

## On Anti-Soviet War Crusade

# Reagan Salutes Nazis

### From Hitler's Death Camps to Contra Death Squads

APRIL 28—The man's a 24 karat nut. In the wacky world of Ronald Reagan the white-supremacist police state in South Africa is a democracy striving for racial equality. George Washington is down in Nicaragua with CIA mercenary "freedom fighters" battling "Sandino-Communism," and America's dirty war in Vietnam was a "noble mission." Now he's off to lay a wreath at the graves of Nazi mass murderers. When Bonzo goes to Bitburg he'll embrace West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, but he's really seeking "reconciliation" with that fellow anti-Soviet madman with the funny mustache. For Ronald Reagan's anti-Communist crusade is a continuation of Adolf Hitler's war to root out the "Bolshevik menace." Hitler's ravings in his bunker led to genocidal holocaust and a fiery "Twilight of the Gods" for the German Reich. Reagan in the White House dreams of thermonuclear Armageddon which threatens to blow up the entire world.

The New Right saw November's landslide re-election as a mandate to "let Reagan be Reagan." So that's what they did—and look at the results. In the last week, through five separate votes and rare late-night sessions of Congress on the Nicaragua "contra" aid issue, the administration came out with hands empty. Even disguising logistical aid to the Somozaist terrorists as "aid to families with dependent contras," the U.S. ruling class couldn't get it together to support Reagan's terrorists. The Democrats were willing to "compromise" till the cows came home, but they didn't know what to be more afraid of—Reagan accusing them of "losing Nicaragua to the Communists," or the American public which doesn't want another bloody Vietnam. Because everyone knows that with losers like the contras, aid to Reagan's "brothers"



Bossu/Sygma



Downing/Newsweek

Warmonger Reagan goes to Bitburg to bury Red Army victory over Hitler and honor Nazi butchers of 20 million Russians, 11 million Holocaust victims.

means sending in American troops.

Five months after the re-election, three months after the inauguration, *America is not Reagan country*. Secretary of State Shultz tries to resuscitate the Vietnam War as a light for "democracy," but the American public still remembers the 60,000 body bags shipped back from Indochina and two-thirds still consider America's losing war a "mistake." When Reagan alibied racist massacre in South Africa, for the first time since the early 1970s mass protests erupted on campuses across the country protesting U.S. support to the apartheid butchers. But the biggest fiasco was certainly Reagan's decision to honor Nazi soldiers while turning a cold shoulder to the victims of Hitler's Holocaust. This gesture managed to unite everyone from the Jewish population to the American Legion against the White House.

So why does Ronald Reagan persist in hardlining it for such obviously unpopular causes? "Insensitivity"? Not at all. This anti-Communist crusader is trying to mobilize the West for war against the Soviet Union. No matter how depraved they are, whether it's a Vietnamese Hitler-lover like Marshal Ky or dictator Somoza's leftover mur-

derers and torturers, for Reagan & Co. they're all "freedom fighters" as long as they hate the Russians. The Somozaist butchers have proclaimed Washington's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Our Lady of the Contras." In Kirkpatrick's book Hitler (like Somoza) was just the kind of right-wing "authoritarian" who's preferable to "Communist totalitarians." That's what the anti-Soviet war drive means: learn to love the homie, and learn to love the Nazis.

After all, the Nazi *Führer* was the biggest anti-Communist of his time. Hitler ranted in *Mein Kampf* that "The fight against Jewish world Bolshevization requires a clear attitude toward Soviet Russia. You cannot drive out the Devil with Beelzebub." Compare this with Reagan's proclamation to a convention of right-wing "born-again" Christians that the Soviet Union is an "evil empire" and "the focus of evil in the modern world." If anything, Reagan's current ravings about Nicaragua as a "Communist-terrorist arsenal" that "threatens us all" make Hitler's tirades against the Soviet Union in the first couple years of his "Operation Barbarossa" look relatively sane. The very existence of the Soviet Union, horn of the Bolshevik October Revolution, was

a threat to the Third Reich. And it was the Red Army that finally put an end to Hitler's drive for world domination.

For Ronald Reagan, war is like a Hollywood movie: the good guys triumph over evil, and it always has a happy ending. With his "Star Wars" fantasies he thinks he can fight a nuclear war and come out on top without a single white middle-class American getting hurt. Reagan aims to reconquer the world...through nuclear apocalypse! And now Reagan's hurt, bad, over his SS cemetery visit. That only makes him more dangerous. The last time he was in trouble was over Lebanon, and he responded with the invasion of Grenada. What will it be this time?

