washington Post*, 16 April). Dangerously laying the basis for "anti-terrorist" bounty hunters, the new directive is linked to Reagan's package

## Reagan's Terrorism

operation code-named "Rex 84," and calling for the readying of ten prison camps at key defense commands. According to author James Harrer, "Rex 84" is primarily aimed at the detention and deportation of illegal immigrants, but its "more closely guarded and carefully orchestrated objective" is "to apply so-called 'C&C' ('capture and custody') measures against political opponents, resisters or even outspoken critics whom the administration considers 'dangerous.'" The *Spotlight* story has subsequently been picked up in the *Daily World*, and the New York black community paper, *The Black American*.

While there are no claims these camps are being readied for immediate use, certainly this unconfirmed report is consistent with the Reaganites' strategic view that the Vietnam War was lost "at home." The Reaganites want to rehabilitate and sharpen every weapon in the old McCarthyite arsenal, as they gear up

targets:

"You have to have targeting done in advance, with a menu of targets available," says one Pentagon official. He argues: "We should be prepared to respond quickly. That's what the Israelis do. That's what we ought to do."

Indeed, this chapter comes straight out of the Mossad's book. The Israelis—who first defined all Palestinians as "terrorists," then turned Palestinian refugee camps into free-fire zones against "terrorism"—have for all time scrawled their racist terror in the blood of the hundreds of Palestinian women, children and helpless old men massacred at Sabra and Shatila! U.S. imperialism now seeks this fate for the Central American masses huddled in refugee camps from El Salvador to Honduras to southern Mexico!

In the name of "anti-terrorism," they seek to legitimate and gear up all the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state—its secret police, its elite "first-strike" squadrons—in preparation for imperialist war. Meanwhile, Shultz screams that current restrictions on presidential power are "formulas for abdication" which tie the U.S.' hands in the Middle East and Central America. NSDD 138 must be understood as part of the Reaganites' running political battle on all fronts to beat back the "Vietnam syndrome," trying to mobilize the population for the anti-Soviet war drive even if they have to carry it out with pure state terror.

Differences of opinion within the ruling class surfaced over the question of including in NSDD 138 an open authorization for assassinations, which would have meant reversing a 1981 presidential order "prohibiting" U.S. operatives from "legally" rubbing out foreign political leaders. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported it, "Some Pentagon officials argued that this order should be modified to allow the U.S. to 'take out' known terrorist leaders." But the CIA, which knows its Murder, Inc. is best carried out in secret, and stung by the post-Vietnam/Watergate spotlight on the nefarious activities of its super-spooks, wanted less exposure. "We're not going to get back in the Laos-Vietnam game," says one senior intelligence official.

### The Real "State-Supported Terrorists"

As we have said repeatedly, all this talk about "terrorism" is to disguise the massive murderous operations of the real assassins, the real "state-supported



Sweets/Washington Post

**FBI trains for Los Angeles Olympics, focus for government's "terrorism" scare.**

terrorists." The CIA and its minions have spread their torture and devastation around the globe, from the bombed-out moonscapes of Vietnam to the mines exploding in Nicaraguan harbors. Who but the CIA, the de-ranked product of dying American imperialism, could smuggle plastic explosives across the Nicaraguan borders hidden in Mickey Mouse lunch packs, designed to spread terror by indiscriminate murder. An ultrarightist Salvadoran professional killer excused the death squads' hideous tortures of left-wing insurgents by noting that it is "the same thing you did in Vietnam. We learned from you. We learned from you the means, like blowtorches in the armpits, shots in the halls" ("Crossfire El Salvador," PBS interview, 27 June 1983).

As we wrote earlier this year:

"The U.S. sends a 'peace' force of Marines and battleships to Lebanon and infiltrates fascist mercenaries called 'freedom fighters' into Nicaragua. In 1984 the real terrorists with state power, armed with every available means of destruction, are hunkered down in the White House behind massive concrete barriers crying, 'The terrorists are coming! The terrorists are coming!'"

—"Why Reagan Needs 'Terrorism,'" *WV* No. 347, 3 February

But as the bourgeoisie frantically gears up for imperialist war, we struggle to win the working class and the oppressed to the program of socialist revolution, to sweep away these criminal "state-supported terrorists" of the CIA and FBI, once and for all. ■



Daily World

**Government concentration camp at Allentown, Pennsylvania, originally built for political prisoners under 1950 Internal Security Act. Reagan reportedly is readying ten such camps.**

of "anti-terrorist" legislation, which would give the FBI sweeping new investigative powers, jail Americans for up to ten years for aiding "terrorism," and permit huge bounty payments—up to \$500,000—for "information" on "terrorists."

Submitted to Congress in late April, the package calls for 10-year prison terms and/or \$100,000 fines for those who provide "training," "support services" or similar assistance to nations, "factions" or "groups" found by the secretary of state to be involved in terrorism (*New York Times*, 27 April). This means that any U.S. teacher or nurse in Nicaragua, or anyone who provided financial support to the IRA in Northern Ireland, for instance, would be immediate targets of this directive.

Meanwhile, reports have been circulating of Reaganite plans for reactivation of a nationwide network of concentration camps preparatory to massive roundups of "illegal aliens" and political dissenters. An article, "Reagan Orders Concentration Camps" appearing in the 23 April edition of *The Spotlight*, publication of the right-wing Liberty Lobby, reported on a "secret appendix" to the new national security directives authorizing a vast police

for military intervention in Central America, and ultimately against the Soviet Union.

Concentration camps for political dissidents is certainly not a new idea in the U.S.A. They were initiated by Democrat FDR as part of the racist, chauvinist hysteria during World War II against masses of Japanese Americans. And in the McCarthy period, huge concentration camps were established to hold tens of thousands of political dissidents rounded up from a "master list" in a "national emergency." The "happy" Cold Warrior liberal Democrat Hubert Humphrey (Walter Mondale's mentor) was a key supporter of the amendment which set up these camps as part of the 1950 Internal Security Act. The government refurbished some of the old Japanese American internment camps with their children's facilities for mass detention. And the "lists," you can be sure, have been maintained in one form or another ever since.

### "Menu of Targets"

Referring to the plans for international pre-emptive and retaliatory strikes, the 12 March *Wall Street Journal* reported that the Pentagon is already lining up its most favored

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*) International rates  
☐ New ☐ Renewal \$20/24 issues—Airmail  
\$5/24 issues—Seamail

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*

☐ \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

☐ \$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

355

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



# The Muslim Demagogue, White Racist Hypocrisy and Jesse Jackson

## The Sinister Farrakhan

Suddenly last month Jesse Jackson's association with Louis "Hitler" was a great man" Farrakhan became the major issue in Jackson's campaign. White politicians and the media are flaying the black Democratic presidential candidate for his ties to the Black Muslim demagogue. Yet America's racist capitalist rulers are themselves guilty of crimes on the scale of Hitler's, from Truman's A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the war against the Vietnamese people under Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. Today, leading Democrats as well as Reagan Republicans support the *contra* terrorists in Nicaragua and the "death squad democracy" in El Salvador. And these war criminals now lecture Jackson on the bad company he keeps!

Many blacks want to defend Jackson in the Farrakhan affair. The strong racial solidarity among black people, the gut instinct to rally behind any black leader attacked by the white power structure is very understandable. Understandable, but not always right. Jesse Jackson is exploiting and abusing racial solidarity to tie black people to the main party of racist American capitalism, the Democrats. To those who want to defend Farrakhan because he shakes up and scandalizes the white establishment with his carefully cultivated "bad ass" image, we say: Beware—Louis Farrakhan is bad news for black people. As Louis X in Elijah Muhammad's organization he set the stage for the murder of Malcolm X, repeatedly and grotesquely calling for the death of the courageous black militant leader. Farrakhan is one of the most sinister and dangerous figures in black political life.

