

Down with Thatcher! For a General Strike, Now!

Miners, Dock Workers Shutting Down Britain

LONDON, July 17—Civil war is raging in Britain's coal fields. Pitched battles on the picket lines, flaming barricades, attacks on police stations, bloody confrontations with cops and scabs—many of them unreported in the capitalist papers—have become daily occurrences. Through more than four months the striking miners have stood alone against the full power of the capitalist state, its court injunctions, its murderous cop terror. Eighteen weeks of hard class struggle have now won the miners a key ally on the strike front.

On Tuesday, July 10 registered dockers came out in the first national dock strike in a dozen years, against the use of scab contract labour at Immingham docks to handle blacked [union-boycotted] coal intended for Scunthorpe steelworks. Within days, virtually every port in the country has shut down, as shipping in and out of this island grinds to a halt. Margaret Thatcher's Tory government has proved it's out to *kill* the miners, to break the dockers, to break the back of the whole trade-union movement. Now Thatcher and her war cabinet threaten a state of emergency and the use of troops.

A general strike has been posed as an objective necessity right from the start, to smash the Tory assault and bring down this hated government, which wages bloody war against Britain's workers and minorities while preparing for nuclear war against the Soviet workers. Now it is not only posed, but



Orgreave, May 30—Thousands of coal miners from all over Britain take on army of scabherding cops.

both urgent and *possible*. The hour is here to avenge the murders of David Jones and Joe Green, two miners killed on the picket lines, and *break the strikebreakers!* Don't let it slip away!

The ruling class is rattled, the pound

is falling, interest rates are rising, the "Iron Lady" is slipping. Even the Tory press, peers and parts of the Cabinet are rebelling against Thatcher. Britain's high court has just ruled Thatcher's CIA-inspired union-busting at Cheltenham

spy center illegal (*New York Times*, 17 July). Already shortages are hitting factories and shops as the dockers' strike bites. This government is in deep trouble right now. It can be taken on—and toppled. NUR [railwaymen] and NUS [seamen] members are blacking cross-Channel cargo shipping in protest against government plans to sell off nationalised companies. Railwaymen, particularly in Wales, have begun solidly blacking scab coal, oil and iron ore. Lorry [truck] drivers of the Transport and General Workers Union have been instructed to do the same. The NUR and other unions working the ferry ports have pledged not to cross

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Democratic Convention, Olympics:

Immediate Threat of Violence by— Government Terrorism

Reagan's threats of and preparations for state violence against political opponents of his administration are now being brutally enforced on the streets of San Francisco, site of the Democratic Party convention. The Reaganites have made no secret of the intent of their mass mobilization of police and other "security" forces—codename: "anti-terrorism." Secretary of State George Shultz was perfectly clear: "It is time to think long, hard and seriously about more active means of defense—about defense through appropriate preventive or pre-emptive

actions against terrorist groups before they strike" (*New York Times*, 25 June). That is precisely the policy carried out by Democratic mayor Feinstein and her cops on July 12.

Reactionary fundamentalist and Reaganite Jerry Falwell held a provocative "Family Forum" in San Francisco that day. Not unexpectedly, a large demonstration of liberal and leftist opponents of the retrograde Moral Majority (hardly a "majority" in the Bay Area) gathered to express disgust at Falwell & Co. As the *New York Times* (13 July) reported: "Police

had barricaded off the sidewalk on Powell Street in front of the Holiday Inn and scores of police in riot gear and clubs, riding on horseback and on motorcycles, lined the intersection." The cops provided a special "guard" for the 350 ultrarightists who turned out for Falwell.

Outside, the anti-Falwell demonstrators were clubbed, charged by cop cycles, arrested and brutalized. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (13 July) a nurse was clubbed while attempting to aid a woman (who had

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Masses Starved**

**The
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Goring Oxes

June 25, 1984

Dear Comrades:

Are you serious? Just because Gore Vidal approves of Richard Bradley tearing down the Confederate flag in San Francisco, he's suddenly "America's greatest living writer"? [See caption on page 11 of *WV* No. 357, 22 June.] Are you trying to sell him a subscription? How horrible to think of you groveling at his feet in that bookstore, begging for his autograph.

At the risk of sounding condescending, let me ask you to throw fifteen novels into a pile, stir, then read. Whose "voice" do you recognize? Wright Morris? Thomas Pynchon? Terry Southern? Saul Bellow? These are living American artists, if not great novelists. To write great novels, one must first be an artist, which implies a recognizable "voice" uniquely that artist's, and not all artists are great novelists, so how on earth could Mr. Vidal, who is not even an artist, be one? He is merely an overrated, extremely competent and facile hack (not very modest, very self-promoting), who writes rather superficial popular novels in a pedestrian style, and whose "voice" you would never recognize in any pile. When he writes his first line, he already knows what his third line will be etc., and cannot possibly surprise the reader, since he is incapable of surprising himself. As Charles Lamb put it: "The poet dreams being awake." Mr. Vidal does not dream.

Maybe you think all this trivial, and that I'm roaming moonlit gardens when I should be engaged in something more serious, but art is a serious matter,

Comrades, essentially subversion, beginning as play, and that is why artists are our spokesmen for what is repressed in the present. On the surface, Gore Vidal may seem more subversive to you than, say, the artists I have mentioned, but you have only to look beneath the surface to realize he is all surface. Furthermore, it is serious when the vanguard party makes a fool of itself in its newspaper. Lenin knew nothing about art, but had the good sense to keep his mouth shut. I wonder if you realize that your hyperbole was greeted with derisive laughter by people who think it gives weight to the slander that all communists are philistines who admire "socialist realism." Not that Gore Vidal is *that* bad. Maybe he's writing "capitalist realism."

Communist Greetings!
Price

P.S. Suggested reading: Ezra Pound's *ABC of Reading*. One of Trotsky's favorite books, by the way.

WV replies: Yes, we meant it when we called Gore Vidal "America's greatest living writer." We agree with *Newsweek's* description of him as "the best all-round American man of letters since Edmund Wilson." And surely Vidal's work as a historical muckraker/novelist, whose subject has become increasingly what he calls "some sort of autobiography of the American Republic," is not only politically but even aesthetically unique. Vidal's exploration of the dark, or at least conventionally/officially obliterated, side of American politics and power, of the forces that shaped this nation, has

plumbed new depths with his powerful new novel, *Lincoln*. This is no hack project; indeed, given the abysmal ignorance of today's school inmates, it's vital reading.

But is it art? Well, it's interesting that comrade Price seems to believe we called Vidal the "greatest artist" or "greatest novelist." Just plain "writer" is perhaps not a serious category in the world of "high art"—would he prefer "greatest living American hack" therefore? We aren't into the depressing American passion for contests and

(Views from a Window: Conversations with Gore Vidal).

The military: "Just before the Second War, I listened several times to Air Force generals discuss with a humor that soon turned into obsession the ease with which the White House could be seized.... Although Hitler was a miserable joker (and probably a crypto-Jew), he was doing our work for us by killing communists.... I once asked Fletcher Knebel what gave him his idea for *Seven Days in May*.... 'Talking to Admiral Radford,' he told me. 'He scared me to



WV Photo

official certification of who's "Number One" in the high culture ratings. As Marxists, we have always opposed official attempts to dictate in the fields of art and culture. Comrade Price is quite correct that different artists speak with different voices, which aren't susceptible to competitive ranking. Actually we thought our characterization was fairly conventionally accepted. Will we next be accused of sheer philistinism? After all, what do *Newsweek*, *Time*, Anthony Burgess, etc., know?

Depressing to have to point out that content has something to do with why we like Vidal; we suspect that's why the hisses of "socialist realism." Actually, "capitalist realism" isn't such a bad description of what Vidal does (rather like Louis Auchincloss). As Vidal noted: "It is a tribute to the cunning of our rulers and to the stupidity of our intellectuals (book-chat division, anyway) that the world Auchincloss writes about, the domain of Wall Street bankers and lawyers and stockbrokers, is thought to be irrelevant, a faded and fading genteel-gentile enclave when, in actual fact, this little world comprises the altogether too vigorous and self-renewing ruling class of the United States" ("The Great World and Louis Auchincloss," *New York Review of Books*, 18 July 1974).

A large part of Gore Vidal's sense of the jocular results from his own background as an integral part of that old-line WASP ruling class. He exploits this not only in revealing their dirty secrets, but in shocking what he calls the "arrivistes," for example the unspeakable William F. Buckley, Jr., whom Vidal so effectively demolished in a confrontation on a major TV network in 1968 that Buckley exploded into disgusting homosexual-baiting and actually threatened violence. Those not familiar with Vidal's WASPish and witty assaults on the American ruling class may enjoy the following bits:

On "Judeo-Christian society": "Well, it's a society that should be harmed—that is, altered. Certainly, Judeo-Christianity should be smashed to bits"

death" ("West Point," *Matters of Fact and Fiction: Essays 1973-1976*).

The right-wing *Commentary* crowd: "He [Herman Wouk the novelist] reflects what one has come to think of as the *Commentary* syndrome or: all's right with America if you're not in a gas chamber, and making money" ("The Top Ten Best Sellers," *ibid.*).

The founding of America: "The initial success of the United States was largely accidental. A rich almost empty continent was occupied and exploited by rapacious Europeans who made slaves of Africans and corpses of Indians in the process. They created a Venetian-style republic based on limited suffrage and dedicated to the sacredness of property" ("Political Melodramas," *ibid.*).

The future: "Is it possible that during the dark night of our empire's defeat in Cuba and Asia the American story shifted from cheerful familiar farce to Jacobean tragedy—to murder, chaos?" ("The Art and Arts of E. Howard Hunt," *ibid.*).

Vidal takes on not just politics but sex ("Sex Is Politics," he titled one essay). Not to mention the luscious Myra Breckinridge (come on, Price, who can remember one of Terry Southern's characters as well?). Which brings us to the rather lurid fantasy of us "groveling at his feet in that bookstore, begging." It's worse than you think, comrade Price. We were sorely tempted to actually VOTE for Gore Vidal when he ran for U.S. Senator for California in 1982. Unfortunately, he ran on the Democratic Party ticket, so as a former crook-president once said, "It would be wrong." Too bad. But maybe if we make it in time he could be Minister for Culture, or maybe Sex Education, in the American workers republic.

Vidal is impeccable on matters of sex and morality and women's equality, for example his belief pornography is probably a good thing. As he said in an interview in *Oui* magazine in 1974: "After all, one way of controlling the lower orders in our industrial society is to con them into marrying young and having children. The people who own this society, on the other hand, are

Defend the Soviet Union!

At the outbreak of World War II a majority of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, led by James P. Cannon, had to combat a revisionist faction, led by Max Shachtman, which was abandoning defense of the Soviet Union. Today as U.S. imperialism, commanded by anti-Communist fanatic Ronald Reagan, lurches toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union, Cannon's statement in 1939 retains its full power and immediacy.



TROTSKY



LENIN

All the time throughout this entire period of 16 years the Bolshevik-Leninists have stoutly maintained, in the face of all slander and persecution, that they were the firmest defenders of the workers' state and that in the hour of danger they would be in the front ranks of its defense. We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now that the hour of danger is at hand—now that the long-awaited war is actually knocking at the door—it would be very strange if the Fourth International should renege on its oft-repeated pledge.