### Reagan: "Ich bin ein Bitburger"

The Germany trip started out as some mutual political backscratching between two Cold War allies. Chancellor Kohl had won Reagan's battle to get the first-strike Pershing 2 and cruise missiles stationed in West Europe. Reagan would return the favor by putting in an appearance right before a key state election. But the whole scheme blew up in their faces, just like those Pershings that burned up on the launching pad last December. Now Bonn and Washington are busy trying to pin the blame on each other. The Germans are furious at the White House claim they didn't know there were SSers buried at Bitburg. As for boycotting the concentration camps, the *New York Times* (18 April) quotes an American official: "The President was not hot to go to a camp. You know, he is a cheerful politician. He does not like to grovel in a grisly scene like Dachau."

Of course the Americans knew. The White House advance men reportedly checked to make sure that the 49 Waffen SS men buried in Bitburg hadn't

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German Trotskyists on:  
**V-E Day in Germany**

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Finish the Civil War!  
**Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military**

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# SL Forum: Marxists vs. FBI Repression

## Proud to Be "Card-Carrying Communists"

The Spartacist League announced at its forum April 26 on "Marxists vs. FBI Repression" its revival of the working-class tradition of issuing numbered party membership cards. SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein concluded her presentation at Columbia University on the Spartacist League's striking legal victory against the FBI Domestic

mythology stole fire from the gods to give to mankind, thus inaugurating human civilization and the beginning of human struggle for mastery over nature. She quoted the statement on the back, written by Leon Trotsky in 1938:

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

These too are the rules of the Spartacist League. We have been forthright in our political positions, including especially on the necessity to defend the Soviet Union against Reagan's war drive, Wolkenstein noted. It is perhaps this very openness which has been our best defense against the FBI's lying charges, and their attempts to smear us as some kind of conspiratorial putschists.

On 30 November 1984, the FBI agreed to settle the lawsuit launched against it by the SL by retracting their long-standing set-up "definition" of the SL as a conspiratorial grouping secretly advocating "violent overthrow of the government," and substituting a statement defining the SL as what it is, a Marxist political organization with a 20-year history in the U.S. Though we understand that the FBI and other government secret police will certainly not stop their harassment of the left and other perceived political opponents, particularly under the reactionary Reagan regime, nonetheless this settlement helps every fighter for democratic rights in this country. It provides a modest, but



WV Photo

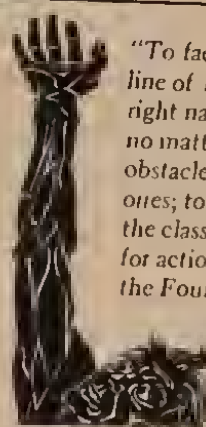
**Noted civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn and Spartacist League General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein.**

Security/Terrorism Guidelines by holding up the red SL party membership card and stating: "This is our way of saying we're proud of being 'card-carrying communists'."

The card includes date of membership, membership number, and is signed by a national and a local officer of the Spartacist League, she announced. It carries on the back a woodcut of Prometheus, the Titan who in Greek

**SPARTACIST  
LEAGUE/U.S.**

**SAMPLE** MEMBERSHIP  
NATIONAL OFFICER ISSUED  
LOCAL OFFICER



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

—L. D. Trotsky, 1938

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

real, measure of legal protection not only to members of the SL, but to its friends, readers of its press, trade-union supporters and others.

Our decision to issue party membership cards resulted in part from this legal victory—we are indeed what we say we are. As SL spokesman Wolkenstein noted in conclusion: "When the working class and oppressed of this country are ready to move, when the decaying, blundering, lying, incompetent ruling class is challenged by massive struggle on behalf of a rational economy and an end to the constant threat of nuclear

Armageddon—it will not be because a small group of Bolshevik propagandists 'conspired' to make it happen. It will happen because the conditions of dying capitalism will have made it a historic necessity, consciously understood by large sectors of the population. We had better be there when it does, providing as the Bolsheviks did in war-ravaged Russia in 1917 the critical element of organized leadership. We are a very precious commodity in its infancy. Like the Bolshevik Party was for Russia, the SL may be America's last best hope." ■



TROTSKY

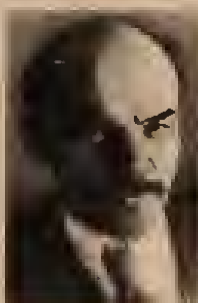
### The Trotskyists on World War II

In December 1941 American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, along with 17 other defendants, was sentenced under the Smith Act to prison for revolutionary agitation against the imperialist war. Regarding World War II, he declared:

We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an imperialist war....

This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its "democratic" allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October Revolution. That is a progressive war.