### Hitler Was the Biggest Racist Pig in History!

Last January in a private conversation with black *Washington Post* reporter Milton Coleman, Jackson referred to Jews as "Hymies" and New York City as "Hymietown." When Coleman revealed this conversation, Jackson at first denied he'd said it and then apologized. Most Jews are already hostile to Jackson for his support to the Palestinians, and the ethnic slur did not

Would-be Hitler of black people, Louis Farrakhan, warms up audiences for Jesse Jackson (to his left), front man for racist Democratic Party.



seem to hurt his campaign that much. While much of the left alibied for Jackson, we noted that the "Hymietown" remark showed the black Democrat's affinity with America's white racist rulers (see "Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Anti-Semitic Slur," *WV* No. 351, 30 March).

Just as the "Hymietown" scandal was dying down, the story broke last month that in a March 11 radio address Farrakhan, a prominent Jackson supporter, had called Coleman a "Judas" and an "Uncle Tom" and said: "One day soon we will punish you with death. You're saying, when is that? In sufficient time. We will come to power right inside this country one day soon" (*New York Times*, 17 April). When reporters looked into Farrakhan's controversial March 11 address, they discovered something even more outrageous and disgusting, his remarks on Adolf Hitler:

"Here the Jews don't like Farrakhan, so they call him Hitler. Well, that's a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn't great for me as a black person, but he was a great German. Now I'm not proud of Hitler's

evil against Jewish people, but that's a matter of record. He rose Germany up from nothing."

Jackson brushed off the Muslim demagogue's attack on Coleman as "a bit inciteful and intemperate," but insisted, "I have no ability to muzzle surrogates who want to make a contribution." Even after the Hitler scandal broke, Jackson stated that he was against making Farrakhan into a "pariah" and "wiping him out of the human race."

Adolf Hitler was the biggest racist pig in history. In addition to Hitler's monstrous genocide against the Jewish people (which to a virulent anti-Semite like Farrakhan is no crime), what about Hitler and black people? If the Nazis ever came to power in this country they would do to black people what Hitler did to the Jews. The Nazi *Führer* supported Mussolini's conquest of black Ethiopia and the Boers' bid for power in South Africa. To this day the white supremacist Boer rulers of South Africa—that apartheid hellhole for 22 million blacks—agree with Farrakhan

that Hitler was "great." (Farrakhan ought to know that Hitler wasn't so "great" for Germany either: he managed to wipe out 1,000 years of German settlement in East Europe by his ultimately suicidal attack on the Soviet Union.) Anyone who calls Hitler "a great man" should be reviled by every black person.

It is not so surprising that a rabid nationalist like Farrakhan respects another rabid nationalist, namely Adolf Hitler. Farrakhan wants to be the Hitler of black people. For that reason he hates and opposes "race-mixing" in this country. Note his attacks on black pop star Michael Jackson, who is often seen in the company of starlet Brooke Shields, for being "sissified." ("The image he projects to young black men is an image that we should all reject.") Farrakhan's underlying position is that blacks should stop being entertainers and athletes. And there's a reason, since many of them are strongly pro-integration. They want to break down the barriers, including cultural barriers, which keep blacks at the

Pioneering black Americans whose achievements strike a blow at racism and segregation. From left: Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier described in *Black Bourgeoisie* the dilemma of the black middle class as "without cultural roots in either the Negro world with which it refuses to identify, or the white world which refuses to permit the black bourgeoisie to share its life."

Wynton Marsalis, award-winning classical and jazz trumpeter. Contralto Marion Anderson was refused permission by the D.A.R. to sing at Constitution Hall in Washington in 1939, but the government invited her to sing from the Lincoln Memorial. In 1955 Anderson became the first black star of New York's Metropolitan Opera. Ernest Everett Just, brilliant experimental

embryologist. A recent biography of Just notes that patronizing treatment from the U.S. scientific community and difficulties securing adequate funding for his research led him to become an expatriate in Europe. Richard Pryor, popular comedian and scathing satirist of American race relations.



E. Franklin Frazier



Wynton Marsalis



Marion Anderson



Ernest Everett Just



Richard Pryor



bottom of American society. Richard Pryor, for example, is not just an important entertainer, he is a major force for integration in this country. As fighters for black equality, which can only be fully realized in a socialist America, as revolutionary integrationists, we are utterly opposed to Louis Farrakhan and everything this would-be Hitler of black people stands for.

## Louis Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm Dead

Farrakhan has recently emerged as a big-time operator in black Democratic Party circles. In February the black Democratic mayor of Washington, D.C., Marion Barry, ran a "Louis Farrakhan Day." Today Farrakhan affects a militant image. Sometimes he claims to be walking in the footsteps of Malcolm X. Too bad the ghost of Malcolm, the most courageous and intransigent black militant of his generation, didn't show up in D.C. to make things hot for his one-time protégé. Even while in the Black Muslim sect, Malcolm was known for his openmindedness and respect for knowledge. He boasted that in prison he read every book he could get his hands on. Contrast this to the Polish reactionary Lech Walesa, who boasts he's never read a book in his life.

Malcolm split from the Black Muslims because he wanted to fight the racist rulers of this country, which Elijah Muhammad's sect *never* did. As Malcolm put it in his *Autobiography*:

"It could be heard increasingly in the Negro communities: 'Those Muslims talk tough, but they never do anything, unless somebody bothers Muslims.'" [emphasis in original]

Louis Farrakhan (then Louis X) first made it big when he was sent in by Elijah Muhammad to replace Malcolm as minister of Harlem's Mosque No. 7 when Malcolm split from the Nation of Islam in early 1964. After the split the Muslims waged a savage hate-Malcolm



Us Magazine

**Michael Jackson, denounced by Farrakhan, escorting starlet Brooke Shields.**

campaign, and Farrakhan was the rabid hatchetman. He likened Malcolm to "the dog that returns to his own vomit," he denounced Malcolm for "trying to make friends with the white people" instead of calling them "a race of devils." Two months before Malcolm was gunned down in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, Farrakhan wrote:

"Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape...."

"Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies."

—*Muhammad Speaks*,  
4 December 1964

Today even Farrakhan himself admits he "helped create the climate" for the murder of Malcolm X (quoted in *Village Voice*, 22 May).

Whether or not Elijah Muhammad's people killed Malcolm—and they may have—they hated him and wanted him dead. The Muslims kept up their hate-Malcolm campaign for years. For example, in 1970 Elijah Muhammad's goon squad, the Fruit of Islam, tried to

*continued on page 8*

# Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm Dead

By Cliff Carter

*Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist, is a frequent guest contributor to Workers Vanguard.*

In the February 1984 issue of *Exsence* magazine, Minister Louis Farrakhan made the following statement: "The moderate Black leadership opposed Malcolm X and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and that gave the government the signal that it could destroy these leaders and their organizations." My first comment to Farrakhan concerning this statement is, after all these years, how can he mention Malcolm's name in the same sentence with his so-called Honorable Elijah Muhammad? There is no history recorded where the government ever tried to destroy Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan; they were messed with, but not destroyed. The government knew they (Elijah and Louis) weren't worth a bullet.

But first when talking about Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan, I will have to take you back to the beginning of the year 1962. Elijah was the leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan were Elijah's two top ministers, with Malcolm number one man and Louis number two man. There were many speaking engagements given by the NOI in the larger cities around the country coast to coast. Weeks before the speaking engagement, Elijah would be announced as the speaker, but at the day of the talk Farrakhan would start things and first he would announce Elijah was too ill to speak or had to catch an early plane. (This was to keep Muhammad from talking to people because he was a very, very poor speaker and stumbled over simple words.) Then Farrakhan would give his little talk (if you heard him in one city, then you heard him in all cities) with phrases like: the white man is the devil, need some land of our own, must do for self. After Farrakhan came Malcolm X and he did entertain the people with a talk to suit the occasion.

Some of Malcolm X's speeches would include the doctrine of the NOI, but most of his talk was his own words. I heard Malcolm X say things nobody else has ever said.

Whenever the Black Muslims (as the NOI was often called) were called to meet the press, comment or debate, it was always Malcolm X. Louis Farrakhan wasn't known outside of Boston. Farrakhan tries today to talk like Malcolm X, but if you had the pleasure to see Brother Malcolm in person, then you would not walk across the street to hear Farrakhan.