—James P. Cannon, *The Struggle For a Proletarian Party* (1943)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 359

20 July 1984

Koch Bows to Catholic Hierarchy

Anti-Gay Bigotry in NYC

It looks like Ed Koch may finally have some competition for the award of Most Reactionary Pig in New York City: the new archbishop John J. O'Connor, appointed by the pope last March to head the New York archdiocese of 1.8 million Catholics. In his first major act since donning the mitre, O'Connor has refused to abide by Koch's two-year-old Executive Order 50, which forbids private agencies receiving city contracts and money from discriminating against homosexuals in hiring. No way, said the archbishop. "Actively practiced" homosexuality, according to a church spokesman, "is not a right, it's an evil. It's a wrong way of behaving, just as a married man committing adultery." So as not to seem too bigoted, church spokesmen hastened to explain that its religious views tolerate a *chaste* gay "inclination"—you can look but don't touch! That's the Catholic hierarchy's dogma. As far as we're concerned, sex—be it straight or gay, married or not—is just fine as long as it's consensual. The church, and the government, can damn well stay out of the bedroom.

Archbishop O'Connor has tried to fudge the issue by charging state interference in church affairs. Yes, the Catholic church as a religious organization can say what it wants—and it rarely experiences any difficulty getting its views across. But what is at stake here is \$74 million in taxpayers' money which the church receives from a government agency for providing *secular* services, primarily for childcare centers and care for the sick, disabled and elderly. The church has no right to make its dogma government policy.

Some of the more decent figures in the city's Catholic hierarchy understand this. The Brooklyn diocese publicly objected to Archbishop O'Connor's action: "Diocesan representatives say that there is no moral reason to contest Mayor Koch's Executive Order 50," reported the *Brooklyn Tablet*, official voice of Bishop Francis Mugavero. Brooklyn's auxiliary bishop Joseph Sullivan added people were hired in childcare "regardless of sexual orientation" (*New York Post*, 6 July). It is unusual and courageous for a Catholic bishop to openly challenge his superior in this way.

Racist pig Ed Koch (left) and reactionary bigot Archbishop O'Connor deserve each other.

Holland Wemple



After squabbling over the enforcement of Executive Order 50 for a few days, Koch and the archbishop agreed to disagree and kicked the conflict into the courts. The archdiocese suit was expected to center on the question of church and state and the narrow issue of the mayor's authority to make law on discrimination issues. But much to the surprise of the city's legal counsel, the June 27 suit included a broad challenge to the entire concept of anti-discrimination programs for minorities and women. "The sexual-orientation issue is a smokescreen to attack the entire enforcement of all anti-discrimination laws," commented Merrick Rossein, assistant director of the city's Bureau of Labor Services (*New York Times*, 30 June). The issue, it turns out, is church interference in state affairs.

Minimal as Executive Order 50 is, it does legally bar discrimination against gays in some areas. After a proposed law along these lines was defeated in the city council eight times, the mayor's office issued the order. But pending a court decision Koch has now *waived* Executive Order 50 for all religious groups, including the Salvation Army and the rabidly Zionist Agudath Israel, which also hold city contracts. They are continuing to receive city funds.

Koch has waved around his token

"order" to show what a great fighter for gay rights he is. But he can't afford to antagonize the powerful Catholic church hierarchy. It would kill him as a politician in New York City, where the bedrock of his constituency is not along Christopher Street but among white racists and conservative Jews. To emphasize what side he is on Koch refused to march in the June 24 gay rights parade because he feared "desecration" of St. Patrick's Cathedral, where a protest rally was scheduled.

This is hardly a surprise, coming from racist pig Koch. The man who gleefully presided over the smashing of the 1980 New York City transit strike and ordered the closing of Sydenham Hospital, West Harlem's only hospital and source of emergency health care, is a fiendish ghoul whose close friends include mass murderers like Ariel Sharon, the Zionist butcher of the Shatila/Sabra Palestinian refugee camps. He's the worst of the big city Democratic mayors, the hatchetman for Reagan's vicious attacks on the working class and black and Hispanic poor.

Archbishop O'Connor hasn't been at it as long as Koch, but he, too, seems to qualify as an Enemy of the People of the first magnitude. As bishop of Scranton, Pennsylvania he made a name for himself as a rabid opponent of abortion, which he likened to the Nazi Holocaust!

At a lavish medieval ceremony installing him as archbishop, he said abortion was a "social ill" and vowed to eradicate it. In a TV press conference on June 25 he came down so hard on "pro-choice" politicians (those personally opposed to abortion who nevertheless support its legalization as a personal matter), that the right-wing Catholic weekly, *The Wanderer*, asked him if he would excommunicate New York governor Mario Cuomo as a "pro-choice" Catholic! While the Archbishop promised not to pronounce anathema on Cuomo, he did say that Catholics in good conscience can't vote for him.

On leaving the June 25 press conference, journalists noted that "Archbishop O'Connor is the Pope's man, the Pope's surrogate, the Pope's spokesman.... The Pope put him in New York to turn America around on abortion" (*Daily News*, 26 June). And *Catholic New York*, the official publication of the archdiocese, tried to claim the personal endorsement of Pope John Paul Wojtyla for O'Connor's refusal to obey the law barring discrimination against homosexuals. (Spokesmen for the archdiocese have since issued a "clarification" denying this.)

Gay rights activists and other radlibs protesting O'Connor's bigotry would do well to consider the role in world politics of one Karol Wojtyla, formerly of Cracow, Poland. As reactionary as the American Catholic hierarchy may be, its Polish counterpart is far more so. Wojtyla's people (like Lech Walesa) were the driving force behind the CIA-funded Solidarność in its bid to overthrow the Polish Communist government, which among other things provides free, legal abortion and contraception. Yet many of the same radlib activists who claim to stand for the separation of church and state in the U.S. enthusiastically supported the clerical-nationalist and anti-Communist Solidarność in Poland.

The political power of the New York Catholic hierarchy extends far beyond the city's archdiocese. The vicar of St. Patrick is also the head Catholic chaplain for the U.S. armed forces. New York's notorious Cold War Cardinal Spellman was the spearhead for U.S. intervention in Vietnam. As an appointee of the anti-Communist Polish pope Wojtyla, Archbishop O'Connor is determined to inherit the Spellman tradition as a leading crusader for America's anti-Soviet war drive and the reactionary domestic political and social climate generated by Cold War II.

The Cold War pope's man in St. Patrick's Cathedral and the rabid Zionist in Gracie Mansion deserve one another. The people of New York deserve something better. ■

perfectly free to fuck anybody they want, eat anything they want, read pornography, take drugs, what have you. For another, they own the police... A magazine like *Playgirl* is, in a sense, blowing the minds of a lot of middle-class women who never thought they'd ever see a photograph of a cock. Now they're getting a look at some very famous ones and this must make them fairly... well, thoughtful."

It is not, after all, only art that is subversive. What Vidal does is tell the truth, and that's rare enough. But surely there's more than one road to glory, and though the writer's motivation is no guarantee of the result, Vidal's is real enough. To let Vidal have his last word (from an interview reprinted in *Views from a Window*) on the subject: In response to the question "What do you love?" he answered, "I suppose you mean a quality.... I think I might say justice. Because, though justice is relative, there is a balance, a harmony in the nature of things which I think can be struck and that, to me, is justice. Art is certainly that, or aspires to be." ■

Timber!

July 7, 1984

WORKERS VANGUARD

Dear Editor,

I have just read your account of the San Francisco City Plaza flag pole being toppled and thought your readers would like to know why and how we destroyed this symbol of race terror. We hail the Spartacist League's fight to rid the Bay Area of the racist Confederate flag and especially salute the heroic actions of Richard Bradley. But after "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein raised the Confederate flag for the third time we felt that not only should the flag go, but also the pole.

In the early morning hours of June 29th myself and a few trusted union brothers entered SF City Plaza determined to topple this racist monument. Using an acetylene cutting torch we first cut out a wedge, or fish mouth, to determine the direction of the fall. Our



WV Photo

What's left of flagpole after SF Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein ran up a Confederate flag for the third time.

union assistants made sure the area was clear of passers-by and overnight residents. We cut the pole right above the plaque where the steel was about 10" in diameter and was 3/8" thick. To our surprise we found a 2" x 1/4" reinforcing pipe (shown in your photo in WV #358) but luckily was also made out of steel

and we easily cut through it.

Despite being delayed by a few passing patrol cars we dropped the pole exactly where we planned causing little, if any damage to the park itself. Most important was that *nobody* was hurt. We regret not having the time to torch the flag itself but we know this downed flag pole delivered a strong message to Feinstein and Co. that this is a union town and *that* flag will stay down. By doing so we salute the Union Army that fought to rid this country of the barbaric institution of slavery.

We're proud that we could donate our skills and determination to strike a blow against the historic symbol of slavery and KKK race terror. We understand the flag pole has been repaired but the Confederate flag is still down. It better stay down! We support the SL's campaign to keep this racist flag down—*permanently*.

FINISH THE CIVIL WAR

FORWARD TO A WORKERS STATE

A Worker

Speedup Kills Four Transit Workers

NYC Subway Death Trap

Stop the Slaughter With Union Action!

Sheldon Rivers, a 39-year-old track worker, was torn apart and killed by a "D" train on June 28 as he was laying track north of the 155th Street station in Upper Manhattan. Five days earlier signal maintainer Joseph Kuzman, 22, was killed by an IRT "No. 2" train as he struggled to put out a track fire. Two other transit workers, conductor Donald Heath and motorman trainee Peter Mattera, have been slaughtered on the job since the first of the year. New York City transit worker deaths in just the last six months already equal those of 1982 and 1983 combined.

Transit Authority (TA) bosses, as usual, frame up the dead victims. "Nothing has dramatically changed out there to make it more dangerous," Thomas F. Prendergast told the *New York Times* (7 July). What an outrageous lie! Prendergast is TA "safety" head, a job akin to being head surgeon for Hitler's concentration camps. Sheldon Rivers, Joseph Kuzman and their union brothers were *murdered*. And their killers draw fat paychecks in the air conditioned offices of the TA and its parent, the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), in City Hall and Alhany.

It was three years ago this month that motorman Jesse Cole was killed in the cab of his train, a victim of the TA's "deferred maintenance" policy which turns subways into deathtraps. Even as Cole lay trapped and bleeding to death, then TA chief John Simpson called a press conference to blame the wreck on the motorman. What has changed? Only that Simpson and his ilk weren't tough enough for Koch and "friend of labor" Governor Cuomo. They brought in a union-busting ball-breaking team headed by Vietnam era CIA big shot Robert Kiley and former Philadelphia transit boss David Gunn.

Typifying Kiley's killers is bullwhip-wielding Ronald "Jefferson" Davis who

in the name of "productivity" has tried to turn the traditionally militant 207th Street subway repair shop into an antebellum plantation. As a consequence, 350 workers were disciplined in Davis' first six weeks, and even with unfinished cars pushed back on the road the number of cars "repaired" fell by one third.

If for hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers riding the subway is the worst part of their day, for transit workers these deathtraps are the whole day. Last year the TA discovered that because the city's water table had risen as much as ten feet during the last 30 years, sections of previously stable subway tunnel are now resting in water. So far this year 120 subway cars had fires in the switch boxes which control speed and acceleration. The horrors of the subway death-trap evoke eerie images of Dante's inferno. Signals which are supposed to control the speed and prevent collision of trains are totally out of date as well as generally out of service. Patents for the equipment date back to 1918! It was signal failure that caused the collision crushing Jesse Cole in his cab. The deafening noise of one train makes it nearly impossible to detect the approach of another. That's what killed Joseph Kuzman. Equipment that causes workers to trip and fall into oncoming trains is usually covered by slime, standing water and garbage, including in the 25-inch space between the track and the 600-volt third rail. Trackmen constantly use antiquated, often uninsulated spiking mauls and claw bars in this space. If the third rail is grounded there is an explosion melting steel and burning flesh.