—James P. Cannon, "A Statement on the U.S. Entry into World War II" (22 December 1941)



LENIN

### Spartacist 4 Forums

#### Striking Civil Liberties Victory in Reagan's America MARXISTS VS. FBI REPRESSION

FBI forced to admit, Marxists are not terrorists! Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel, will speak on the strategy behind the SL lawsuit against the FBI's sinister attempt to brand Marxists, black and labor activists and other political opponents as terrorists—the first successful legal challenge to the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

- For Class-Struggle, Anti-Sectarian Defense Against Government Repression—Fight the New McCarthyism!
- For Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan and Nazis!
- A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!
- How to Defend Democratic, Civil and Labor Rights—A Marxist View on Law, the State and Revolution

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel

#### SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, May 10, 7:30 p.m.  
The Firehouse  
Fort Mason Center  
(Marina at Laguna)

For more information, (415) 863-6963

#### BERKELEY

Saturday, May 11, 7:30 p.m.  
Boalt Hall, Room 110  
University of California

For more information, (415) 835-1535

This forum commemorates Toni Randell (1943-1982), founding secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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3 May 1985



# V-E Day in Germany



May Day, 1945: Red Army liberates Berlin.

Yevgeni Phatler

## German Trotskyists: For a Soviet Germany in a United Socialist States of Europe!

The following article is adapted from *Spartakist No. 54, April 1985, published by our comrades of the Trozkyistische Liga Deutschlands.*

May Day in Berlin, 1945: Soldiers of the Red Army raise the red flag over the Reichstag. On May 8th German Field Marshal Keitel signs the capitulation. The Nazi regime is finally smashed, and the horrors of the "brown plague" brought to an end. The Soviet soldiers who opened the gates of the Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen concentration camps put a stop to the horrendous extermination program which had murdered six million Jews and five million of other minorities and nationalities in the death camps.

The triumph of the fascist ideology of the German "master race" and *Lebensraum* ("living space") had led to genocide, carried out with German thoroughness as far as the dominion of German imperialism reached. The German working class suffered for more than a decade under the fascist yoke; their organizations were crushed, their leaders, if they didn't escape into exile, were murdered, imprisoned in the concentration camps or killed in the war. With the military defeat of German imperialism a war ended, at least for Europe, in which the imperialists' competition for world domination cost more than 50 million lives.

The taking of Berlin in May 1945 was indisputably an act of liberation. Yet none of the Soviet Union's erstwhile imperialist allies, much less the West German successor state to the "Third Reich," want to celebrate this 40th anniversary of victory. The mood of the West German bourgeoisie was eloquently expressed in the *Spiegel* cover story, "Zusammenbruch" ("The Collapse"). But the defeated German imperialism of 1945 has long since raised its head with renewed self-confidence. Federal chancellor Helmut Kohl expressed the newly strengthened nationalism in the parliamentary "State

of the Nation" debate: "Our fatherland, the center of Europe, was divided. For the Germans of the DDR [German Democratic Republic—East Germany] and for our Eastern European neighbors, May 8th became for an indeterminate time the day of the replacement of one dictatorship with another" (*Das Parlament*, 16 March).

The German bourgeoisie sees itself as bearing a new/old mission, "to liberate the East from Communism." And the West German army has chosen, of all dates, May 8th to demonstrate their striking power as the strongest NATO army in Europe with a "dynamic show of arms." The German proletariat must rip power away from the capitalist class before German tanks (this time "Leopards" instead of "Tigers") once again roll toward Moscow.

The hypocrisy of the imperialist victors and of defeated German imperialism over May 8th gives the lie to their occasional pose as "champions of human rights." Certainly "Star Wars" President Reagan doesn't want to hear about U.S. responsibility in helping Nazi beasts like the Gestapo murderers Barbie and Mengele escape after 1945. He's not in the least interested in the fate

of the victims of fascism. What interests him is strengthening the anti-Soviet NATO war alliance, in which West Germany is his most important partner. U.S. imperialism seeks to reconquer unchallenged world hegemony, which it gained after 1945 and whose loss was marked by the collapse of the Bretton Woods dollar-based monetary system in 1971. And that means above all a fight against the 1945 ally, the Soviet Union, which Reagan today calls the "Evil Empire."

On May 5, Reagan will visit the Bitburg military cemetery, where fallen soldiers of the German Ardennes offensive [Battle of the Bulge] are buried along with members of the SS murder gangs. Reagan wants to challenge that section of the American public which does not share his enthusiasm for war and who still painfully remember the millions of victims murdered by the Nazis. Reagan even tries to prettify the SS thugs buried in Bitburg as "victims of National Socialism." At the last minute, Reagan and Kohl are now trying to smooth the waves with a visit to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Yet Bitburg, amid the graves with the SS symbols, is certainly an appropriate

**Hitler reviews German troops who seized Warsaw in September 1939. 600,000 Red Army soldiers died liberating Poland from the Nazis.**



UPI

place for Kohl and Reagan to confirm their counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet alliance.