The newspaper of the Black Muslims or NOI, whichever you prefer, was started by none other than Malcolm X. As far back as 1958 there was a section in *The Journal and Guide* (a black newspaper) entitled "Muhammad Speaks," and this is the same name given by Malcolm X: *Muhammad Speaks*. After the death of Elijah Muhammad, his son Imam Wallace Deen Muhammad took over, and the newspaper was changed to the *Bilal News* and then later to the *American Muslim Journal*. Louis Farrakhan had a few of the old group to follow him and his newspaper is called *The Final Call*.

Come the end of 1962 not all was going good inside the Black Muslims, for it was known that Elijah's ministers were preaching one thing and doing another. Elijah Muhammad had his

Malcolm X:  
We wrote in our  
obituary of this  
outstanding black  
leader that com-  
munists "building on  
the experience of  
others such as  
Malcolm, and eman-  
cipated from his  
religiosity, will build a  
movement in which  
the black masses and  
their allies can lead  
the third great  
American revolution.  
Then Malcolm X will  
be remembered by  
black and white alike  
as a heroic and tragic  
figure in a dark period  
of our common  
history."

—"Malcolm X,"  
*Spartacist* No. 4,  
May-June 1965



Don Charles

heds filled with the young girls inside the Black Muslims. Elijah had babies by some of the young girls and wanted this kept a secret, but Malcolm X said no, "what is good for the goose is good for the gander." Malcolm X confronted Elijah about the babies and Elijah admitted this to be true.

At the beginning of 1963, Elijah was plotting to turn the whole Nation of Islam against Malcolm X. Around the middle of 1963, the handlers of *Muhammad Speaks* stopped printing anything about Malcolm X. In the NOI, the ministers did as Elijah said without bothering to think for themselves. Elijah was looking for an excuse to rid himself of Malcolm X. Malcolm X had built the NOI to a respectable size and now Elijah did not need him anymore. The Black Muslims' main purpose was to have all the people moved from one of the United States and give the state to them (the Nation of Islam). This was ridiculous and stupid and Elijah knew this, but that was his program and he could ask a lifetime for this and still say that it isn't impossible.

In November 1963, Elijah got the excuse he had wanted. President John F. Kennedy was killed, and Malcolm X expressed the opinion that the assassination was a matter of "chickens coming home to roost." Elijah immediately suspended Malcolm for 90 days; nor could he make any public statement and perform the duties of a minister. Elijah gave several reasons for this suspension, but the real reason he did not ever give: he wanted to rid himself of Malcolm. Malcolm would not see Elijah do wrong and call it right like Farrakhan and the other ministers did.

In March 1964, Malcolm told Elijah what to do with his NOI and formed his own group, The Muslim Mosque, Inc., and initiated a new political group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

After Malcolm left the NOI, everywhere he went there were NOI members checking him out. Louis Farrakhan moved to New York City to replace Malcolm and he was all smiles because he thought when the old man dies, he would be number one. (But when Elijah died, Imam Wallace Deen Muhammad was number one and Farrakhan was sent looking.) Farrakhan talked about Malcolm X like a dog, even after Malcolm was killed. Farrakhan said he would like to see Malcolm's body dug up, killed and buried again. Elijah even had Muhammad Ali, the boxer, put the bad mouth on Malcolm on national TV.

In between the time of his withdrawal and death, Malcolm X said Farrakhan wasn't fit to lead the NOI and that is why today Wallace D. Muhammad has the greater portion of Elijah's followers and Louis is flagging trains such as Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. Malcolm knew Louis should have come to his defense when he was attacked by Elijah, but as we know Louis is better defending misleaders like Jesse Jackson.

Now about Elijah. A friend asked Malcolm did he still believe in Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm said, to hell with him, he will tell the truth one day and lie the next.

Farrakhan wants the public of today to believe he is walking in Malcolm's footsteps and they were good friends until the end. Every time Farrakhan writes an article or makes a speech he tries to tell the public how bad Malcolm was treated and how hard a time Malcolm had trying to function in that society. Why doesn't Farrakhan tell all the bad things he said about Malcolm and how he betrayed and deserted him when Malcolm needed him the most? I know you followers of Louis Farrakhan do not like hearing this, but it is the truth, for just ask Louis how many nights this has "whipped" him.

Louis Farrakhan: Stop calling Malcolm X's name in the same breath as Elijah Muhammad's, Jesse Jackson's and all your other misleading friends. Until you tell the truth about what happened between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, I say to you, Louis Farrakhan, keep your mouth off Malcolm X. Jesse Jackson is your speed.

Now, Farrakhan, you have joined the Democratic Party and it only took you a little better than 25 years. Just like I said, Louis, the government does not want to destroy you, because they know where you are and know what you are going to do next, such as joining the Democratic Party. Malcolm X must be turning over in his grave for the tenth time already. Surely Jesse Jackson must have taken time to explain "the" Democratic Party to you (notice I did not say "his" Democratic Party because there are places and things he isn't allowed and told about).

Minister Louis Farrakhan, since you say you are walking in Malcolm's footsteps (this is what you said or want people to believe, isn't it?), Malcolm X said the Democratic and Republican Parties have sold the working people down and up the river and it is time for the masses to form a party of their own. ■



# Farrakhan...

(continued from page 7)

break up a Malcolm X memorial meeting in Philadelphia organized by the militant Black Panther Party. According to the paper of Farrakhan's present rival, Wallace Deen Muhammad:

"As late as the early 1970's Min. Farrakhan was heard before audiences like the Southwest Illinois University audience in 1973, speaking of how he would like to see Malcolm's corpse dug up and killed again!"

—American Muslim Journal, 2 March

Given Farrakhan's present ties to black Democrat Jesse Jackson, his violent hatred for Malcolm X showed a kind of foresight. For Malcolm despised black Democratic politicians as traitors to their people. And so did all black militants in the 1960s.

Behind all of Farrakhan's "black power" demagoguery, he is running an influence racket in the Democratic Party in which the black masses are to be the pawns. If Jesse Jackson is "looked out" at the Democratic convention in San Francisco, Farrakhan threatens to lead an army of blacks on Washington, D.C. to demand a separate territory. This is just hot air. Farrakhan's actual

break with Farrakhan. His fellow Democratic presidential candidates, Mondale and Hart, have asked him to disassociate himself from the Black Muslim leader. A *New York Times* editorial (10 April) takes Jackson to task for not living up to the "spiritually uplifting" image of Martin Luther King. Jackson, lectures the *Times*, "is being challenged to take responsibility for the political company he keeps."

Talk about a racist double standard! No one demanded that Richard Nixon break with all the gangsters he was involved with. No one is calling on New York City's Democratic mayor Ed Koch to disassociate himself from Israeli war criminal Ariel Sharon, who organized the massacre of Palestinians at the Shatila/Sabra refugee camps. And where were the cries of outrage when the Ku Klux Klan endorsed Reagan for president in '84 (as they already did in 1980)? In his own way Jackson exposed the hypocrisy of the ruling establishment's anti-Farrakhan campaign when he pointed out that he has also sought the support of notorious white racists:

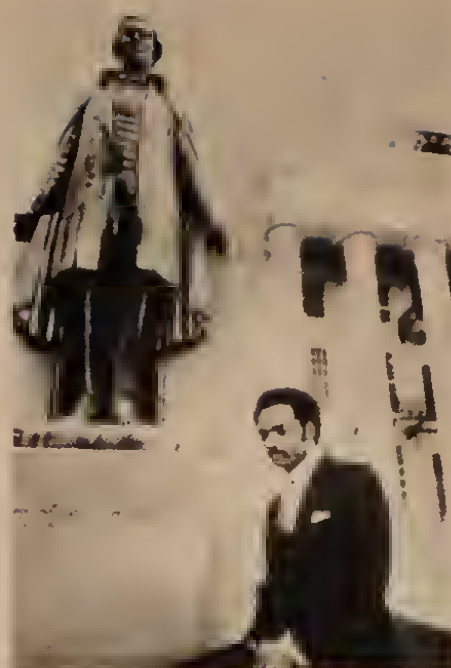
"Mr. Jackson noted that he had reached out for political support this year to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, two of the nation's most ardently segregationist politicians in the 1960's...."

—New York Times, 13 April

Certainly Mondale and Hart would never call on Jackson to disassociate himself from the likes of Wallace and Faubus. The Dixiecrat racists are and always have been a very important component of the Democratic Party, and 100 times more powerful than Jesse Jackson, not to mention a small-time black sect leader like Farrakhan.