Scapegoating the victims, Prendergast intones to the *Times*: "It's a hazardous environment.... The emphasis has to be on the rules and following them." But in their "productivity" drive Kiley/Gunn have crushed underfoot

safety and work rules established over decades through the struggles of the Transport Workers Union (TWU). In fact, when elected union officials in the Track and Power Division put out literature reminding workers to follow safety and work rules, the TA brought them up on charges. They are still facing 30 days on the street and final warning!

Kiley/Gunn's "productivity" program is substituting bloody mutilated bodies of transit workers for the billions of dollars of investment it would take to make up for decades of "deferred maintenance" in order to begin rebuilding a safe, efficient mass transit system. They think they can "run" the subways

When black motorman Jesse Cole was crushed to death in July 1981, TWU militants demanded a one-day work stoppage for his funeral.



like a garment district sweatshop, destroying the conditions of skilled work. But deterioration in the subway system is directly linked to deterioration in working conditions, wages and the strength of the TWU. In coal mines where the union is strong, safety committees can shut down hazardous mines. Not so in the subway tunnels of NYC. With callous disregard for the safety and very lives of its membership, all a spokesman for the TWU bureaucracy could say in response to the slaughter of four union members was:

"It's running a little high this year."

In contrast, the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU issued a call to action following the slaughter of Kuzman and again after Rivers was killed. The Committee demands a shop steward for every foreman, restoration of the January 1 strike deadline and immediate establishment of a strike fund. Committee members call for citywide workers' solidarity and united TWU action to smash the Kiley gang and the strikebreaking Taylor Law. They demand a \$5,000 pay increase across the board with 100 percent COLA and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. The Committee calls on workers to bring down the union-buster Reagan and break with the union-busting Democrats to form a workers party that will fight for a workers government. "We demand safe job conditions, quality upgrading training and incentives instead of disciplinary actions up the ass," the Committee says. "We want a safe, clean, free subway system!"

For the city's transit workers, the decay of the capitalist system is literally

a matter of life and death, and the Committee's class-struggle program is the only way out. As they wrote on June 26:

"We must fight or many more will die! There is in effect no union representation in signals and no safety personnel that will provide action on safety violations! As the Kiley boys tighten their iron grip more of us will be forced to grease the train wheels with our guts. The only way to stop the Kiley clones is to defeat the sellout strategy of the Law leadership and restore the militant principles of working class struggle which built the unions." ■

Stop the Scabs! Shut Down All the Hospitals!

Victory to NYC Hospital Strike!

JULY 15—Some 46,000 members of District 1199, RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union), struck private hospitals throughout New York City Friday. The predominantly black and Hispanic union representing nonmedical hospital and nursing home employees is confronting the cutthroat League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes, and behind it the Reagan/Koch racist cutbacks in social services. Spirited 1199 picket lines went up at 61 medical facilities as the 4 p.m. strike deadline passed. Angry strikers carried placards reading "No Givebacks" and bearing the letters "EOWO." This stands for "every other weekend off," a key union demand that was loudly chanted by several hundred persons at the delegates meeting Thursday night. At present hospital workers

are only guaranteed every fourth weekend off, and management is insisting on "flexibility" in shift assignments.

Hospital officials have turned down other vital union demands, including a 20 percent wage increase over the life of a two-year contract. Even their outrageous counter-"offer" of a paltry 4 percent a year is a lie: with *no* increase in the first quarter, reduced wages for new hires and a freeze for "step one" employees, this would be no more than 2.3 percent, less than inflation. So in reality the bosses are demanding a pay cut! Management is also demanding the right to bring in non-union "subcontractors," a clear union-busting move. It is urgently necessary to bring out *all* NYC hospital workers including nurses and doctors *now*, in particular the several non-struck 1199 facilities and the many

thousands of municipal hospital workers of AFSCME D.C. 37, to achieve a solid victory. The striking hospital workers are fighting for all city labor—transit workers, sanitation workers, municipal employees—in the financial capital of American capitalism.

Using supervisory personnel as scabs, the hospitals are predictably claiming they can cope with the "crisis." (The solidarity walkout by licensed nurses represented by 1199 at key hospitals will make this more difficult.) At the same time, the bourgeois media raises a hue and cry about the technicians, orderlies, clerks, nurses aides, etc. supposedly "endangering" the patients. But it is the hospitals who are using these patients as hostages. Only by cutting off this vital social service can the hospital workers

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Militant black and Hispanic hospital workers take the lead.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Government Terrorism...

(continued from page 1)

been beaten during her arrest) and later had to be treated for a 3-inch gash in the head and possible concussion. The cop riot did not, however, satiate the police lust for protesters' blood. An officer is quoted in the *Chronicle* complaining that the cops had not reacted strongly enough: "We should have nipped it in the bud." Like leaving some dead bodies on the ground perhaps?

Reagan is running for re-election on a platform of fear of "terrorism," to justify draconian repression and intimidate the populace. The Democrats chime in, "me too," to their own detriment. We warned in an SL state-



Cops rampage against protesters in SF, July 12.

ment (see *WV* No. 358, 6 July) that the real threat of violence at the Democratic convention came from the cops, the FBI and the right wing: "...the cops propose to themselves disrupt the convention, turning it into a militarized zone and unleashing their own real violence against the tame liberals and reformists who are expected to demonstrate in SF in conjunction with the Democrats' gathering." It is not a cause for satisfaction that our warning has been so spectacularly confirmed. Again on July 16, cops who easily outnumbered a small civil disobedience demonstration arrested 95 "with a show of force" (*Washington Post*, 17 July).

A very similar scenario is being played in Los Angeles, where government-encouraged anti-Communist crazies—combined with a string of official U.S. provocations against the safety of Soviet athletes—were foiled by Soviet bloc withdrawal from the upcoming Olympics. A gigantic police and

secret police force (complete with "Blue Thunder" high tech) is still geared up to take "pre-emptive" action against "terrorists." At the campus barracks where athletes are to be housed, the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee "has erected three concentric rings of eight-foot-high mesh fence. The middle one is wired with intrusion-detection devices, installed by the Pentagon, that send out an alarm when a potential terrorist (or late-night reveler) approaches" (*Time*, 9 July).

Any sane person in this country has good reason to be alarmed about "state-supported terrorism" by the U.S. government against the general population: the threat of "pre-emptive" action; the new FBI guidelines which aim to wipe out any legal distinction between political opponents of the government and criminal "terrorism"; recent Supreme Court rulings (endorsing preventive detention, ruling admissible evidence obtained through illegal search, expediting executions and increasing isolation of those in custody); the super-secret "National Security Decision Directive 138" signed into law last April which reportedly calls for intensified domestic and international spying and for the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary teams and Pentagon military squads.

Round One: COINTELPRO

These moves add up to Round Two of a "legal" military offensive against political dissent. The FBI's surreptitious COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program") was Round One. Initially aimed at the Communist Party, then expanded to include the Socialist Workers Party, COINTELPRO eventually ended up targeting virtually anybody who came to J. Edgar Hoover's attention as affiliated with the antiwar or civil rights movements. Because the wiretaps, mail covers, break-ins and other assorted "dirty tricks" extended even to "respectable" bourgeois hangers-on of the 1960s movement, the revelations of FBI "extralegal" surveillance caused considerable commotion (particularly after the exposure of Watergate's dirty tricks against the capitalist Democratic Party). New guidelines were drawn up purporting to limit the FBI's "excesses." Now they have dispensed even with this façade.

The full murderous force of COINTELPRO was felt by the militant black organizations, most particularly the Black Panther Party. Panther leaders were set up for prison or murder or both. With information supplied by FBI agents, the cops shot to death Chicago Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton as they slept in their beds. The L.A. Panther headquarters was nearly obliterated by a SWAT team in 1969; Panther leader Geronimo Pratt was hauled away in chains along with his

Thanks But No Thanks FBI and Mrs. Feinstein

This press release was issued on 13 July 1984 by the Spartacist League in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 13—The widely publicized attack by the San Francisco police on the anti-Falwell demonstrators yesterday is an ominous confirmation of the warning by the Spartacist League that the real threat of violence during the Democratic convention comes from the FBI, Dianne Feinstein and her police. The police clubbing and arrest of demonstrators was an outrageous victimization of the anti-Falwell protesters, and is an active continuation of an FBI and police-inspired campaign about "violence" and the Democratic National Convention. This campaign is a bald attempt by the police to exonerate themselves in advance for cop riots and is intended to send a clear message of intimidation to the entire populace. Despite the vicious and wanton beatings of protesters, a police spokesman said that the police had not reacted "strongly enough" to the demonstrators—a chilling foreshadowing of police intentions.

Today's *Chronicle* claims the Spartacist League is a member of the Committee Against the Moral Majority, the sponsors of the anti-Falwell demonstration. In general we love to demonstrate against the Moral Majority because we are (1) opposed to it as a movement and (2) bitterly oppose many of its political views and values.

But it is unfortunately unlikely that we would be in a united action with the other groups in the Committee because we advance political positions not to their taste—in particular our penchant for defending the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union against assaults by U.S. imperialism. And a good many radical groups are sufficiently sectarian, particularly through their desire to crawl between the toes of the left foot of the Democratic Party, to want nothing to do with us. In any case it has come to be our feeling, a few *Workers Vanguard* salesmen hawking to fellow leftists,

unionists and black militants aside, that SF is a good place to stay out of right now.

The main point is that this week in SF is a living provocation against the left. This is underscored by the mysterious KKK march which comes and goes according to which cop says something. The calculated massive police preparations and publicity have thoroughly set the stage for the kind of police provocation that happened yesterday (and the L.A. Olympics seem to be quite similar in this regard) all designed to enhance Reagan's popularity as a red-basher, and at the expense of the Democrats.

But for the powers that be, evidently centered on the FBI as chief instrument, our real absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing. The press, very possibly in good faith and on the basis of information received, keeps putting us there anyway. Today's *Chronicle* report falsely putting us in the Committee Against the Moral Majority recalls the *Chronicle's* false April 20 report that we were among groups that "police feared" might "play a violent role" at the Democratic National Convention. It is of a piece with a recent false claim by a high-ranking Los Angeles police official who asserted that the Spartacist League "is behind" an August 5 demonstration which according to him is "anti-American" and aimed against the Olympics. Such reports of course set up the members of our organization in the Bay Area, Los Angeles and elsewhere for the government's oft-promised pre-emptive strikes.

Again we state: we defend the democratic right of the Democratic Party to meet in convention and nominate its presidential candidate. Reagan is continuing Richard Nixon's dirty tricks in a much more ominous way, and this latest police provocation is a confirmation of everything we said in our previous statement.

But at least the Moral Majority and those of similar ilk will not be comforted by a Confederate flag flying in the Civic Center. ■

comrades and to this day Pratt—targeted for "neutralization" under COINTELPRO—linguishes in prison on frame-up murder charges. George Jackson—imprisoned at Soledad—was set up and shot down like a dog.

Ask a surviving Panther member what it means to be labeled a "terrorist" in this country. Reagan & Co., bringing their insane anti-Communist "rollback" home with a vengeance, have now launched Round Two—the McCarthyite ideological criteria of the 1950s (i.e., the ability to prosecute for "thought-crimes" and "speech-crimes," also known as "advocacy," used to imprison the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party leaders under the Smith Act) and the direct-hit methods of COINTELPRO are combined into one neat "anti-terrorism" package.

The point of all this, the point of any really effective witchhunt, is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity. The point is to scare people—to make them scared not so much of the mythical "international terrorist conspiracy" as of the state itself. It is in such a climate of fear that Reagan/Bush expect to be re-elected. Meanwhile, it is necessary to invent an immediate target, a scapegoat, to focus the campaign.