### Friend or Foe?

It's obvious. The flagging victory mood of the Western allies comes from the feeling that they were on the wrong side in World War II. Perhaps, the U.S. imperialists think today, they should have grasped the extended hand of Admiral Karl Dönitz in April 1945. In his May 1st "Order of the Day" to the German army, immediately after Hitler's suicide and Dönitz' appointment as *Reich* president by Goebbels, he stated: "We must fight on against the English and the Americans so long as they prevent me from carrying on the war against Bolshevism." In a note on the same day to the British commander, Field Marshal Montgomery, Dönitz offered to become an anti-Soviet ally and turn the fronts around. At that time American imperialism rejected the offer. But Dönitz' intention was not without its own realistic calculations.

The military advance of the Soviet Union in repulsing the German Wehrmacht (army) frightened the Western Allies. Concerned that a German power vacuum would be filled by the Soviets, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, already in 1942 called on the Western powers to "alter the war put up a barrier against Communist barbarism." The policies of the Western Allies were to bleed the Soviet Union white. Despite continuous Soviet pressure, the U.S. and Britain delayed the Second Front, promised to Stalin in 1942, until mid-1944. Britain was considering an invasion of the Balkans—that is, the areas which were already being occupied by the Red Army—instead of Normandy. American military aid to the Soviet Union began only slowly and never filled more than 10 percent of the Soviet needs. The Western Allies' advance on Schleswig-Holstein in April 1945 was justified explicitly with the intention of stopping the Red Army.

For the capitalist countries involved, the Second World War was without exception an imperialist war. For the proletariat of these countries, in the words of Karl Liebknecht on the First World War, "the main enemy is at home." The workers of all countries had one country to defend in this war: the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union carried the main burden of the war. Its victory after nearly four years of fascist invasion in Russia cost 20 million dead! Three million people died in the first three months alone.

The Stalinist policies contributed to these devastating losses. Stalin trusted his pact with Hitler and rejected warnings, both from the Red Orchestra spy network under Leopold Trepper in West Europe and from Soviet spy Richard Sorge in Japan, that a German attack was imminent. The Red Army had been robbed of its most capable and experienced officers by the Stalinist purges. Thousands were murdered, among them Marshal Tukhachevsky, in order to smother all remaining opposition to bureaucratic rule. Even the most important strategist of World War II, Zhukov, had been purged, only to be reinstated due to the lack of capable officers.

And yet, despite Stalin's policies, the Russian workers threw back "Operation Barbarossa." Leningrad endured 900 days of siege; more than 800,000 people froze, starved or died in defense of the city, but the Nazis could not take it. It was the determined will of the Soviet people in defending the homeland of the October Revolution which made such obstinate and courageous struggle possible. In one of the bloodiest battles, fighting house-to-house and factory-to-factory in Stalingrad, the Soviets finally took the offensive and forced the surrender of German General Paulus in February 1943. After the victory at Kursk in July 1943, the Red Army stormed further westward. By the end of

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# Australian Union Stays Out For Fired Worker—And Wins!

SYDNEY—Australian shipyard workers won a victory for labour solidarity and against the Cold War Labor government late last month when they smashed a seabirding assault and compelled the bosses to reinstate fired iron worker Neil Florrimell. Florrimell, a supporter of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ), was sacked on March 15 for refusing to work with apprentices being used to break the strike of electricians at the Cockatoo Island dockyards. But this time the workers stuck together—and won!

The electricians vowed they weren't returning to work without Neil, and other unions were preparing to walk, too: the primarily naval shipyards that service the government's military machine were poised on the brink of an all-out strike. On March 26, with over a hundred workers spilling out of the packed courtroom, an arbitration commission ratified what the strike and its threatened extension had won: it recommended Neil's reinstatement. The next day Neil and the electricians were back on the ferry, surrounded by jubilant workmates who knew they'd all won a victory in this one.

It was a powerful example of what a little class solidarity can achieve. Traditional Laborite craft unionism divides the workers 15 different ways, the unions regularly break each other's strikes, grossly underpaid and mostly unorganised apprentices are used as a seabird labour force, picket lines are rarely employed at all. And it's all institutionalised through the state with the vicious straitjacket of compulsory arbitration.