So Jesse Jackson is on the verge of becoming the anointed black leader in America, a role no one has filled since the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968. The white ruling class demands that such a black leader preach love-thy-neighbor moral uplift to black people as King did. In other words, he's supposed to be a turn-the-other-cheek Uncle Tom. No one expects a white politician to model himself on the pacifistic Martin Luther King.

But times have changed and Jackson has to project a somewhat different image. That's why he has stubbornly refused to break with Farrakhan despite the enormous pressure from the white ruling establishment that he do so. He aims to appeal not only to those blacks who identify with "respectable" black leaders like Coretta Scott King and former UN ambassador Andrew Young but also those blacks deeply alienated and hostile to the system. Andrew Young shrewdly observed that denouncing Farrakhan could shatter Jackson's fragile support among such alienated blacks. If Jackson axes Farrakhan now, it will look like he's taking orders from Mondale and the *New York Times*. In fact, he is serving the interests of Mondale and the *Times*. His job is to



Jackson poses in front of statue of Confederate leader Jefferson Davis.

pull in the black vote for the Democratic Party in November. To do this effectively he must appear to be independent, even on occasion defiant, of the white power structure. Jackson's association with a white-baiting demagogue like Farrakhan helps give him that appearance of independence.

The Farrakhan affair has put leading Democrats like Mondale and Hart in a real bind. They need Jackson to stump for them after the San Francisco convention, but they want him "respectable." That is, they don't want Jackson to repel white racist voters toward Reagan. As *Newsweek* (23 April) put it: "Jackson aims to reach some accommodation with the Democratic Party and its nominee—and Farrakhan's political liabilities could hurt the party in the general election." So while calling on Jackson to distance himself from Farrakhan, the Democratic tops are offering some cosmetic "reforms" to entice blacks with the illusion of more political "clout" inside this party of racist American capitalism.

The Republicans, on the other hand, are trying to crucify Jackson. It is only with the most consummate hypocrisy that a member of the Reagan cabinet of notorious bigots and yahoos like vice president (and former CIA chief) George Bush can call Jackson's attitude toward Farrakhan "shocking" and declare: "We denounce the intrusion of anti-Semitism into the American political process and believe it has no place in our system." Go tell that to James Watt. For a Bush to complain about anti-Semitism is like the crook Nixon bemoaning "crime in the streets." And it serves the same purpose: to promote racist reaction. They are also cynically playing for the Jewish vote, for which the Reaganites and Democrats will of course hail every genocidal atrocity of the Israeli Zionist rulers.

Bush's inflammatory attack on Jackson is part of a broader effort to organize a white racist backlash. In the South the Republicans have launched their own "voter registration" drive, pushing anti-Jackson scare tactics for which they claim unusual success. And this anti-Jackson campaign can only fuel racist violence. Jackson has already received over a hundred death threats, and his campaign office in southern California was firebombed.

With this history of assassinations of black leaders in America, from Malcolm X to Martin Luther King, for Bush to declare Jackson beyond the pale, with "no place in our system," is ominous indeed. Farrakhan is sinister and dangerous precisely because his rhetoric of race war can be exploited by the KKK-hacked Reaganites to incite race-terror. Remember the 1979 Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in which five anti-racist militants and leftists were gunned down by the Klan and Nazis (accompanied by government agents) in broad daylight! All-white juries have repeatedly freed these fascist killers, thereby

providing legal sanction to racist murder. At bottom, Farrakhan has only his mouth while the white Hitler-lovers have the guns and friends in high places.

## Not Racist Democrats, But Labor Black Struggle

The Farrakhan affair has revealed particularly clearly the true nature of the Democratic Party. This "people's party" stretches from "white-devil"-baiting black separatists like Farrakhan to George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace. Actually, on the white racist side the Democratic Party goes well past Wallace to public Klansmen like California's Tom Metzger, who ran for Congressman from San Diego. Thus the Democratic Party binds millions of black people to their worst enemies.

Black people are suffering as never before under the whip of Reagan racism, a government openly endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan. But the answer is not the party of Farrakhan, Jackson and George Wallace. There is no "black power" but only black pawns within the confines of the Democratic Party. Race-conscious black militants must come to understand that the oppression of blacks is rooted in class oppression which places black people as a race-color caste at the bottom of racist American capitalist society. As we wrote in our article "Malcolm X: Courageous Fighter for Black Liberation" (*Young Spartacus* No. 116, March 1984):

"The labor movement stands as the one racially integrated and powerful force in this society. It is the strategic weight of black workers in the labor movement which gives them the potential leverage to topple the entire racist, capitalist system. Black workers, armed with a revolutionary socialist program and organized by a communist vanguard party, can lead backward, even racist white workers in battles against the ruling class."

What is necessary for black liberation is multiracial class struggle for revolutionary integration. This program is exemplified by the Labor Black Leagues initiated by the Spartacist League in several cities across the country, which are committed to the class struggle as central to the struggle for black liberation. These organizations of working-class and black struggle were inspired by the Labor/Black Mobilization of 27 November 1982 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. Local black Democratic politicians tried to sabotage this action by over 5,000 mainly black workers and youth, while separatists like Farrakhan were nowhere in sight. From stopping the Klan in the nation's capital, to protesting the execution of anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa, to ripping down the Confederate flag in front of San Francisco's city hall, the Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League are in the forefront of revolutionary struggle in Reagan's America. For a multiracial revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component! ■

## Black Panthers Had Jesse's Number

Whenever Jesse "jacknape" Jackson sees people moving in a progressive manner, he tries to put an obstacle in their way to get them hung up. His latest obstacle is a group called, "Black Men Moving", who are so brainwashed that they feel the youth gangs are more of a threat to the existence of Black people than the Ku Klux Klan, Mayor Daley, Richard Chicken Heart Nixon and the racist dog policeman who has killed more Black people than "Raid" killed bugs.

—from *The Black Panther*, 7 March 1970

role is to hustle the black vote for Mondale via the Jackson candidacy, even if he later squeals about the Democratic nominee. He appeals to downtrodden blacks much as the Dixiecrat racists appeal to the backwardness of poor whites. Yet the Jesse Helms and George Wallaces are not backward at all, but quite forward in their vicious program for the destruction of blacks.

## White Racist Rulers Preach to Black Hustlers

The white ruling establishment has hammered at Jackson over his refusal to



27 November 1982: At SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., a young black man carried photo of Malcolm X, symbol of anti-racist militancy. Separatists like Farrakhan stayed home.

## Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

### Bay Area

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

### Chicago

Tues. 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 2:00-5:30 p.m.  
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor  
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

### New York City

Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.  
41 Warren St. (one block below  
Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

## Trotskyist League of Canada

### Toronto

Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502  
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138



# Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

"Now the whole world will understand the Soviet government will do what it says it will" (*Time*, 21 May).

The Cold War provocations over the '84 Olympics are part of a far broader, sinister program of pushing the Soviet Union into war. In the last nine months we have seen the dispatching of KAL Flight 007, with over 200 aboard, on a suicide spy mission over ultrasensitive Soviet military bases; the ramming of Russian subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan; CIA mines blowing holes in Soviet tankers in Nicaraguan harbors; manhandling Soviet embassy personnel during the U.S. pirate invasion of Grenada. World wars have been started for less. Most ominous was the stationing of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe, six to eight minutes flying time from Moscow. Now Congress has approved going ahead with the MX missiles designed to take out the Russians' entire strategic arsenal. Reagan wants to return to the post-WWII era of nuclear blackmail.

But the Russians aren't flinching. On May 20 Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov warned:

"It is high time for those who shape U.S. policy to come to think about the futility of attempts to achieve a military superiority over the U.S.S.R."

Ustinov noted that the Pershing 2s deployed in NATO Europe are intended to hit Soviet bloc cities "in 8 to 10 minutes after the launching of the missiles." He warned:

"But this is an illusory advantage. We have increased the number of our submarines with nuclear missiles aboard off the coasts of the U.S.A. in terms of their characteristics—yield, accuracy, the ability to reach targets on the territory of the United States and the flight time to target. Soviet sea-based missiles create a counterbalance to the threat equal to that which is posed to us and our allies by the American missiles in Europe."