Press Does Dirty Job for FBI

The FBI is evidently the chief instrument in this effort and has apparently singled out especially the Spartacist League, among others, as a

convenient place to start. Thus, early press accounts claiming suspected "violent" disruption of the Democratic convention named the SL as among those "that police fear may play a violent role" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 April).

In our letter of protest to the *Chronicle* on 20 April we warned that the article "carries a menacing threat to those who do want to exercise their democratic rights to demonstrate at the Democratic Party convention" and that "police 'concerns' reported in the article are a bald attempt by them to exonerate themselves" in advance for cop violence. We also observed that we, for our part, think the convention will be a "monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illusion that this party has something to offer working people."

Confronted with our outraged protest, the *Chronicle* played "soft cop" and *Chronicle* reporter Katy Butler wrote a letter calling attention to our position on the convention, our absence from last spring's demonstration against Henry Kissinger (which was brutally attacked by the SF police) and our successful suit against then-Attorney General (now Governor) George Deukmejian for including us in a list of "terrorist" organizations. Meanwhile, the *New York Post* had picked up the libel, adding its own touch to the Big Lie

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Disinformation Retracted

DAILY NEWS

—14 July 1984

Bracing for 'crazies'

By FRANK JACKMAN
Of The News Washington Bureau

San Francisco—The Democratic convention opening here Monday should be one of the best-policed, most secure convocations in the party's his-



14 July Daily News picked up slanders from *SF Chronicle*, adding its own lying touches. We protested: this "smacks of an FBI COINTELPRO-type conspiracy." On 17 July, Daily News published retraction on its editorial page.

BEG PARDON

A story in last Saturday's News erroneously named the Spartacist League as one of a group of activist "crazies" who participated in a rock-throwing confrontation with police during an anti-Moral Majority rally on Thursday in Union Square, San Francisco. The league was not involved in the melee.

—17 July 1984

Latin American Masses Starved— Rockefellers Bailed Out

The Debt Bomb

"What is robbing a bank compared
to owning a bank!"

—Bertolt Brecht,
The Threepenny Opera

On April 23 starving slum dwellers in the Dominican Republic broke into grocery stores searching for food. Defending "law and order" (that is, private property), the police opened fire with machine guns. At least 62 people were killed, hundreds wounded and some 6,000 arrested. These victims were driven to desperation by austerity measures dictated by the imperialist Monetary Fund (IMF), which caused the price of basic necessities like bread, sugar and cooking oil to skyrocket overnight. As street barricades made up of discarded tires burned through the night in the poor barrios, through the smoke you could see walls painted with the slogan that could become the rallying cry for revolution from Santo Domingo to Sri Lanka: "IMF Get Out!"

On May 17 the United States government arranged a \$7.5 billion bailout to stop a run on Continental Illinois, the country's eighth largest bank. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation threw in \$1.5 billion outright and a first-ever guarantee of *all* deposits, no matter how large. "We want to make sure that in these perilous times we support our banks," said U.S. treasury secretary Donald Regan. "The U.S. Government stands behind the banking system, and I mean it." One Wall Street moneyman crowed of this "historic" rescue, "Nobody is going to lose." Yet only a week later rumors hit the No. 4 American bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, which is the main lender to a country called Argentina. Investors began to treat bank stocks as if they were tsarist bonds.

These two events, only a few weeks apart, sharply define American capitalism's "solution" to the international debt crisis: starvation and terror to extract more and more from the impoverished workers and peasants of Latin America, state socialism for the Rockefellers and the House of Morgan. But no matter how drastic the hudget cutbacks by Latin American regimes who give their people a diet of bullets instead of beans, it will not enable them to meet even their interest payments, now going up a billion or so practically every other week. For the mushrooming "debt bomb" is mainly fed by astronomical U.S. budget deficits (to pay for the



WV Photo

In Pinochet's Chile, Chicago boys' "shock treatment" reduced masses to starvation, while billions in Wall Street loans went for speculation and luxury imports.

anti-Soviet war buildup) and exploding Wall Street interest rates. As the starvation "austerity" policies demanded by the bloodsucking IMF drive Latin America into bottomless depression, promises by Ronald Reagan and Donald Regan to stand by their bankers and even billions in bailouts can't remove the spectre of another Great Crash.

Business Week (18 June) was certainly guilty of understatement in writing: "The health of virtually all the U.S. credit and capital markets now seems to lie in the hands of a few Latin American debtor countries." Their outstanding loans to Latin America are now more

than *two and a half times* the total capital and reserves of the nine biggest American banks. A decade ago, believing that the inflationary spiral of the 1970s would go on forever, banks went on a lending spree. Thus for every dollar in outstanding loans, America's banks now hold only 3 to 5 percent in capital and reserves. This is unprecedented in U.S. financial history. Even during the 1930s depression when banks were folding left and right, the ratio of capital to loans was two or three times greater than it is today.

And it's not just the Latin American loans that have gone sour. Continental Illinois, for example, is not especially

burdened by "non-performing" Brazilian or Argentine IOUs. It made its bad loans to Southwestern oil wildcatters and fly-by-night electronics outfits, such as those rounded up by the wild bunch who ran the Penn Square Bank out of an Oklahoma City shopping center. The Penn Square president sported a Mickey Mouse beanie and entertained visiting big-city bankers by drinking beer from a cowboy boot. Continental's executives were evidently quite impressed with his prowess, and got burned to the tune of \$220 million. After Penn Square folded in 1982, Chrysler's blowhard president Lee Iacocca quipped, "If I had known how easy it was to get a loan from Continental Illinois, I would never have gone to the government." As a bank of easy virtue, Continental is far from unique.

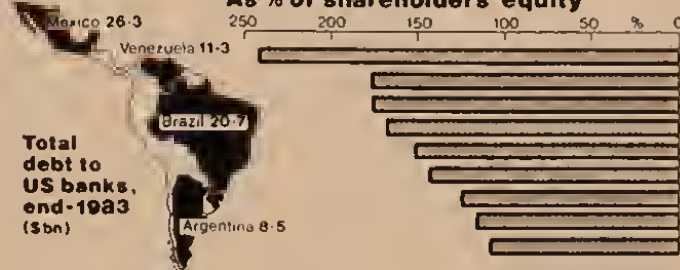
Small wonder that the London *Economist* (2 June), house organ of the international moneybags, warns:

"Nobody should doubt the possibility of a financial collapse that would bury world trade, bankrupt many companies and put millions more people out of work. The chances of that happening may be far greater today than in the 1950s and 1960s."

The *Economist* goes on to reassure its readers that this is still a remote possibility—a 50-to-1 shot, it estimates. However, Henry Kaufman, the dean (and best paid) of Wall Street econo-

Nine banks a-lending

American banks' international lending to four Latin American countries, end-1983
As % of shareholders' equity



Manufacturers Hanover
Chase Manhattan
Citicorp
Chemical
Bankers Trust
Bank of America
J P Morgan
First Chicago
Continental Illinois

Total (\$m)			
Mexico	Brazil	Venezuela	Argentina
1,925	2,125	1,075	1,325
1,550	2,550	1,225	800
3,000	4,600	1,500	1,200
1,425	1,275	775	400
1,275	750	425	250*
2,750	2,475	1,625	500
1,175	1,775	475	750
875	700	225	250
700	475	425	400

* Estimate

The Economist

Dangerously overexposed: outstanding loans to Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina by nine largest U.S. banks range from over 100 percent to almost 250 percent of their capital.

mists, puts the risk of a crash considerably higher, about 8 or 10 to 1. Perhaps Jimmy the Greek will give you better odds, but the boys at the banks are running scared. In the wake of the Manufacturers Hanover flap, one business economist exclaimed, "It's pure fear. If it's not short-term and it's not issued by the Government, they are staying away from it" (*New York Times*, 25 May). To argue that the Continental bailout proved there can never be another 1929-like crash is like arguing that the 1962 Cuban missile crisis proved there will never be a nuclear war. You won't find a banker or a general who believes that.

IMF Austerity: Bleeding an Ailing Patient

The opening scene of the debt crisis which threatens to blow world capitalism's financial system sky-high came in August 1982 when the Mexican finance minister called up his Washington counterpart to say there were some "problems" in paying a few billion dollars due to New York banks. Soon Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker was berating a U.S. negotiator who balked at paying cash for Mexican oil: "I don't give a damn what you pay for oil. If you don't do it, the whole thing is going to come crashing down—and it'll be your fault" (quoted in Darrell Delamaide, *Debt Shock* [1984]). A year and several "restructurings," renegotiations and rollovers later, hundreds of bankers gathered at a black-tie gala in Lincoln Center to bring down the curtain on the crisis, lustily applauding Mexico's rulers for grinding their people into the dirt without an explosion. Yet by spring 1984, Act II of the debt drama had opened, and sober heads among the bourgeois worry that IMF starvation policies could provoke a revolutionary chain reaction.

In this global crisis, Latin America is at center stage. As one international financial expert pointed out:

"About half of all Third World debt is owed by Latin American countries; the percentage of private bank debt is even higher—60 percent. Also, nearly all the Third World countries with payments problems are found in Latin America.... A glance at the figures on debt service [interest and payments on principal] shows why: Eight Latin American countries have service payments that exceed their total export revenues."

—Barbara Stallings, "Latin American Debt: What Kind of Crisis?" *SAIS Review*, Summer-Fall 1983

In fact, five countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela—between them owe \$276 billion, roughly 40 percent of the total Third World debt and over half the debt owed to commercial banks. How did this come to pass? Did the bankers get suckered in by the last of the Latin big-time spenders, who salted away dollars in Swiss bank accounts and bought up choice real estate in Vail, Colorado? There was plenty of that, as shown by the saga of Mexico City's former police chief (who on a salary of \$65 a month supported a personal staff of hundreds, several multimillion-dollar mansions, a fleet of fancy automobiles and a stable of race horses).

Financial journalist Martin Mayer records an anecdote current in Latin America. A junior official of the Argentine finance ministry is lavishly entertaining a Mexican counterpart in his swank Buenos Aires penthouse apartment. The Mexican asks him, "How can you afford this?" The Argentine official takes him out to the terrace and says, "You see that bridge over there, over the river? Ten percent." A few years later the Argentine repays the visit to his Mexican friend, who shows him around a resplendent hacienda. Dazzled, the Argentine repeats the question earlier asked of him. The Mexican waves at the hills, "Do you see the dam where the river cuts the mountain?" The Argentine replies, "I

don't see any dam." "Aha," says the Mexican triumphantly, "100 percent!"

In addition to the pervasive corruption, there was massive capital flight. The Bank for International Settlements estimates that over \$50 billion flowed out of Latin America during 1978-82; according to the Federal Reserve, over a third of the \$252 billion increase in debt of the Latin American Big Five between 1974 and 1982 went into foreign bank accounts. And there were particular factors in each country. Argentina's Falklands/Malvinas war was not only expensive, it cut off export markets and loan sources. Mexico was hit by falling oil prices, leading to huge balance of payments deficits. Chile saw an orgy of speculation as domestic industry collapsed under a flood of cheap imports. But all of the venality and profligacy of the Latin American bourgeoisies doesn't come close to explaining the present catastrophe.

In the last analysis, the Latin American "debt bomb" was made in U.S.A. It is the result of a decade of capitalist economic crisis centered on the imperialist countries, and in particular of the post-1980 depression aggravated by the policies of the Reagan administration. In the mid-1970s when Wall Street banks were awash with "petrodollars" derived from the OPEC oil price hike, and the U.S. and West Europe economies were experiencing a sharp recession, bankers looked elsewhere for loan prospects. Their choice fell on the more advanced Third World countries where large-scale industrialization required massive capital input. *Lloyd's Bank Review* (October 1983) observed with typical British understatement that "during the 1970s, and as a general rule, the banks did not strictly ration credit, but either allowed countries to borrow what they wanted or even encouraged them to borrow more than they wanted."