In the Sydney dockyards officials of

Florrimell's own union, the Federated Ironworkers Association, ordered their members to work with the apprentices of the striking electricians. But the bosses and their agents ran into the hard fist of the working class. Neil refused to be a strikebreaker, appealed to the unions for solidarity and got the backing of the workers in the yard. Within a few days over 40 workers from the four major unions at the shipyard signed a statement demanding industrial solidarity with Florrimell and the electricians: "Strike action to defeat this company attack needs to be extended now, and right across the island if need be."

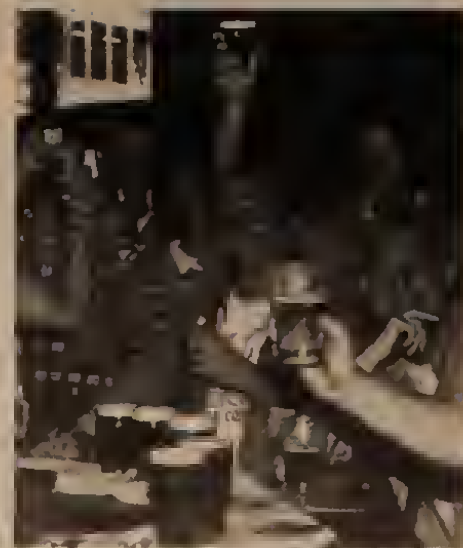
By the time of the arbitration hearing the bosses were already squealing about how the navy was being affected. From Brisbane to Melbourne, waterside workers had been hitting the bricks in their own disputes. All hell was about to break loose. While the nervous Hawke government dispatched two official emissaries to the arbitration session, almost 100 electricians packed the court to show their support for Florrimell. According to Neil, "Metal workers official Pat Johnson had to make the point to the court that every unionist on the island stood by what I had done and if it didn't reinstate me there'd be big industrial trouble. So in some ways the court had no choice but to reinstate me in order to head off what could have been a big explosion on the island" (interview in *Australasian Spartacist* supplement, 3 April).

It was not only a victory against the shipyard bosses but against the government as well. The bourgeois press was alarmed by the workers' victory, giving

wide coverage, in the Sydney, Brisbane and national press, to Arbitration Commissioner Ted Bennett's lament that the shipyard should be renamed "Cuckoo Island": "It was the first jail of the early colony. Not so today. It can be evacuated at a moment's notice at the blowing of a delegate's whistle" (*The Australian*, 17 April). Bob Hawke's Cold War Labor government has chained Australian workers with three years of union-busting, social spending cuts and a vicious "Accord" or "social contract" between the trade-union bureaucracy and the state that amounts to a no-strike pledge writ large. At Cockatoo Island some of the workers' growing rage at Labor's austerity policies was unleashed, and the bourgeoisie didn't like it, because they're worried that Hawke and the union bureaucracy can't keep the working class in chains.

The bosses' hopes to return Australian workers to the penal colony through Hawke's brittle "class peace" can be smashed. The working class is increasingly alienated from the social-democratic Labor government. And Hawke's role as Reagan's regional enforcer is bitterly resented; following U.S. retaliation against New Zealand's refusal to dock U.S. nuclear ships, even Cold Warrior Hawke was forced to back down from his secret agreement to aid U.S. MX missile testing.

Meanwhile the trade-union and Labor "lefts" want to point the workers down the poisonous path of protectionism, such as the metal workers union's anti-Asian chauvinist "Australia on the Brink" campaign to keep out Japanese, Korean and other imports. At bottom



Australasian Spartacist  
"This one's for us," Neil Florrimell and electricians celebrate victory.

all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy are politically bankrupt. They cannot fight the layoffs, social cuts and union-busting because they are wedded to the pro-capitalist leaders of the ruling Labor Party that administers capitalism, desperately trying to shore up Hawke's crumbling "Accord."