And he added, "we will accordingly increase the number of SS-20 missiles in the European part of the U.S.S.R." (*New York Times*, 21 May). It's just tit for tat—don't mess with Russia!

## Reagan Targets Soviet Athletes

In their maniacal drive to wipe out the legacy of the Russian October Revolution, whether they talk of "containment," "encirclement" or "roll-back" of Communism, U.S. leaders

plained that "extremist organizations and groupings of all sorts" aimed to "create 'unbearable conditions' for the stay of the Soviet delegation" and "sharply stepped up their activity with direct connivance of the American authorities." Nonsense, said the White House. But even such an establishment organ as *Sports Illustrated* (21 May) reported "the development in Southern California of the Ban the Soviets Coalition, with its plan to open 'safe houses' to encourage defections." The Coalition is an assemblage of the American ultraright wing, ranging from the John Birch Society to the Baltic Freedom League. They openly flaunt "Kill a Russian" lapel badges and Coalition head David Balsiger has met several times with administration officials and frequently broadcast over the CIA's Radio Free Europe.

The Soviets are not the only ones to note the atmosphere of violence surrounding the Los Angeles Olympics. The conservative London *Sunday Times* (13 May) reported:

"...Brian Jenkins, a recognized expert on international terrorism at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, believes that Soviet fears of attacks on her athletes are not without foundation.... According to Risk International, a Virginia-based private research firm that tracks terrorism around the world, there have been eight terrorist attacks against Russians or their property in America since 1979."

Challenged about the frenzied anti-Communists and their plans for anti-Soviet provocations, a State Department spokesman claimed that "our society is free and we can't prevent private groups from making their views known." Yet when a small L.A.-area radical outfit, the Federation for Progress, applied last April for a permit to demonstrate against Reagan on the opening day of the Olympics, they were banned from marching. Some "free society"! Really, how could the Soviets even think of coming to such a hostile environment when the only "protection" being offered up are the world class racists of the LAPD who daily terrorize the black ghetto and barrios, and the FBI, America's anti-Communist secret police. Just think of J. Edgar Hoover.

The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics were billed as the "first free enterprise games," in which by harnessing industry and finance to sponsor American athletes, capitalism could avenge itself for Soviet bloc predominance in international sports. More than \$500 million was spent in advertising by firms



Nelli Kim, gymnast from Soviet Central Asia.

## Liberating Women from the Veil

Sports Illustrated

For years the Americans have alibied their routine losses to Soviet Olympic teams by arguing that Soviet athletes are really state-supported "professionals." It's all so "unfair." Unfair to whom? To be a world-class "amateur" athlete in capitalist America requires substantial personal wealth. And if you don't have it, then you're at the mercy of money-grubbing sports entrepreneurs and their agents in the college administrations. That the Soviet collectivized economic system makes sports available to the entire population is a good and not a bad thing. As James Riordan observed in *Soviet Sport* (1980):

"...it is likely that communist athletes do well in world sport not because they themselves are a privileged elite, but because the society they live in makes the widest possible provision for general participation in sport and the development of sporting skills...."

"The Soviet Union makes no bones about the fact that it has used sport to further the emancipation of women in society.... It is worth reflecting that the graceful gymnasts Elvira Saadi and Nelli Kim come from a Muslim region where less than fifty years ago women were excluded from all public life and would probably have been stoned to death for appearing in public clad only in a leotard."

Riordan's reference to Elvira Saadi and Nelli Kim is particularly significant given that Jimmy Carter boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics to "punish" the Russians for sending their army to wipe up the Islamic fanatics in Afghanistan. Under the old Islamic order there were no Afghan Nelli Kims, nor could there be. The Soviet military intervention opens the possibility of liberating women from the slavery of the veil and producing Afghan women doctors, cosmonauts and gymnasts.

matter how many gold medals the Americans rack up in L.A., the Olympics will be universally recognized as a failure.

The Reagan Olympics provocations are all part of the anti-Soviet war drive. But this did not begin with the Republicans. It was Democrat Jimmy Carter who proclaimed a "free world" boycott of the 1980 Moscow games to "punish" the Soviets for intervening to stave off CIA-aided Islamic counterrevolution in Afghanistan. At the time Reagan called for cancellation of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. Now he talks of the "Olympic spirit" while pushing the Russians to the wall, hoping to whip up sports fans against the Soviet "evil empire." But the Olympic ploy isn't working. Ronald and his Reaganauts may think they can threaten nuclear war with impunity, but most Americans recognize that this would mean their own destruction. In 1980 the Spartacist League proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Break Carter's Olympic Boycott!" Today we stand with opponents of U.S. imperialism everywhere in saying, "Nyet to Reagan's Cold War Olympics!"

## World Olympics and World War

There is much hand wringing among liberals and many American athletes that the Olympics have been "ruined by politics." Actually, the Olympics have been, from their inception, an arena for fierce national antagonisms. They originated in the military sports associations which flourished after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. These groups were promoted by European governments to stimulate national pride and instill martial values in the youth. The French founder of the modern Olympics, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, was a rabid chauvinist who adamantly opposed admitting German athletes to the games.

In the 1924 Paris Olympics, glorified in the film *Chariots of Fire*, Germany and all the defeated powers of World War I were excluded. So was Soviet Russia. Indeed, the USSR was not admitted to the Olympic competition until 1952. The Olympics are "above

politics"? Many Americans active in the antiwar protests of the late '60s remember the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, which the Mexican government prepared by massacring hundreds of leftist students protesting U.S. imperialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese masses. When two black U.S. track stars, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, gave the black power salute from the winners' platform, U.S. Olympic officials brutally ended their careers by banning them from all major track events.

But it is the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin that most closely parallel what the U.S. government attempted in Los Angeles and typify the Olympics as an arena of preparation for imperialist war. Just as some extreme right-wingers wanted to ban Soviet athletes altogether today, so a section of the Nazi Party did not want "foreign enemies" contaminating German soil in '36. The sports leader of the Storm Troopers, Bruno Malitz, opposed allowing "Frenchmen, Belgians, Pollacks, Jew-Niggers" to use German tracks, playing fields and swimming pools.

Adolf Hitler, however, saw the 1936 Berlin games as a way to "prove" "Aryan racial superiority" and gear the German people up for war to conquer Europe. As the runner carrying the Olympic torch entered the Lustgarten park just before the games, 25,000 brown-shirted Hitler Youth with sheathed daggers on their hips and 40,000 Storm Troopers gave him the Nazi salute. And throughout the games, whenever a German athlete won this was greeted by thunders of "Heil Hitler!" from the spectators. Eleanor Holm, an American swimmer on the 1936 Olympic team, observed the Nazis' preparations:

"They had parades with tanks and guns before the Olympics. Even in the stadium, they showed off the lockers. They were underground shelters for the future made of concrete."  
—*Washington Post*,  
22 January 1980

Everyone knows that the Nazis were embarrassed by the successes of the  
*continued on page 10*



Sutton/Duomo

Soviet women gymnasts winning 1983 World Cup. Russian Olympic pullout reduces "first free enterprise games" to empty shell.

have sought to recreate the diplomatic and military isolation which beset the young Soviet workers state. The denial last February of a visa to Soviet Olympic attaché Oleg Yermishkin was not only a violation of the Olympic charter but a threat to the safety of the athletes themselves. The chief of Soviet security for the games was denied entry on the grounds that he allegedly worked for the KGB—the Soviet security agency! Meanwhile, the Israeli government, brutal murderers of thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank to Sabra and Shatila, undoubtedly secures free access for its sordid secret police, the Mossad.

The May 8 TASS statement complained that "extremist organizations and groupings of all sorts" aimed to "create 'unbearable conditions' for the stay of the Soviet delegation" and "sharply stepped up their activity with direct connivance of the American authorities." Nonsense, said the White House. But even such an establishment organ as *Sports Illustrated* (21 May) reported "the development in Southern California of the Ban the Soviets Coalition, with its plan to open 'safe houses' to encourage defections." The Coalition is an assemblage of the American ultraright wing, ranging from the John Birch Society to the Baltic Freedom League. They openly flaunt "Kill a Russian" lapel badges and Coalition head David Balsiger has met several times with administration officials and frequently broadcast over the CIA's Radio Free Europe.