As Latin America continued booming during the last half of the decade, the banks kept pumping in dollars at interest rates far higher than they could earn at home. (By 1980 almost 60 percent of the profits of the eight leading American banks came from overseas operations, and 20 percent of Chase Manhattan's earnings were from Brazil alone.) Then came the economic crisis of 1981-83: some 28-30 million people out of work in the advanced capitalist countries, export markets dried up for Latin American products, commodity prices plummeted. Thus Chilean copper went from \$1.33 a pound in 1980 to 59¢ a pound two years later, a 40-year low; and while a pound of Dominican sugar could buy a gallon of gas in 1975, today the same gallon costs 20 pounds of sugar. Meanwhile, in the midst of depression, interest rates skyrocketed. Why?

Ronald Reagan, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism (he never met a weapons system he didn't like), decided to finance his buildup for war on the Soviet Union by the unusual method of



Mass demonstration in Rio de Janeiro demands, "IMF Get Out!" Blood-sucking bankers' cartel is hated from Brazil to Bangladesh.

cutting taxes. While spokesmen for Wall Street and the White House piously lecture Latin American governments for running up a debt of \$360 billion, the U.S. Treasury is running up deficits of \$200 billion a year and slated to do so for years to come. (The U.S. federal debt of 1.5 trillion dollars is roughly twice that of all Third World countries combined.) Massive borrowing by the American government in a period of world deflation has driven real interest rates to historic highs. In the mid/late 1970s at the height of the Latin American lending boom, real interest rates (adjusted for inflation) averaged only half of one percent internationally. In the past few years they've been running 5-7 percent, ten to fifteen times as great!

"Chicago Boys" and Pentagon Guns

Even bourgeois liberal economists are prepared to admit that the fundamental causes of the Latin American debt crisis are to be found in the high interest rates, low commodity prices and trade protectionism of the advanced capitalist countries. But as in many other endeavors, it takes at least two to make a loan. And while Wall Street bankers were practically stuffing loans down the throats of Latin finance ministers in the late '70s, they found eager takers. Yankee imperialism had its hand in this as well. Throughout South America and particularly in the "Southern Cone" countries, military dictatorships came to power in the '70s with the approval and often direct aid of the United States. But unlike old-style tyrants such as Duvalier, Trujillo, Somoza or Stroessner, who were mainly interested in private enrichment, the new centurions were accompanied by U.S.-trained economic

advisers who advocated unrestrained imperialist plunder in the name of "modernization."

In Pinochet's Chile these "Chicago boys" (followers of right-wing American economist Milton Friedman) administered a "shock treatment" that cut real wages by almost 50 percent, sending unemployment over 20 percent and creating an estimated 135,000 homeless in greater Santiago alone. Following what Reagan calls "the magic of the market," it was decided that Chile should produce copper and grapes, and import computers and cars from the U.S. But after a couple of years of glittering high living for the rich (something the "Harvard boys" running the economy for the Argentine junta couldn't pull off), the combination of rising interest rates and falling export prices burst the bubble of the speculative boom in 1982.

In Argentina, Chile and Uruguay foreign loans went mostly into real estate, Johnny Walker scotch, Mercedes Benz limos and Exocet missiles. In economic basket cases like Bolivia and the Dominican Republic they covered chronic trade deficits, often for imported food. But in Brazil and Mexico, which together received half of all Eurodollar loans during the mid-'70s, they were targeted mainly for ambitious development programs (dams, steel mills, oil production). And still they ended in disaster. Over two-thirds of Mexico's foreign bank loans went to PEMEX, the state petroleum company, so that it could pump oil out of the sea faster and sell it to the Americans at below OPEC prices. But with the sharp economic crisis in the U.S. and Europe, oil prices dropped drastically. Brazil's technocratic planners began pulling back from heavy bank borrowing and imposed IMF-style austerity plans as early as 1980, well before the debt crisis erupted. To no avail.

Latin America has been subjected to debt peonage on a gigantic scale. In the early days of "dollar imperialism" this used to be done by sending in the Marines to seize the Customs House (as occurred in the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Nicaragua). Now they send in the economists. During 1979-83, Latin American countries paid \$144 billion in interest alone to the imperialist bankers. Yet even though Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela achieved a dramatic \$29 billion trade surplus last year, as the conservative *Economist* (16 June) wrote, "by the end of 1984 they will be another year older and \$15 billion deeper in debt." Sergio Corra de Castro, the Brazilian ambassador to the U.S., summed it up:

"The developing world thus became a capital exporter to the developed world—something akin to drawing

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El Caribe

Dominican Republic, April 23: Over 60 killed and 6,000 arrested in hunger riot provoked by IMF-ordered austerity.



Debt Bomb...

(continued from page 7)

blood from an ailing patient to give it to an Olympic athlete."
—New York Times, 12 April

Nevertheless, as a Peruvian legislator put it, "dead men don't pay debts."

Break the Chains of Debt Bondage!

The principal agency for bleeding the masses of Latin America, Asia and Africa for the imperialist financiers is the International Monetary Fund. From Brazil to Bangladesh, the initials IMF today evoke the same popular hatred and fear as the better-known CIA. Indeed, the relationship of the IMF to the CIA is basically that of a loan shark to his enforcer. Since Milton Friedman-inspired IMF austerity almost always requires a regime of right-wing military terror, liberal economist Paul Samuelson dubbed it "market fascism." One wag quipped that the Monetary Fund had overthrown more governments than the followers of Marx and Lenin. But Jamaican ex-premier Michael Manley and the Latin American masses aren't laughing.

From 1981 to 1983, per capita income fell 13 percent in Latin America. Virtually every country except Cuba and Nicaragua saw drastic declines in the masses' living standards. In a town near Mexico City, a 60-year-old unemployed construction worker scavenges through the municipal dump, hoping to collect enough old bottles, cardboard and newspapers to feed his family of eight. He, like a large majority of Mexicans, can no longer afford to give his children milk, eggs, meat or fish. In São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian cities last year, crowds broke into supermarkets and silos, taking sacks of rice, black beans and whatever else they could lay their hands on. In Rio's Vila Kennedy suburb, a thousand demonstrators stoned soldiers firing tear gas and chanted, "We are hungry!"

But no amount of starvation and destitution can extract enough surplus from the Latin American masses to satisfy the New York and London bankers. The theory behind IMF austerity is that depressed living standards will cut down imports, while lower real wages will make exports more competitive (cheaper) on world markets. However, consumer goods are a small part of Latin America's imports, most of which are made up of raw materials and production goods. So by cutting back imports 43 percent in the last three years, Latin American countries have been crippling industry, while increasing protectionist barriers in the U.S. and West Europe make it harder to export manufactured goods. Moreover, the main exports from the continent are raw materials and foodstuffs—oil,

copper, coffee, wheat, beef—whose price is hardly affected at all by wages in the producing countries. In short, IMF austerity *cannot* work, even on its own ruthlessly capitalistic terms.

As the debt bomb ticks away, threatening to explode the rickety structure of international finance, an influential chorus of American and European bankers, politicians and academics clamor for a massive government bailout of the banks before it's too late. A prominent spokesman for this school is Lord Harold Lever, a financial expert in the British Labour Party. Labour is the world's leading exponent of "lemon socialism"—nationalizing the losers in the capitalist rat-race, at the taxpayers' expense. ("Lemon socialism" has contributed in no small measure to the catastrophic decline of postwar Britain, whose economic condition now

workers and peasants hut by their imperialist creditors. If they can't pay off their loans on schedule, then seize their assets—Mexico "could wipe out its foreign debt overnight, by selling 20 billion barrels of oil still in the ground at \$4 a barrel." Not a bad deal for the creditors, the spot price is currently \$24 a barrel, and Cárdenas nationalized Mexican oil in 1938! If Wall Street had its way, the oilfields of Mexico and Venezuela would be returned to the Seven Sisters, the copper mines of Chile and Peru would belong to Kennecott and Anaconda once more, and the Argentine pampas would be part of the King Ranch.

While the Latin American capitalists are not about to commit suicide, neither can they challenge the domination of American imperialism. To be sure, there's a lot of talk in the café society of

hard place. While the Yankee hankers have them by the balls, IMF-ordered austerity threatens to provoke social explosion from within. Venezuelan central bank official Felipe Pazos warned: "If 53 people died in the riots in the Dominican Republic, 53,000 people could die if the Mexicans remember that they are a people with a history of rebellion. If that happens, capitalism in Latin America will go to the devil" (*Business Week*, 28 May).

In his own fearful way, this Latin American banker points to the only progressive solution to the debt crisis for the impoverished masses: the destruction of the capitalist system. Here we should look at Castro's Cuba, which alone in the Western hemisphere, has carried out a bona fide social revolution. Even in the face of two decades of savage U.S. terrorist attacks and eco-



Wasserman/LA Times

compares unfavorably to that of Spain.) Lord Lever proposes to nationalize the loan losses of the big U.S. and West European banks.

Writing on the op-ed page of the *Wall Street Journal* (7 June), the Labourite lord argues that "Western governments must recognize that lending on this scale to poor countries cannot be repaid in real terms within a commercial time scale" (or any other time scale, we might add). His solution: "that the leading governments create the machinery and provide the funds whereby current interest on the debts can be paid by the debtors to the banks in the years ahead." In other words, since the toilers of Latin America are just too poor to pay off the Rockefellers and Rothschilds, then let the working people of North America and West Europe shoulder the burden. No doubt Lever's enthusiasm for a gigantic bank bailout is enhanced by the fact that he expects U.S. taxpayers to help rescue the London hanks, whose accumulation of bad debts from Third World tinpot dictators is second only to Wall Street's.

If Lord Lever expresses the social-democratic "solution" to the debt crisis (echoed by American bankers friendly to the Democratic Party, like Felix Rohatyn), the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board stands for cutthroat capitalism and no-holds-barred colonialism. The *Journal* answered Lever in a June 20 editorial proposing nothing less than the liquidation of the Latin American bourgeoisie, not by the

Mexico City and Buenos Aires of a "debtors' cartel" and even a "debtors' OPEC." OPEC, which is not doing so well itself these days, controls the principal supplies of a vital natural resource—oil. The prospective members of a "debtors' cartel" would control nothing except scraps of paper. And should they dare to tear up their IOUs, imperialist retaliation would be swift and devastating. U.S. deputy treasury secretary R.T. McNamar warned that in case of repudiation of the debt:

"...the foreign assets of a country would be attached by creditors throughout the world; its exports would be seized by creditors at each dock where they landed; its national airline would be unable to operate; and its sources of desperately needed capital goods and spare parts virtually eliminated. In many countries, even food imports would be curtailed. Hardly a pleasant scenario."

As the U.S. prime rate (which banks charge their best customers) jumped two percentage points in the past few months, automatically adding \$5 billion to the Latin American debt burden, Argentina's beleaguered liberal president Raúl Alfonsín cried out, "It's madness." No, señor, it's capitalism.

In the 1930s and '40s, nationalist/populist regimes such as Perón in Argentina and Vargas in Brazil repudiated the foreign debt without serious repercussions. But prior to World War II, Latin America was far more autonomous from the world capitalist economy than today. Most countries were self-sufficient in food, and a return to a barter economy led to a surge of industrialization through "import substitution." But in Latin America today the so-called "national bourgeoisies" are thoroughly integrated into the world market. Brazilian industrialists are completely dependent on partnerships, joint projects and licensing agreements with American, European and Japanese multinationals. The factories of São Paulo and Córdoba would grind to a halt in months, if not weeks, without a steady flow of imported raw materials, machinery and parts.