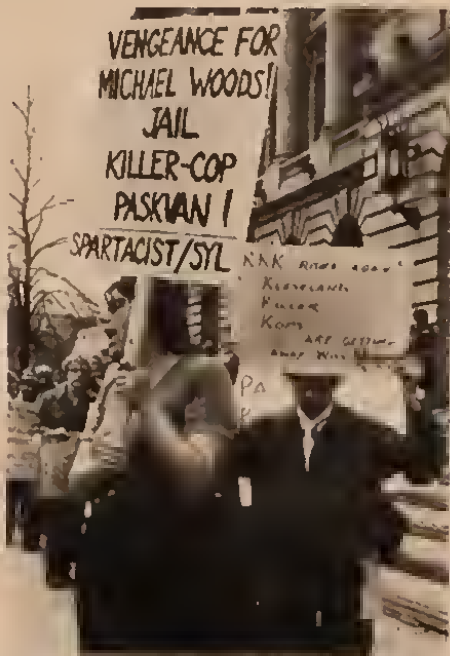
The shipyard workers won this battle because they relied on class solidarity and not the Labor government and its state arbitration. The Spartacists and supporters like Neil Florrimell fight for such independent mobilisation of the power of the labour movement. The SL/ANZ stands for militant tactics like industrial unionism and picket lines that no one crosses. Above all the fight to turn the unions into weapons of struggle must be a political struggle to drive Hawke and his Cold War CIA-lovers out of the labour movement and expose the bankrupt "lefts." While the entire fake-left backed Hawke, the Spartacist League said "hell no" to this front man for Ronald Reagan, and stood intransigently against Hawke's virulent anti-Sovietism. It is only through such a revolutionary program that rejects all forms of social-democratic Laborism that proletarian power—a workers republic of Australia in a socialist Asia—can be realised. ■

# Cleveland Killer Cop Kills Again

CLEVELAND—The notorious kill-crazy Cleveland cop Joseph Paskvan has struck again. This time his murder victim was Marcos Luciano, Jr., a 22-year-old auto mechanic from the Near West Side Puerto Rican community. Paskvan shot and killed Luciano April 10, firing three .357 bullets into his upper arm, chest and thighs. This latest murder in Paskvan's rampage has outraged wide segments of Cleveland's black, Hispanic and working-class white communities. And last week Luciano's 20-year-old widow, Carolyn, vowed to a community meeting at the Spanish-American Committee office, "I'll fight the rest of my life to get this man off the streets."

On April 15 over 100 people gathered, including the parents of Michael Woods (the young black man murdered by Paskvan three years ago) and the entire Luciano family with his widow and two children, following Marcos Jr.'s burial, to protest outside the Cleveland Justice Center. One demonstrator carried a sign, "KKK Rides Again! Cleveland Killer Kops are Getting Away With Murder!" Spartacist protesters demanded vengeance for Paskvan's murdered victims, jail the killer cop, and no reliance on the courts and civilian review boards.

Marcos Luciano was shot down outside of a friend's house on West 50th Street. Earlier that evening, a woman living in the house had been threatened by a knife-wielding intruder, and Luciano had come over with a small pellet gun to defend her. Luciano was leaning on his car when Paskvan, dressed in civilian



AP Photo  
April 15: After funeral for Marcos Luciano, Jr., over 100 protest Cleveland killer cop.

clothes, approached shouting, "Hold it, you young motherfucker!" and opened fire. A witness said he did not see Luciano raise any weapon.

Paskvan has been the perpetrator of a long string of murderous outrages. In his 12-year police career he has been involved in at least nine shootings and three murders. This disgusting killer is known in cop circles as "Orkin Man Joe" for his efforts to "exterminate" "society's maggots" (*Fraternal Order of Police* newsletter *The Communicator*, September 1982). In March 1978 Pask-

van shot down Darrell Parks when the 20-year-old allegedly resisted arrest for driving without a license. On 23 July 1982 he wantonly killed Michael Woods as the young black man was driving downtown to get a birthday cake for his one-year-old son. And this murdering scum even has the audacity to file suit against Lucius Woods, his victim's father, for delamation of character (see "Racist Cleveland Cops Sue Their Victims," *WV* No. 374, 8 March).

On April 19, chief police prosecutor Patrick Roache ruled that no criminal charges would be pressed against Paskvan. The next day police chief William T. Hanton said he agreed with the cop report 100 percent. But Paskvan's revolting record in this polarized and segregated city does seem to be provoking some sections of the bourgeoisie to see their hired gun as something of a liability. City councilman John Barnes has called for Paskvan to be assigned to a desk job and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* has launched a contemptible campaign to be sure he receives psychiatric counseling.

Likewise, various liberals and reformists have put forward programs to "reform" the situation, from calling to "prosecute" Paskvan in the racist courts, as the SWP does, to firing him from the police force (to clean out a few "rotten apples"), to raising the perennial call for a civilian review board. Others are saying that a black mayor is the solution. But Cleveland already had a black mayor, Carl Stokes, and it was under his administration that the cops set up black nationalist Ahmed Evans,

leading to the so-called "Glenville riots" in 1968. City rulers, from Mayor George Voinovich to black Democrats like city council president George Forbes, did everything they could to gut the proposed review board, which the cops then got thrown out in court. In fact, no government agency in racist capitalist America will stop the killer cops with their itchy trigger fingers.