The Soviets are not the only ones to note the atmosphere of violence surrounding the Los Angeles Olympics. The conservative London *Sunday Times* (13 May) reported:

"...Brian Jenkins, a recognized expert on international terrorism at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, believes that Soviet fears of attacks on her athletes are not without foundation.... According to Risk International, a Virginia-based private research firm that tracks terrorism around the world, there have been eight terrorist attacks against Russians or their property in America since 1979."



# Olympics...

(continued from page 9)

American men's track team, with its fine black athletes, especially Jesse Owens. This is frequently hailed as an index of the superiority of the "American way of life." According to the myth, Hitler refused to shake hands with Owens. (No one talks about the fact that the black runner couldn't buy a cup of coffee at a white restaurant in the Jim Crow South.) It's interesting to note, however, that two American Jewish sprinters, Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller, were deliberately removed from the relay team on the eve of the '36 games by U.S. Olympic officials. Glickman maintains to this day: "The Nazis had already been embarrassed by the supremacy of the black athletes. It is my belief that we were replaced to save the Nazis from not having Jews run and win."

But why would "democratic" America go out of its way to avoid embarrassing the Nazi Führer? Because the main target of fascist Germany at the time was the Soviet Union. The Berlin Olympics were held just before the signing of the anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan. Interestingly the Commu-

nist International tried to organize its own "Popular Olympiad," the Spartakiade, in Barcelona, Spain. Five thousand athletes from 15 countries were attracted to this counter-Olympics. Yet the games never took place. It was not possible to escape the class war. They were disrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the bloody prelude to World War II.

## Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Reagan's insane anti-Soviet provocations have finally hit many Americans where they live—in front of their TV sets watching sports extravaganzas. But the stakes in Washington's games are far higher than the future of the Olympics. It is the future of humanity that hangs in the balance. The Pentagon war machine is now preparing to invade Central America, and with this could well come a blockade of Cuba. The war hawks in Washington are constantly dreaming of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the closest U.S. rulers have yet come to pushing the ultimate button. On the other side of the world, Washington is hedging every oil sheikdom on the Persian Gulf to request the intervention of the U.S. Navy in order to "contain" the unbelievably bloody Iran-Iraq war (and assure control of vital oil supplies for world imperialism). This potential flash point for World War III is but a few hundred miles from the southern border of the Soviet Union, which has repeatedly warned of the dire consequences of a U.S. intervention. Will Reagan ignore Moscow's unambiguous warnings just as he has over the L.A. Olympics?

We Trotskyists are not the only ones to notice that these are *pre-war games* highlighting the danger of thermonuclear world war. The quirky remnants of American Maoism, Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), reviewed the history of great power chauvinism dominating the Olympics. But the anti-Soviet RCP presents the Cold War as a conflict of two rival imperialist powers, not fundamentally different from the conflict between the "democratic" United States and fascist Germany under Hitler. Here



Ober Spiegel

**Soviet military power has prevented U.S. imperialism from pushing the nuclear button.**

is how the RCP explained Carter's boycott of the 1980 Olympics: "The U.S. was the leader of the Western Alliance, and thus, was required to play pointman in confronting the rival imperialist bloc" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 20 April). In fact, the RCP was just as hysterical in denouncing Soviet military intervention against the Afghan feudalists as were Carter and Reagan. And Mao's heirs in Peking, together with the CIA, are arming the Islamic fanatics at the Khyber who skin Soviet soldiers alive and shoot Communist schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read.

The arch-reactionary Reagan understands well, as the dimwitted RCP Maoists refuse to see, that the Cold War is at bottom a class war which began in October 1917. The Soviet Union continues to embody proletarian state power, although bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin and his heirs. It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against the threat of NATO imperialism. But the Moscow-line Stalinists weaken and undermine that defense by

preaching "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, even with the most rabidly anti-Communist militaristic governments. No doubt the Stalinists are looking forward hopefully to a 1988 "détente" Olympics under Mondale... to be held in Seoul, South Korea of all places!

It is only proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers which will insure a socialist future for the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. In the United States the desperate conditions produced by capitalist decay—the dangerous growth of racist reaction, depression-level unemployment even amid an economic upturn, union-busting and drastic slashes in social services—drive the working class, oppressed black masses and other minorities into struggle. A revolutionary party can and must intervene in these struggles to direct them against the madmen in the White House and their masters on Wall Street and forward to a workers revolution which will put an end to this racist, capitalist system once and for all. ■



UPI

**Head of Ban the Soviets Coalition, which planned to practically kidnap Soviet Olympic athletes.**

# Corporal Griffin...

(continued from page 12)

today in a Mercedes in Columbus, Georgia thanks to a pardon from Jimmy Carter, while Corporal Griffin, who refused to commit such atrocities, gets imprisonment at hard labor.

The case of Corporal Griffin reveals the Achilles' heel of American imperialist militarism. The rotting U.S. economy has driven tens of thousands of desperate black and Hispanic youth into

the recruiting stations as a last-ditch means to escape starvation. Griffin himself told reporters that he signed up at 19 because he couldn't find work and wanted job training. But under fire, many GIs, especially minorities, realize that they don't want to be cannon fodder for their oppressors. Some, like Corporal Griffin, object for religious reasons. No doubt many recall Muhammad Ali saying "No Vietcong ever called me nigger." At the time of the Beirut bombing, we noted that the widespread American outrage was mainly directed at the imperialist commander in chief. We seek to channel this outrage against

the entire imperialist war effort. And as for vicarious bloodthirsty "leftists" who say of the Marines in Beirut, killed in a senseless imperialist adventure, "live like pigs, die like pigs," we wrote: "We can only despise those who call for the death of American soldiers for the crimes of their rulers" ("Marxism and Bloodthirstiness," *WW* No. 345, 6 January).

It took courage for Corporal Griffin to stand up to the USMC. But more than an individual's moral stance is required to fight racist U.S. imperialism. As a crucial part of the struggle to achieve a socialist society we need to burst asunder the U.S. armed forces from within, mobilizing the ranks against the brass who are prepared to slaughter millions in the Cold War crusade against Communism. Proclaiming solidarity with their "foreign" class brothers against the bosses' wars, revolutionary soldiers and sailors will inscribe on their banners: "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" ■

# Bradley...

(continued from page 4)

vandalism for tearing down her Confederate flag.

**Bradley:** The deal the D.A.'s office offered at the hearing was to do 25 hours of community service. That was stupid! Because I definitely have done my community service. There's no doubt about that. Taking down the Confederate flag on two occasions and putting up the Union flag. The mayor said she was in search of a flag, so I think the Fort Sumter garrison flag is quite

appropriate.

The judge thought the D.A.'s "community service" was such a stupid idea, he burst out laughing. And the court stenographer burst out laughing. No one in that courtroom could hear what was going on, or sit there with a straight face. This was an outrage! This was ridiculous. You want to prosecute for what?!

So, yes, I want my day in court. I think a jury trial will make it clear. It's an outrage to pretend I'm any kind of criminal. I didn't fly the Dixie flag, the flag of the enemy. And I didn't pull down the Fort Sumter flag, Dianne Feinstein did. Or somebody gave the orders. Let's find out in court. If Feinstein thinks the South is going to rise again here, then we raise again the Civil War cry, "Abolish Slavery!" That was decided in blood and iron. Robert E. Lee was the general who sent old John Brown to the hangman. But by the end of the war it was Lee who surrendered to Grant at Appomattox and not the other way around. Dianne Feinstein is on the spot, not me. She's the one who's got to answer to those thousands of black troops who fought and died for freedom in the Civil War, to those great American revolutionaries who died at Harpers Ferry.