Thus all the talk of a "debtors' cartel" is just that—talk. Even Alfonsín's Argentina, for all its "tough" posturing toward the IMF, after the usual last-minute dramatics came up with the \$325 million so as not to be in arrears on its quarterly interest payments to "Manny Hanny," Citibank & Co. And the meeting of Latin American finance ministers in Cartagena, Colombia in late June came up with nothing more than a polite plea to the imperialist bloodsuckers to understand their plight. Indeed, the Latin American ruling classes are caught between a rock and a

nomie blockade, Cuba has provided quality health care for its people, education for its youth, and housing and adequate food for all. One does not see in Havana unemployed workers scavenging through garbage dumps or people living in tents. Of course, Cuba sells its sugar to the Soviet Union at 40¢ a pound as opposed to the world market price of 6¢ a pound received by the Dominican Republic next door. Only through an internationally planned economy can the poor countries of the earth escape from destitution and spoliation by low commodity prices, high interest rates and the other mechanisms of imperialist domination.

Yet the Cuban Revolution was deformed, for atop the workers state sits a petty-bourgeois nationalist bureaucracy. Castro has not taken hold of the debt crisis to mobilize the many millions-strong Latin American proletariat against its exploiters. Instead he is looking for a political bloc with the "national" bourgeoisies of the continent, a repeat of the ephemeral (and empty) "alliance" against the Yankees over the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war. In his report to the 1983 Conference of Non-Aligned Countries (*The World Economic and Social Crisis*), Castro calls only for cancellation of the debt of the "least developed countries"—i.e., Haiti and Bolivia—whereas for "the rest of the developing countries" indebtedness should be "relieved." Lots of luck!

Contrast Castro's line with that of the Russian Bolsheviks. Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1923 that as early as the 1905 Revolution the Soviets declared they would repudiate the tsarist debt:

"Our own debts we pay and shall continue to pay, but we have no desire to pay anyone else's. Already in December 1905 the Petrograd Soviet, the forerunner of the present government, warned foreign powers and foreign capitalists that the Russian revolution would not recognise the debts incurred by the Tsars, or any other forms of assistance given by foreign capitalists to the Tsarist regime."

—"Interview with American Senator King," *How the Revolution Armed*, Vol. 5 (1981)

It will take proletarian revolution across the continent, leading to a Socialist United States of Latin America, to break the shackles of imperialist debt peonage. Thus the fight against IMF starvation is a fight to forge Trotskyist parties throughout Latin America, to lead continental and worldwide socialist revolution.

It Can Happen Here

Can "it"—the Great Crash of 1929—happen again? That is the question now

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

being asked from the Wall Street Racquet Club to the caverns of the gnomes of Zurich to the palaces of the sheiks of Araby. Certainly those in the know in the financial world don't doubt that it can happen again, and any day, too. Few corporate treasurers, bankers and financial officials doubt the possibility of a chain of bank failures triggered by a Latin American default or some other shock. What they believe is that the United States government will not let any big bank fail, just as it did not allow Continental Illinois to go down the tubes, at any rate for the time being. The respected financial journalist Martin Mayer writes in his new book, *The Money Bazaars* (1984):

"In a fundamental sense, the change from metallic money to credit money meant that this sort of panic could never happen again. Because the reserves of the banking system are now nothing more than a government's promise to pay (and what is to be paid is not specified), money can be created at will and the banking system can be kept solvent however great the panic."

In other words, a bank crash can always be prevented if only the Treasury runs the printing presses fast enough. That didn't work so well for the Argentine generals. Will it work for Ronald Reagan?

Such a mammoth bank bailout, in fact, would produce an inflationary explosion the likes of which this country has never seen. Interest rates would shoot up to triple-digit levels, disrupting production and commerce. People's savings would disappear. Such a hyper-inflationary policy would make the U.S. begin to look something like Germany in 1923:

"Whoever had a job got paid every day, usually at noon, and then ran to the nearest store, with a sack full of banknotes, to buy anything he could get, at any price. In their frenzy, people paid millions and even billions of marks for cuckoo clocks, shoes that didn't fit, anything that could be traded for something else."

—Otto Friedrich, *Before the Deluge* (1972)

At bottom, the difference between the let-'em-go-bust school and the advocates of a giant bank bailout is the difference between deflationists and inflationists within the bourgeoisie. As the Russian communist revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote during the Great Depression of the '30s:

"In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, inflation and deflation are two complementary instruments for throwing onto the people the cost of decaying capitalism. Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife." [emphasis in original]

Now that even conservative bankers are openly worrying about the danger of another bank crash, it is vital for workers in this country to understand the political lessons of the 1930s. The impact of the depression and the evident bankruptcy of capitalism propelled the American working class to organize itself for the first time in mass industrial unions. However, thanks in large part to the Stalinists and social democrats at the head of those unions, the incipient radicalization of American labor was channeled into FDR's Democratic Party. The notion that Roosevelt's New Deal got the U.S. out of the depression is a liberal myth. The American economy did not recover its pre-1929 level until the imperialist slaughter of World War II set the war industries running in high gear.

Today the world is again riven by economic crisis as it lurches toward another imperialist war, this time a nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the state issuing out of the world proletariat's greatest victory, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. There is not much time for the working class to bring down the rotten structure of world capitalism before it sinks us all. ■

Shutting Down Britain...

(continued from page 1)

dockers' picket lines. The NUS, NUR, ASLEF [railway engineers] and TGWU must call all their members out in immediate strike action. If rail, transport, mines and maritime are shut down, that will be a general strike. It will lay a powerful basis for pulling out other key sections of workers, especially in steel and power, over the heads of their scabherding misleaders. And it will overwhelm Len Murray's gang of open strikebreakers on the Trades Union Congress (TUC); they have no vote on this one. A revived, fighting version of the Triple Alliance of miners, dockers and railwaymen is the way to organize a general strike now, based on united, common strike action by these key national unions and over the heads of the craven TUC. They must fight for these concrete demands:

- Victory to the miners! Smash the Tory anti-union rampage! Smash the attack on the dockers union!
- No more redundancies [layoffs]! Not one job lost in coal, rail, steel and the docks!
- No more denationalisations!
- For a 10 percent wage rise across the board linked to full cost-of-living indexing!
- Drop all charges against the victimised strikers!

This embittered Tory government will not grant these modest demands. But a general strike now can win them and in doing so bring down the Iron Lady, opening the road of struggle to a genuine workers government to expropriate the whole capitalist class.

Thatcher's civil war in the coal fields is aimed against the whole working class and oppressed. The Tories even tried to outlaw the National Union of Miners (NUM) conference in order to boost their Solidarność-style scab "union" breakaway in Notts. Thatcher must think she's running Chile or South Africa!

The miners have been fighting damned hard—with more than enough guts, militancy and self-sacrifice to go around. No working-class militant will forget or forgive the murders of David Jones and Joe Green. A century of hard-won trade-union rights are under attack. Tory attacks target just about everyone: local government legislation designed to smash jobs and services, brutal attacks on the National Health Service, the Police Bill and anti-immigrant legislation threatening basic rights, particularly of black and Asian minorities.

The bosses have been waging a war of attrition against the dockers for decades: in 30 years the number of registered dockers has been slashed from some 80,000 to under 14,000 while shipping has been diverted to non-registered ports where containerisation has meant massive speedup and redundancy. The port employers want to bring back casual labour and break the union on the docks—and the dockers are the backbone of the whole TGWU.

Immediately when the dockers strike began, 70 British Steel Corporation dockers on Teesside spontaneously walked off the job and joined a miners' picket line outside the steelworks. The day before TGWU lorry drivers joined miners to picket against the use and transport of scab coal at British Leyland's Longbridge plant. Last Tuesday in Mansfield 1,500 strikers drove back wave after wave of police assault with stones and bottles and the cops were unable to make a single arrest. What's needed outside every steel factory, every power station, every place where scab coal is to be found are mass pickets of miners and dockers drawing in transport workers, railmen, steelmen. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* And every scab had better learn that you can't cross a

picket line on two broken legs. Organise joint trade-union defence guards to stop cop/seab terror! Black all coal and iron ore—stop all shipping and transport!

The Murray/Sirs gang of Cold War strikebreakers are open pawns of anti-Soviet warmonger Thatcher. Steel workers should remember that the dockers voted to join them in strike action in 1980—and steel workers union president Bill Sirs betrayed them. To hell with Sirs—strike with the miners and dockers! Scabbing won't stop the closures and redundancies, class struggle will!

Already over 4,000 strikers have been arrested under the Tory government's martial law. Thatcher's threat to bring out the troops poses head-on a bitter confrontation with the capitalist state. Only the fullest possible mobilisation of the labour movement can answer and defeat such an assault. The bosses can't run the country without dockers, railwaymen, transport workers or miners. And the army includes many lads with working-class backgrounds who might well heed appeals from the workers not to break the strike. Every general strike poses the question of power: *which class rules?* But the reformists, "lefts" no less than rights, fear and hate the prospect of serious class struggle that threatens the capitalist state. Thus the fight for a general strike cannot be separated from the fight to oust the class traitors of the TUC and forge a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class prepared to go all the way to victory over capitalism.

Elected joint strike committees of all the striking unions, also drawing in militants from the women's support groups, the unemployed, the black and Asian communities, are essential to making sure this struggle is not derailed or beheaded. Even as they take measures to effectively run the strike—organising pickets, distribution of essential services, etc.—these committees will lay the basis for alternative organs of power to the strikebreaking capitalist state.

National Union of Miners leader Scargill's stand against the Iron Lady and the anti-Soviet war drive is to be applauded. But his pitch for protectionist import controls—which pit worker against worker just as steelmen have been pitted against miners in this strike—is a dangerous obstacle to a fighting unity in struggle. It is counterposed to the crucial appeals for international labour solidarity, particularly to the continental maritime and transport unions of the Common Market countries to black all coal and iron ore shipments intended for Britain and to black all shipping diverted from British ports.

And even as Labour Party chief Neil Kinnock was being booed by militants at the Durham miners' gala at the weekend, Scargill pointed to the election of another Labour government as the goal of this class battle. But after the hard-fought struggles of 1972-74 the only reward workers got from the incoming Labour government was "Social Contract" strikebreaking, enforced productivity deals and austerity wage cuts. Kinnock is already acting as strikebreaker for the bosses and he's not even in No. 10 Downing Street! And Labour "lefts" like Tony Benn, well remembered as architect of the productivity deal, remain utterly submissive to the "violence"-baiting ballot-mongers atop the party. (The Tories and right-wing Labour bureaucrats have demanded a national ballot in the NUM hoping to liquidate the strike.) Looking to an electoral victory by the Labour Party is counterposed to the hard class struggle and general strike which we need today.

What's needed is a party to fight for workers' rule—not for another parliamentary Labour government with the same bosses' cops in place to kill more strikers. Let's put an end to the stretched-out dole [unemployment line] which is life in Britain today and fight

for decent jobs, housing and education for all workers and our children under a genuine workers government. A mass revolutionary workers party, forged through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist misleaders, is desperately needed to organise the class struggle. In the fight for a general strike to smash the Tory assault, it will come a huge step closer to realisation. ■

Hospital Strike...

(continued from page 4)

win this battle on behalf of all working people. Solidarity action is urgently needed from AFSCME, SEIU, as well as the Teamsters, who deliver the supplies without which hospitals can't run.