From California's Orange County where the cops wantonly murdered five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his living room watching television, to New York City where infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs was blown away because she was behind in her rent, to Cleveland where Marcos Luciano was shot down in cold blood while trying to protect a woman in her home, cop terror is everywhere in Reagan's America. The cops, courts and capitalist politicians are enemies of the poor, blacks, Hispanics, all working people. Unions and minority organizations should be mobilized to bring out thousands to answer the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform, with mass labor/black action.

Joseph Paskvan is a professional racist killer who belongs behind bars for good! As he stacks up his own private body count on the streets of Cleveland, Paskvan likes to boast of his more than 100 firelights in his prior training as a Marine in Vietnam. This was a cause that Ronald Reagan still holds dear. But ten years ago, the 'heroic' Vietnamese swept the likes of Paskvan out of their country. It's going to take a socialist revolution right here in the heartland of U.S. imperialism to put racist marauders like Paskvan out of action and get rid of the racist "law and order" they enforce. Vengeance for Michael Woods and Marcos Luciano, Jr.! ■



# NYPD's Torture City

So now it's torture, by the New York City Police Department. Not just your usual beatings, kicks in the teeth, shoving down stairs and similar approved interrogation procedures routinely used by NYC's "finest." Not even the old technique of putting a telephone hook on the suspect's head and then slamming it with a baseball bat (doesn't leave marks). No, today they're using the electric shock treatment, straight out of the CIA's Nicaraguan "contra" terror manual. What's next, New Yorkers are asking nervously, death squads?

Even the *New York Times* (25 April) worries that the cops are out of control; it used to be that cases of "spectacular police misconduct" were once or twice a year; now "they seem to be occurring once or twice a month," editorialized the haughty voice of the bourgeois establishment. Mayor Ed Koch and his black front-man police commissioner Benjamin Ward are feeling the heat: on Wednesday they transferred 50 cops out of the Queens "torture precinct," and two days later the entire NYPD top brass was hauled onto the carpet.

What's going on here is a wave of racist police bonapartism. The cops have slipped the leash and are running wild in the streets and stationhouses. Supposedly, the SNAP ("Street Narcotics Apprehension Program") squad at the 106th Precinct in Queens, which has been systematically torturing black suspects with electric stun guns, was never "authorized." But Koch's killer cops take their cue from Hizzoner, who's been praising every act of racist cop brutality, coroner cover-up and

racist cops no doubt carved another notch on their stun gun and figured that would be that.

But Mark Davidson and his family courageously fought back. New Yorkers saw the clean-cut young black man on TV, his body covered with burn marks. Soon other victims came forward with tales of torture at the 106th Precinct. Pike, known to his cop buddies as the "Prince of Pain," had threatened to kill

homicides. After city and state reports had slammed the Medical Examiner's office for incompetence and mismanagement, the Liman report stated that in "leaving open the causes of deaths of people in police custody," the coroner had followed standard "practice" that "antedates Dr. Gross's tenure."

This is the same line taken by Bronx judge Vitale in dropping a slap-on-the-wrist indictment against ESU cop



18-year-old black youth Mark Davidson was tortured and burned by cops with 5,000-volt stun gun.

a 17-year-old Hispanic youth. Another black youth was stripped and zapped with the high-voltage stun gun while the cops ordered beer and pizza. Over in the 110th Precinct, cops beat up two Korean Americans while screaming racist epithets at them.

Queens district attorney John Santucci ordered Pike and his partner Jeffrey Gilbert arrested. At City Hall

Stephen Sullivan, who was "following departmental guidelines" in killing Eleanor Bumpurs. The Gross defense is the Sullivan defense is the Eichmann defense: they were all "only following orders." In the Ozone Park "torture precinct" scandal, D.A. Santucci is complaining about a "blue wall of silence." But as we noted last issue ("Koch's D.A. Morgenthau: He's Gross, Too," *WV* No. 377, 19 April), "the Mafia/cop code of *omertà* extends right to the top." Covering up for cop murder is just "standard operating procedure."

So the Koch/Morgenthau/Ward/Gross team are off and running for this year's mayoral election. A grinning Gross announced he intends to stick it to the *Times*, with a \$5 million libel suit. On the torture scandal Koch claims "it is not systemic"; Ward says "I can't see a pattern." But all you have to do is list the recent cases:

- On December 9, Sharon Walker, a Queens motorist, was shot in the back and killed by off-duty NYPD sergeant Rudolph Hays after a minor traffic collision.

- On January 3, Darryl Dodson was shot dead by Brooklyn cop Joseph Vacchio responding to a call about a man with a gun (Dodson was unarmed).

- On February 24, Paul Fava was shot in the head while being searched by Bronx policeman Mervin Yearwood on an elevated subway platform. The alleged "crime" for which Fava was executed is alternatively described as "turnstile jumping" or throwing light-bulbs onto the tracks.