Richard Bradley's trial is an opportunity to reassert the meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Harpers Ferry, and the continuing fight against the racist Confederate flag and all it stands for. We urge everyone to contribute generously to Bradley's court costs. Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

**Ann Arbor**  
c/o SYL  
P.O. Box 8364  
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

**Atlanta**  
Box 4012  
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**  
Box 840, Central Station  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**  
Box 6441, Main P.O.  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 427-0003

**Cleveland**  
Box 91954  
Cleveland, OH 44101  
(216) 621-5138

**Detroit**  
Box 32717  
Detroit, MI 48232  
(313) 961-1680

**Los Angeles**  
Box 29574  
Los Feliz Station  
Los Angeles, CA 90029  
(213) 663-1216

**Madison**  
c/o SYL  
Box 2074  
Madison, WI 53701  
(608) 251-4321

**New York**  
Box 444  
Canal Street Station  
New York, NY 10013  
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**  
Box 1972, Main P.O.  
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**  
P.O. Box 32552  
Oakland, CA 94604  
(415) 835-1535

**San Francisco**  
Box 5712  
San Francisco, CA 94101  
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**  
P.O. Box 75073  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(202) 636-3537

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

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA



# La Migra...

(continued from page 12)

deported to Tijuana. Despite the fact that his father had long possessed resident papers for the entire family, Mario was singled out for deportation because he "looked like an illegal." INS commissioner Alan Nelson refused to apologize for the incident claiming that in general "the INS shows good and compassionate concerns to aliens."

Recently the San Jose, California city council ordered local police to refuse to cooperate with INS raids in Silicon Valley manufacturing plants, declaring the *migra* sweeps "discriminatory, inhumane and callous." Police chief McNamara said they were "disturbed" because "only people with brown skin seem to be questioned." No doubt the city fathers were sensitive to political pressure from the area's large Hispanic population. More importantly, this citadel of high-tech "free enterprise" seeks a plentiful supply of undocumented immigrant workers without legal rights in order to keep wages down and unions out. Thus the council resolution pointedly criticized INS factory raids as "unwarranted disruption of a business community" (Oakland Tribune, 16 May).

Recent movies such as *El Norte* and *The Border* have finally brought the misery of "illegals" to public attention, portraying the incredible hardships faced by Latin workers and peasants escaping starvation and death squads to look for a future in the U.S. In *El Norte* a Guatemalan brother and sister fleeing for their lives arrive in L.A. where they become part of a vast pool of day laborers who can't protest because the threat of deportation to certain death hangs over their heads. *The Border* shows the connivance between the bosses and Border Patrol cops, who stage raids just before payday (saving the owners a bundle in payroll costs) while themselves smuggling in unfortunate Latins who are bought and sold like cattle. Yet these films are mild Hollywood stories: in real-life factory raids most don't escape and find a better job, as in *El Norte*; and *migra* cops with a heart of gold like Jack Nicholson in *The Border* are pure fiction.

## "Land of the Free"

The truth is that U.S. capital needs these workers to serve as a cheap labor force at the lowest rung of the economic ladder. As a spokesman for the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund put it, undocumented workers are "a class of slaves who are brought here to work and then told to leave." In addition, as the fortunes of the CIA-led *contras* in Nicaragua and the U.S.-backed military dictatorship in El Salvador have declined, the administration also seeks to use racist fears of "brown-skinned hordes" to undercut the unpopularity of U.S. war policies for Central America by inventing an absurd scenario of more immigrants fleeing north to escape "Communism." Last June Reagan tried to float the image of millions of "feet people" (supposedly like the Vietnamese "boat people," consisting of drug pushers and Saigon army torturers) flooding the American job market. In fact it's the mass-murdering U.S.-backed dictatorships that make for a mass exodus: since 1980 nearly *one tenth* of the entire Salvadoran population has come to this country. The "brown peril" campaign is not just the property of Republican reactionaries. The haughty *New York Times* has run editorials such as "The Refugees Are Coming!" "Time to Turn the Illegal Tide" and "Hispanic Votes vs. Public Interest."

If the Latino worker or peasant is able to make his way out of the bellhole existence in Mexico or Central America, his fate is then put in the hands of the American smugglers or "coyotes" who bring their cargo across the border by

the pound. "I've seen beef come across the border in better condition," one INS official recently remarked (*Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 20 March). Once in the U.S. the immigrant worker is at the mercy of cutthroat labor contractors. A 38-year-old Guatemalan seamstress living here for eight years told the *Los Angeles Times* (20 April):

"I'm a mother alone with three children. What happens if they catch me and send me back? I have no family there at all. And my children will be all alone here. . . . They treat criminals better than us. Criminals are allowed to drive cars wherever they want, to have houses that no one invades, to walk freely on the streets. But all we want to do is work—work that no one else will do. Why do they want to do this to us?"

For Central American workers deportation can be a matter of life and death. Recently a study by the American Civil Liberties Union showed that at least 50 out of a sample of 2,500 Salvadorans deported from the U.S. back to their homeland were arrested by the security forces the minute they stepped off the plane and killed (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 January). Currently about 1,000 Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Hondurans are flown out of Los Angeles by the INS every month. And under pressure from the Reagan administration the Supreme Court has also ruled that Central American refugees in this country need not be informed that they may be eligible for political asylum.

Contrast this to the elaborate attempts to organize defections by Soviet bloc athletes and visitors to the upcom-

undocumented workers in this country add \$25 to \$75 billion to the economy (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 June 1982). Yet while "illegals" contribute vastly to the U.S. economy they get little in return. Foreign-born workers have social security taxes deducted from their paychecks but less than 1 percent receive any benefits whatsoever. In Los Angeles children are dropped from the school lunch program under Reagan administration requirements that their parents provide proof of their resident status.

## Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Fishing for Hispanic votes in the elections, all three Democratic candidates have come out against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, but only because it provides for employer sanctions and threatens to impose a national identity card. Meanwhile, California Democrats managed to get debate on the bill put off until after the state's primary June 5, eventually hoping to postpone the sensitive issue until after the November elections. Jesse Jackson makes the strongest pitch, hoping to add brown to his stillborn Rainbow Coalition. But come November he will be campaigning for the Democratic nominee, and front-runner Mondale favors the Roybal amendment which calls for beefing up the Border Patrol and the INS cops in general. For years these thugs have been a law unto themselves from San Diego to El Paso. Already the Reagan administration has embarked on a program to



Los Angeles SL/SYL protests *migra* raids, demands full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers.

ing L.A. Olympics—until the Russians finally said "nye!" to this Cold War provocation. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (19 April) the INS set up a special unit to instantly approve asylum requests, a handbook was distributed to LAPD street cops with a section on how to handle such requests, and the federal government had a special phone staff to receive calls from would-be defectors. Working in tandem with the cops a local East European émigré nest, the "Ban the Soviets Coalition," had plans to virtually kidnap Soviet participants in the games. Like Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese drug pushers and Polish Solidarność anti-Communists, they were to be welcomed to the "free world," while black Haitians and brown-skinned Salvadoran refugees are handed over to the death squads of U.S.-backed dictatorships.

The claim that foreign workers take away jobs from U.S. workers is a sordid lie and an alibi for racist superexploitation. The bosses and their labor lieutenants are demagogically trying to cover up the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which generates unemployment. What do undocumented workers have to do with the laying off of hundreds of thousands of automobile workers in Detroit, for example? Most immigrant workers take low-paying jobs in the service sector where little education is required and language skills are not required. Two years ago it was estimated that the combined earnings of all

spend half a billion dollars on new radar, computerized closed circuit TV systems and 850 new border guards. And now the Democratic liberals, supported by Stalinist Hispanic leaders like Bert Corona and Antonio Rodriguez, are offering to out-muscle Reagan to "regain control of the border."

Rather than attempt to organize these exploited workers to struggle together against the bosses, the union bureaucracy joins forces with racist Reagan reaction against "foreigners." AFL-CIO misleaders are reportedly "pressing for a statutory ban on employment of illegal aliens, contending that they depress wages and working conditions for American citizens" (*New York Times*, 22 April). Over the last decade of recession and depression this has been one of the main "answers" to mass unemployment put forward by these social chauvinists. Similarly they push protectionist import quotas on everything from steel to shoes and oppose "runaway" shops in Mexico and elsewhere. For these labor fakers the cause of mass unemployment is not capitalism—which they support to the bitter end even as millions are thrown out of work and historic union gains are ripped up in the interests of the bosses' profits—but *foreign workers*.