For the past several months I199 has been embroiled in a messy internal dispute with NYC local leader Doris Turner allied with the Retail Workers tops against Henry Nicholas, head of the semi-autonomous RWDSU affiliate, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (I199). Both sides have run to the capitalist courts, treacherously inviting state intervention in the labor movement. And carrying out a court-ordered agreement, on July 1—the eve of the contract—the New York local left the national I199 to affiliate directly to the RWDSU. The pro-Communist Party "progressive" District I199 old guard headed by union founder Leon Davis and partner Moe Foner were no less class-collaborationist than the present Turner gang. (During the 1976 strike, Davis/Foner even resorted to the use of goon squads against militants who were stopping scabs!) This destructive bureaucratic infighting is the legacy of the Stalinist "progressives" who pissed away the traditions of class-struggle unionism, and neither side has the policies to win a hard-fought strike.

Today, Turner looks to slick-talking black Democrats like Basil Paterson to mediate a settlement. The Democrats, black and white, are not "friends of labor" but class enemies, and out-of-power black Democratic wheeler-dealer Paterson is not going to win this strike any more than he stopped Koch's racist closing of Sydenham Hospital. To win this battle will take militant labor action against the bosses, which behind the façade of the "voluntary" League is the state itself.

The striking I199 hospital workers must build militant picket lines to educate would-be strikebreakers that scabbing is dangerous to your health! To guard against betrayals by the Turner bureaucracy, and to mobilize the whole union for struggle, a strike committee must be formed from delegates elected on the picket lines! For a citywide hospital strike—all NYC labor must back up I199 strikers with action, not just words! Stop the scabs—stay out and win! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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Two Black Men Murdered in a Week

Racist Kill-Crazy Cleveland Cops

CLEVELAND—Outrage swept America's second most segregated city, as Cleveland cops went on another murderous rampage killing two unarmed black men in less than a week. On June 1, Benjamin Arrington, a recently employed black window-washer, was shot through the chest as he sat in his parked car on East 105th Street. The cops had advanced on Arrington, guns drawn, because they thought the shoulder-holster which carried his window-washing equipment made him "suspicious." The killer cop, Donald Strother, later said preposterously that he thought Arrington was pulling a gun. But the 48-year-old worker was "armed" only with his squeegees. Eyewitnesses said Arrington had been sleeping in his vehicle and was shot as he jumped up startled after being awakened by the killer.

Only six days earlier, 25-year-old Gregory Williams was shot in the back of the head as he was running away from a supposed auto theft near West 20th Street. Patrolman David Sumskis fired six shots at the fleeing Williams before killing him. Again the murderer said that his victim had a gun, but only a metal file could be found. According to a well-known Cleveland activist against police repression, Roy Kaufman, the city coroner's report states that the death of this unarmed black man was an act of cold-blooded murder. But this fact of public record has been sup-

pressed by all of Cleveland's media including the black press.

Williams was actually the second victim of cop terror in his family. In April 1979 an uncle by marriage, Anthony Jackson, was murdered by cops as he too was running away from them. Witnesses to that gruesome killing reported that Jackson was shot first in the back and three more times as he tried to surrender, hands in the air. In response to the murder of his brother Anthony, Walter Jackson launched People United Against Repression (PUAR). With the murder of Gregory Williams, Walter Jackson has now lost his stepson as well to a racist cop's bullet.

Cleveland's police force is characterized by the large number of racist, homicidal psychopaths it harbors. Consider the murderer of Michael Woods, a 24-year-old black unemployed worker gunned down on 23 July 1982 while shopping for a birthday cake for his one-year-old son. The killer, patrolman Joseph D. Paskvan, had only one year earlier driven his police car into a black man, crushing his legs, while shouting, "You black motherfucker, you will never run again." The September 1982 issue of a newsletter put out by the Cleveland Fraternal Order of Police hailed the murder of Woods as "justifiable extermination...of another of

society's maggots" by "Officer Joe 'the Orkin Man' Paskvan," referring to the pest control company!

The latest wave of cop terror has evoked outrage concentrated in but by no means restricted to Cleveland's black community. PUAR, together with the 21st Congressional Caucus headed by black Congressman Louis Stokes and Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, have gotten 13,000 signatures on a petition to put a city charter amendment for an elected civilian review board on the ballot for November. Police violence is not going to be stopped by paper resolutions of powerless review boards. Indicatively, the Cleveland proposal is modeled after the Detroit Civilian Review Board. This body has in no way deterred Mayor Coleman Young from reviving the notorious police terror methods of STRESS, the cop unit which routinely gunned down black youth in the early 1970s. However, while holding no illusions in the ability of these boards to check police violence, the demand for a civilian review board should be supported if it becomes a referendum on police bonapartism.

In response to wide support for a civilian review board, Cleveland mayor George Voinovich and police chief William Hanton have made the appearance of an about-face and come out for a

panel that would be appointed by the mayor and which would include cops. Such a panel would be no different from existing internal police bodies like the "Use of Deadly Force Investigation Unit" which provides the cover-ups and alibis that are incitements to police terror. As if to prove this point Voinovich and Hanton have coupled their "compromise" with the demand that cops get "dumdum" bullets which explode on impact and leave a gaping hole in the internal organs, in order to have more "stopping power."

In the meantime, a Cuyahoga County grand jury cleared both killer cops of any criminal charges. It is hardly surprising in Reagan's America, where the Greensboro KKK/Nazi murderers go free and the Supreme Court sanctions police terror, that these murdering cops are exonerated. Remember Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child slaughtered in his own home by racist Orange County, California cop Anthony Spurl, who received for this heinous act a huge bounty and early retirement with pension! These killer cops should be jailed! But it is going to take a massive militant mobilization of the labor movement and black people to stop the racist murderers-in-blue in their tracks. Vengeance for all the victims of racist cop murder must become the cause of American labor as it seeks its emancipation. ■

Government Terrorism...

(continued from page 5)

by claiming that we were involved in the SF anti-Kissinger demonstration. The capitalist press, while giving us plenty of "publicity" whenever some (generally unidentified) cop spokesman slanders us, has been real quiet about our important legal victories, e.g., when we forced the Moonies' paper to retract its slanders of the 5,000 demonstrators who under SL leadership stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

We keep beating down the "violence" Big Lie, but before the ink on the slanderers' retraction is dry, new lies are being pushed again. The same technique has been used in the aftermath of the cop attack on the anti-Falwell demonstrators. Our absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing; the *Chronicle* (13 July) in an article, also under the byline of Katy Butler, included us among the organizers of the demonstration. As we pointed out in the press release issued that day (see page 5):

"...it is unfortunately unlikely that we would be in a united action with the other groups in the Committee because we advance political positions not to their taste—in particular our penchant for defending the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union against assaults by U.S. imperialism. And a good many radical groups are sufficiently sectarian, particularly through their desire to crawl between the toes of the left foot of the Democratic Party, to want nothing to do with us. In any case it has come to be our feeling, a few *Workers Vanguard* salesmen hawking to fellow leftists, unionists and black militants aside, that SF is a good place to stay out of right now."

Sure enough, once again the *Chronicle* account was duly and swiftly reiterated in New York—this time by the *Daily News* (14 July) in an article entitled "Bracing for 'crazies'." We again responded in a press release dated July 15 that "The publication, in exaggerated

form, of an initially false report from the *S.F. Chronicle*, smacks of an FBI COINTELPRO-type conspiracy."

Meanwhile in Los Angeles, socially concerned members of the "Homeless Coalition" met one evening in June with LAPD officials. The Coalition was worried about rumors that the "homeless" were to be shipped to the desert during the Olympics. In the course of assuaging these worries, the LAPD reps began to discuss the "real" priorities and deployment of their forces, including heavy security for an allegedly "anti-American" demonstration scheduled for August 5 in MacArthur Park. Since at least one of the members of the Homeless Coalition was also a member of a liberal endorsing group of this demonstration, "Survival Sunday," she was understandably alarmed to hear that the community-activist types assembling for the event had been labeled "anti-American." The police representatives assured the assembled that their real concern was with dangerous groups such as the SL who they allege are behind the demo. Needless to say, the SL has as much to do with "Survival Sunday" as we had with the anti-Falwell coalition, i.e., nothing.

What Is the FBI After?

Why has the SL been targeted? We're a staid Marxist group with an old-fashioned belief in the class struggle, the organization of the proletariat in its effective majority, as the instrument for revolutionary social transformation. Our opposition to putschism and impotent acts of individual terrorism is oft-repeated. Our essential indifference to the proceedings of the Democratic convention has been made clear (as has our willingness to defend that bourgeois party's democratic right to assemble despite police and rightist provocations). As for the L.A. Olympics, for us the prospect of demonstrations whining about the Russian pullout is simply unappetizing; we are pleased that the Soviets refused to put themselves in mortal danger by participating. In the face of U.S. provocation, we're glad the

Russian Bear has stood up on its hind legs for a change. As far as our own immediate concerns go, we think we would do a lot better selling *WV* to black workers in front of supermarkets rather than at the Olympics.

So why us? Well, we are suing the FBI, which has grown "tired" of suits by victims of its illegal "dirty tricks" in the COINTELPRO days. It appears the "Justice" Department and/or its FBI is whispering in the ears of various police departments and press connections. In any case, we are being given the name while opposing in principle the terrorist game. About the only things we haven't been accused of (so far) are kidnapping the Lindbergh baby and shooting the pope.

The cops, with a little help from their friends, are convinced the SL intends to "overthrow the government" by "force and violence." As we have said before, any group which fits that conspiratorial definition would have to be a bunch of suicidal psychopaths. This is not to say that we don't want for example to get all the gold in Fort Knox, and we surely want ourselves or our political successors to be the rulers of this country one day. But from this, the cops would intend to see us convicted of making plans to rob Fort Knox, as they are

actively plotting to see us convicted or murdered for "conspiring to overthrow the government."

So you may discern that something bad is going on in this country and we are being singled out along with a few other groups. And whereas the COINTELPRO operations were carried out in darkest secrecy, Reagan's anti-terrorist Round Two is right out at center stage. But the victims in San Francisco and potential victims in Los Angeles are not simply or primarily the Spartacist League. In their effort to establish regimentation through fear, the Reagan administration has chosen us as a target. They aim to further cow and electorally defeat the Democratic Party as a step in this ultrarightist pre-emptive strike against a population which is far from won over to their plans for new Vietnam-style military adventures in Central America. Their repression is intended to strike a blow against the union movement, now that the momentum of class struggle is on an upswing in this country, and against racial minorities and their militant defenders. On behalf of all the exploited and oppressed, whose vanguard we are, we pledge to fight the new witchhunt with every moral, political and legal means at our disposal. ■

Spartacist League Forums

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Eyewitness Report from Arizona Copper Strike

Speaker: Sam Price, eyewitness *WV* reporter at Arizona copper strike

Friday, July 27, 7:30 p.m.

YWCA, 1515 Webster

For more information: (415) 835-1531

OAKLAND

Saturday, July 28, 7:30 p.m.

Bayview Lutheran Church

1400 Palou Avenue, at Keith

For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Guest Speaker:

Manuel Delgadillo
member, CWA Local 11502

Friday, August 3, 7:30 p.m.

at National Association of

Letter Carriers Branch 24

774 South Valencia

For more information: (213) 384-9716

LOS ANGELES

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 12)

subsequently shredded and thrown away. This outrage was revealed at a dramatic five-day trial of Richard Bradley which ended June 4 with a hung jury, deadlocked at eight-to-four for acquittal on charges of "vandalism." The District Attorney subsequently dropped all charges against Bradley.