To get labor votes Mondale thunders about declaring "economic" war with Japan. Much of the so-called left is supporting Jackson who joins Mondale in this disgusting protectionist appeal,

whining how "Honda and Toyota, Suzuki and Yamaha, Sony and Panasonic are being unloaded at the docks and replacing Buick and Chrysler in the American market." Black and Latin workers had better know that such racist attacks will target them first and foremost. In June 1982 Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese American engineer in Detroit was bludgeoned to death by a laid-off auto plant foreman and his cousin who blamed Japanese competition for the loss of jobs at their plant. And the same Ku Klux Klan which has resumed lynchings of black people marches against "illegal aliens" from Austin, Texas to San Diego. (The KKK terrorists tried to stage a racist anti-immigrant march in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, but the hooded Kluxers were stopped in their tracks by the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 initiated by the Spartacist League.)

The fake-left in this country has either capitulated to protectionist sentiment or advanced some sort of sectoralist scheme. The Communist Party has steadily refused to call for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers, echoing the bourgeois line that U.S. capital can do without "illegal aliens." The Stalinists have supported legislation against runaway shops and even taken part in demonstrations against foreign-made steel coming into the U.S. The L.A.-based Internationalist Workers' Party (IWP), followers of the notorious Argentine political swindler Nahuel Moreno, proposes the "unity of Latinos and Blacks" based on "the streets, factories, workplaces, offices and ghettos," which can eventually win the support of "white workers, Native Americans, Asians and other minorities" (*Working Class Opposition*, August-September 1983). This utopian nationalist perspective of "ghetto unity" is a ticket for defeat. The key to defending immigrant workers is to mobilize the *social power* of organized labor on a program of *class unity*, which requires above all a struggle to oust the treacherous, racist pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Yet the Morenoites along with the reformists are constantly looking for a political bloc with sections of the bureaucrats. While they formally oppose the Democrats, the Morenoites snuggle up to such middle-class reformers as the Citizen's Party and the Consumer Party to push the sectoralist politics which are the lifeblood of the Democratic Party.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League fight for a multiracial revolutionary workers party which will wage international struggle to bring down capitalism. We fight for the working class and its organizations to stand at the head of the struggle for foreign-born workers' rights. When pro-Democratic Party United Farm Workers chief Cesar Chavez called on the INS in 1974 to go into the fields to arrest Mexican "illegals" we were virtually alone on the left in denouncing this outrage. When the INS threatened a raid on the Ford auto plant in Mahwah, New Jersey in 1975, Spartacist supporters joined with immigrant workers to demand that UAW Local 906 use the union's muscle to protect its foreign-born (largely Haitian and Latin) members. Feeling the heat, the local UAW president informed management the entire workforce would walk out if the INS cops set one foot inside the plant. *La migra* never showed at Ford Mahwah.

The Trotskyists fight for militant unionizing of the unorganized on both sides of the border, in the sweatshops of L.A. and El Paso as well as the "maquiladoras" of Tijuana and Juarez. We say: Labor must combat the protectionist poison of the capitalists and demand full citizenship rights for undocumented workers. For union action to stop Gestapo-style terror raids against foreign-born workers! Smash the INS concentration camps! Stop the deportations! ■



# WORKERS VANGUARD



ABC-TV

## Defend Corporal Griffin!

# Black Marine: I Won't Go!

## Refused to Go to Lebanon, Grenada

On May 15, a military judge at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina threw the book at U.S. Marine corporal Alfred Griffin. This black Marine was sentenced to four months at hard labor, reduction in rank to private, forfeiture of \$395 monthly pay for six months and a bad-conduct discharge. His "crime" in the eyes of the Marine Corps? Griffin, a Black Muslim, refused to go to Lebanon and Grenada to kill fellow Muslims and blacks. *This*

*soldier has stood up to the Marine Corps.* The draconian sentence is an attempt to intimidate all soldiers, particularly blacks, in the imperialist U.S. military. The Spartacist League demands: "Drop the charges! Freedom for Corporal Griffin—Restore his rights!"

A machine-gun team leader and two-year member of the Presidential Honor Guard, Griffin was depicted as a model black Marine on the cover of

the *Marine Corps Gazette*. He had a flawless record until he refused to join his unit when it left for Beirut on 18 October 1983. "If I had gone to Lebanon," he said later on the stand, "I would have been put in a situation in which I would have had to take arms against other Muslims." The Marine brass had a politically explosive situation on their hands, complicated by the fact that only a few days after Griffin returned to Camp Lejeune on

October 19, more than 240 Marines were blown up in their barracks in Beirut. So they offered Griffin an "all is forgiven" deal to rejoin his unit in Beirut. Griffin refused. When the unit was diverted for the assault on Grenada, the Marines tried to send him there. But citing religious and moral grounds, Griffin again said "No" to all "offers" to kill Muslims and blacks. Therefore, on November 29, special court-martial proceedings were begun, the prosecution seeking their heaviest penalty.

Reagan and the racists gloried in the sight of white Marines ravaging a black and largely defenseless Grenada. But a military machine based heavily on black enlisted men poses serious problems for U.S. imperialism. Racist Marine Corps "justice" was demonstrated in the case of the Camp Pendleton 14 in 1976. A group of black Marines defended themselves against repeated terror raids by Ku Klux Klan Marines and the military threw the blacks into the stockade. For the U.S. military with its endless history of war crimes, from atom-bombing Nagasaki to mining Nicaraguan harbors, the "crime" is to refuse to carry out murderous orders. American military and civilian "justice" means that Lieutenant Calley, the butcher of My Lai in Vietnam, is driving around *continued on page 10*

## Supreme Court Authorizes Gestapo-Style Raids

# La Migra Out of the Factories!

LOS ANGELES—In a decision that sets the stage for a wave of Gestapo-like police raids, the Supreme Court ruled April 17 that immigration cops may conduct surprise "inspections" in factories to search for suspected "illegal aliens." The high court justified this blatant violation of freedom from arbitrary search and seizure by claiming that in such a "brief encounter"—in which dozens of heavily armed "migra" cops jump out of police vans and quickly surround a plant, shotguns at the ready—workers are "free to leave," even if they don't answer the questioning. The estimated ten million undocumented workers in this country know better. The Supreme Court decision will unleash the immigration police, who already interrogate and deport anyone whose skin is too dark or accent too thick. Meanwhile, in Congress both the Republican Senate and the Democratic House leaders are gearing up for a push to enact the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill, which along with a limited amnesty will lay the basis for mass deportations.

The recent Supreme Court decision stemmed from a 1977 case in Los Angeles when immigration agents launched an unannounced raid of the L.A. garment district. In one factory alone 162 Latino workers were arrested after police sealed off all entrances to the building and grilled the entire labor force for hours. "Factory surveys," as they are described by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), account for an estimated 60 percent of all

**La migra—hated INS agents raid Los Angeles shoe factory in 1982. Supreme Court has given green light to police-state terror against foreign-born workers.**



Mullen/Herald Examiner

arrests made of foreign-born workers outside the border areas. Last year some 20,000 workers were deported from Los Angeles alone as a result of these raids.

The panic among Latin workers when the INS cops arrive reminded one British reporter of "the Jews fleeing the S.S. sweeps throughout Europe in the Second World War" (*London Guardian* dispatch, 1 May). In the presence of dozens of uniformed goons and under the eyes of the boss what foreign-born worker is going to refuse to answer

questions about his citizenship status? Latin American workers in the sweatshops, foundries and restaurants of L.A. know that to give the "wrong" answer during an interrogation can quickly lead to a trip to the border or possibly the morgue.

The head of the INS in Los Angeles, Will Ezell, crowed that the Supreme Court ruling was "the finest thing that's happened to us in a long time" and planned to up his factory raids from two to five a week. No doubt this Reagan-

appointed bloodhound would love to deal with the estimated 250,000 Salvadoran refugees now living in Los Angeles in the same manner Salvadoran troops regularly terrorize that country's workers.

To the migra cops any brown-skinned person is a target for arrest and deportation. Witness the horrifying story of Mario Moreno Lopez, a 14-year-old Chicano youth who was arrested in Santa Ana last February and *continued on page 11*