Even then the "Battle of the Flags" was not over in San Francisco. Despite the Spartacists' warning that it would take a "steel fence and guards 24 hours a day" to keep up a Confederate flag, Mayor "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein is running for the Democratic vice presidential nomination and assiduously courting the Dixiecrats who will be arriving this month for the Democratic National Convention. So, in late June, another Confederate flag was raised in the Civic Center! This time it was the "Confederate national flag," not the popularly known cross-harred Confederate battle flag. This was an attempted repeat of the city's first attempt to fly the Confederate flag in 1964: when outraged civil rights demonstrators tore it down during the Republican convention, the city's Parks Commission voted to fly the more obscure "Confederate national flag" instead.

The effort to re-raise any banner of slavery was short-lived: in the early morning hours of June 29, militant workers used an acetylene torch to topple the entire flagpole on which the racist hanner flew, dropping the "Stars and Bars" into the dirt where it belonged. This dramatic act, not meetings in the mayor's office or Board of Supervisors' deliberations, finished the city's attempts to fly the Confederate flag. *Mayor Feinstein had met her Vicksburg.* The city's Board of Supervisors now called for a public hearing on the flag controversy and a visihly embarrassed Feinstein administration rushed to finally obtain the "California Hundred" flag.

It took the dramatic public action of

Richard Bradley, the Spartacist League and the mass sentiment of outraged Bay Area blacks and all opponents of racism to end the flying of the banner of slavery and KKK terror. The issue of slavery was decided by blood and iron in the Civil War, where over 350,000 Union troops died and 200,000 black soldiers fought and turned the tide of battle against the slave owners. But the promise of black equality was betrayed: the racist Ku Klux Klan arose to terrorize black people and enforce Jim Crow segregation that lasted nearly a hundred years and whose racist legacy is with us to this day. Their hanner was—and is to this day—the Confederate flag. In acting to insure that it does not fly in San Francisco, the Spartacist League says: "It took the first American revolution to get rid of the British; it took a second American revolution—the Civil War—to get rid of slavery; and it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to end black oppression once and for all with victorious socialism." ■



San Francisco, April 15—After tearing down Confederate flag, militants chant, "Finish the Civil War!—Forward to a Workers State!" WV Photo

THE TRIBUNE

State banner favored over Confederate flag

Bay City News Service

SAN FRANCISCO — San Francisco Recreation and Park Department General Manager Thomas Malloy said yesterday that the California 100 flag will be waving on a now-empty pole in Civic Center Plaza today, taking the place of a Confederate banner that was cut down by protesters three times this spring.

The California 100 was carried by the first 100 volunteers from the state who went to fight with Union troops during the Civil War. It will join a display of 17 other historic flags that originally included the Confederate banner.

Speaking before a committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Malloy said the

California 100 standard was produced by the Paramount Flag Co.

The flag controversy began in April when Richard Bradley, a member of the Spartacist League, shimmed up the pole and cut down the Confederate flag, calling it the "hanner of racist terror." When the flag was replaced the next day, he tore it down again. Vandalism charges against Bradley were dismissed after a five-day trial ended in a hung jury.

Following Bradley's action and a request by city Supervisor Doris Ward, Mayor Dianne Feinstein declared that the Confederate flag would not fly in the plaza again, and directed that a replica of the California 100 be

ordered to replace it.

But, Malloy acknowledged, a Confederate banner was run up the pole during the last few days of June. That banner, which Malloy said was raised "quite by accident," was not the familiar Confederate "battle flag" with blue diagonal cross bars but the less well-known Confederate "national flag" known as the Stars and Bars, which features three red and white stripes and a circle of white stars on a blue field in the upper left-hand corner.

Malloy told Ward and Supervisor Nancy Walker that he first noticed the flag on June 21, but did not recognize it as a Confederate symbol. Initially, he said, he was simply pleased that the empty hole in the display had been filled. Ward and Walker said they, too, did not recognize the flag.

The flagpole flying the Confederate hanner was cut down with a torch June 29. Members of the Spartacist League said today they do not know who cut

down the pole but whoever it was "deserves a medal."

The flagpole was repaired on Tuesday, according to Malloy. Later, during testimony by members of the Spartacist League, Ward said she did not believe Malloy's story that the Stars and Bars were raised by accident.

"I am certain there is more to the story," she said. "I do not accept that it got up there inadvertently."

Ward elaborated after the hearing, saying she suspected a Park and Recreation employee raised the Confederate flag deliberately.

"I don't believe that the person who put it up there didn't know what it stood for. I can't prove it, but I really believe that," she said.

Ward and Walker agreed to send a letter to the Recreation and Park Commission, which has jurisdiction over the display, asking that the commission consider changing the configuration of flags to better reflect local and state history.

Immigration...

(continued from page 12)

are refugees from political terror. The U.S. government welcomes *gusano* seum fleeing victorious social revolutions in Cuba and Vietnam, hut will make no room in the "land of the free" for oppressed and persecuted working people from Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras or other right-wing terror regimes backed by the U.S. Now the INS has launched a drive to break up the church-sponsored sanctuary movement that shelters political refugees. Last month, Stacey Merkt, a Catholic social worker, was sentenced in Brownsville, Texas to two years probation for the "crime" of transporting a group of Salvadorans to a sanctuary in San Antonio. If deported, these unfortunate refugees face the prospect of being press-ganged into serving in that country's brutal army or becoming victims of the sadistic death squads which have already killed 50,000 civilians in the raging civil war.

The real effect of Simpson-Mazzoli and the racist campaign behind it is to further terrorize immigrant workers and to divide them from their natural allies in the U.S. working class. The boom-bust-profit system cannot provide full employment, and during the down cycles the capitalists slash wages and put the squeeze on the reserve army of the unemployed. Foreign-born workers, valued by the capitalists during boom times as cheap, unorganized labor, are made scapegoats. Thus the last major immigration bills were passed in 1929, at the beginning of the Depression, and during the 1952 recession.

Key to the struggle to protect foreign-

horn workers from deportation is the mobilization of organized labor in the U.S. to defend their class brothers and sisters. And this means a direct struggle against the AFL-CIO tops whose only "answers" to increased unemployment are chauvinistic protectionist poison and racist calls, echoing Reagan's own, to "regain control of our borders." The AFL-CIO supported Simpson-Mazzoli until the House added a provision that would revive the "bracero" program for Mexican agricultural laborers. Their "alternative," proposed by House Hispanic Caucus member and Democrat Edward Roybal, is no better. While calling for better enforcement of labor laws against sweatshop conditions, the Roybal bill also called for beefing up the brutal thugs of the Border Patrol and the INS, notoriously the most venal agency of the U.S. government, who have for years acted as a law unto themselves.

Outraged Hispanic community leaders are now calling for demonstrations against Simpson-Mazzoli at this week's Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, but it was the Democrat-controlled House which just approved the bill. In fact even the so-called liberals were prominent backers of the bill, with Massachusetts Democrat Barney Frank warning against "a permanent Marxist army of the unemployed across the border" (*New York Times*, 17 June). For election purposes, all three Democratic presidential candidates—Mondale, Hart and Jackson—opposed Simpson-Mazzoli on paper, while the Democratic-controlled House was passing the racist bill.

Meanwhile, attempting to attract a Hispanic component to his Democratic Party pressure group, the so-called

"Rainbow Coalition," Jesse Jackson capped a week of campaigning in Southern California with a big rally in Los Angeles May 19, where he attacked the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. But Jackson supports the Roybal bill with its build-up of the vicious *migra*. The vote hustler for the Democrats tried to play off the various ethnic parts of his "Rainbow" by cynically stating Hispanic workers aren't any threat to black employment anyhow. "That's a bunch of lies—ain't no blacks looking to pick no tomatoes at \$1.90 an hour," Jackson said (*Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 17 May). But supposedly it's okay for the desperately poor Latino workers to do this super-exploitative, miserable stoop labor!

Criminally, most of the left supports Jackson's campaign. Particularly gross was the centrist Internationalist Work-

ers Party (IWP), followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, which claims to oppose Jackson but marched in his campaign rally May 19. The Morenoite IWP distributed a slavishly flattering "open letter" to the "civil rights activist," stating "we are here today to fight with you against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill" and moaning how "unfortunate" it was Jackson had not "taken the road to breaking with the Democrats." Even if he did, this shill for Mondale would still be a capitalist politician—and the fight against racist immigration laws must necessarily be a fight against the capitalist system they are designed to protect. Labor must mobilize to defend the undocumented workers and reverse the bosses' anti-labor offensive! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Down with the INS! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Anti-Slavery Flag Flies in S.F.

Victory for Black Freedom!

SAN FRANCISCO, July 6—All opponents of slavery, racism and Ku Klux Klan race-terror can claim a real victory today. The "California Hundred" flag was raised in San Francisco's Civic Center today on the same flagpole which previously flew the Confederate flag. The "California Hundred" flag is a unique standard from California's Civil War history, the banner of the first 100 California volunteers who paid their own way back East to join the fight against the slave owners. This victory comes only after a three-month-long fight to get down and keep down the hated banner of racism and slavery, the Confederate flag.

The battle was joined on 15 April 1984 when Richard Bradley, black member of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, climbed a 50-foot flagpole in the Civic Center. Clad in a uniform of a Union soldier, Bradley tore down the Confederate battle flag that was flying as part of a display of 18 "historic" flags and hurled it to the ground, where it was burned.

That same day, an all-white jury for a second time acquitted Klan/Nazi killers of the 1979 murder of five civil rights and labor organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina. Bradley also cited the successful fight just last year by heroic black students at the University of Mississippi—"Ole Miss"—to stop the



Longshoreman Peter Wooiston (left) and Richard Bradley celebrate the destruction of Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror. Now "California Hundred" flag of the first Union Army volunteers from California flies over San Francisco Civic Center.

school's official flying of the Confederate flag, stating, "If it's not going to fly at Ole Miss, it sure as hell is not going to fly in San Francisco!"

The next day, when the arrogant administration of Mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein put up another Confederate flag, Bradley went right back up the flagpole and tore the racist banner to

shreds. For a second time, he was arrested. On April 29 he climbed the flagpole a third time and hoisted a replica of the 33-star Union flag that flew at Fort Sumter, South Carolina. The Spartacists donated the historic Fort Sumter garrison flag to the city because of its heroic role in the fight against slavery—the opening shots of

the Civil War were fired against this flag.

But Democratic mayor Feinstein seemed determined to go to war against the whole course of American history. On the day after it was donated, the Fort Sumter garrison flag was removed on Feinstein's personal authority and was

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WV Photos

Down with Racist Simpson-Mazzoli Bill!

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

The racist campaign by the U.S. ruling class against undocumented workers climaxed late last month as the House passed the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill. The bill, which offers a limited amnesty while laying the basis for mass expulsions of foreign-born workers, now goes to a House/Senate conference committee to determine just how limited the amnesty provision will be. Already in April the Supreme Court okayed the Gestapo-like police raids

by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) cops in factories in search of "illegals." And in recent weeks the Reagan administration has escalated its racist rhetoric about hordes of brown-skinned "feet people" as it tries to whip up anti-communist frenzy for its unpopular and losing wars in Central America.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill provides a 45 percent increase in manpower funds for the hated *migra*. It also allows the government to deport

foreign workers without a hearing if they fail to produce the proper identification. The vast majority of the undocumented workers arrive here from Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean, where imperialist economic policies have created living hells for the working masses. In Mexico, for example, only half the workers can find full-time jobs, and that might only be at the starvation minimum wage of 55 cents an hour. Those who make it past the armed INS



WV Photo

Salvadoran refugees thrown into California concentration camps.

border guards and computerized closed circuit TV monitors are often beaten or robbed by handits on the American side of the border or abandoned by ruthless "coyotes" in the desert.

An increasing number of "illegals"
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