- On March 15, 70-year-old Dr. Hyman Chernow was killed and 72-year-old Upper East Side doorman Jack Sitowitz was struck by a police cruiser careening down Park Avenue. The hit-and-run driver, boozed-up sergeant Frederick Sherman, and his two tight-lipped partners claimed their car had been hit by a brick.

- On March 16, off-duty cop Russell Bjune celebrated St. Patrick's Day by assaulting Patricia Toro who was coming out of an abortion clinic, arresting her, and having her locked up in a jail cell overnight without medical attention.

- On April 14, off-duty Brooklyn cop Perry Novello lunged into a restaurant and tried to forcibly kidnap a waitress, a former girlfriend, then beat the restaurant owner onto the ground with his gun, handcuffed and kicked him.

- On April 17, Mark Davidson was tortured in the 106th Precinct station. Since then four more victims have testified to similar electric shock torture.

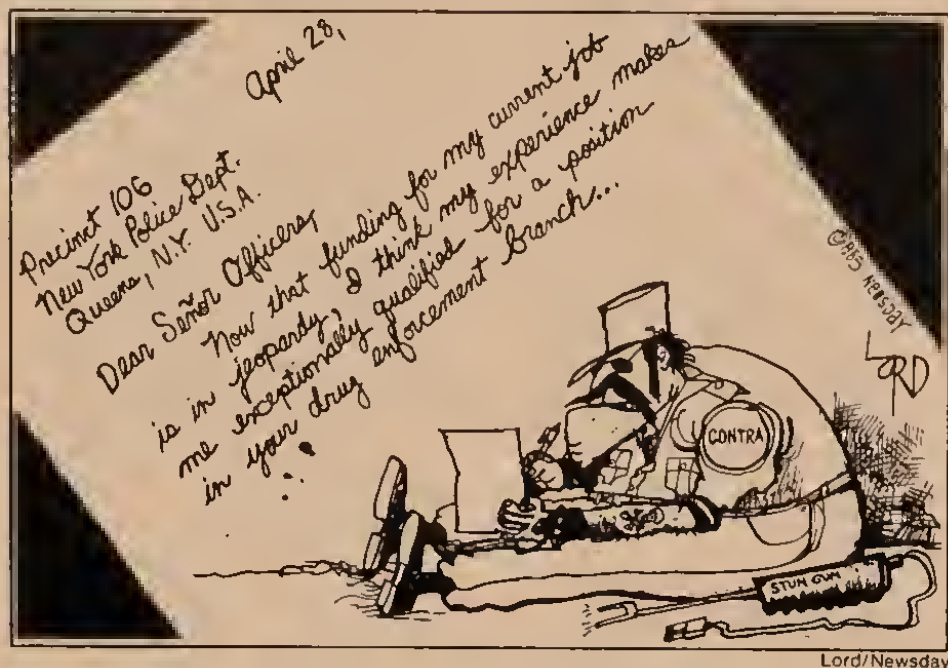
Not only is this pattern of cop brutality "systemic," it's the system—a system of racist injustice directed in particular at blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. The purpose of the stun gun interrogations on the second floor of the 106th Precinct wasn't even extracting "confessions" to crack down on drug dealing. What court is going to send a kid to Rikers Island on a \$10 pot bust? No, the "SNAP" squad was set up to terrorize blacks moving into the formerly lily-white Ozone Park enclave. This is a uniformed lynch mob carrying out the same racist terror as the gang of ethnic punks in Gravesend, Brooklyn who in 1982 bludgeoned to death black transit worker Willie Turks for daring to be out on the streets at night in that "whites only" enclave.

In NYC election year 1985 the capitalist politicians can't ignore this police rampage. Koch is trying to get off the hook by calling in Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese for a federal whitewash. Yuppie challenger Carol Bellamy called on Koch to appoint a special commission to investigate the NYPD. Black machine Democrat Herman Farrell called for a new civilian review board. They can appoint all the commissions and review boards they want, but it won't make a dent in police brutality or the cops' connections with organized crime any more than Mayor John Lindsay's Knapp Commission did 15 years ago. Such "safety valves" to dissipate mass outrage are just as much a part of the system of racist capitalist injustice as the D.A.'s office and the "blue wall of silence."

Columnist Sydney Schanberg sagely explains that the police do all this—beatings, torture, murder—because they are "alienated" and "misunderstood by the 'civilian' community." That's why "they so often eventually feel the need to band together into a self-protective, private society" (*New York Times*, 27 April). All those poor alienated misunderstood cops handed together on February 7 when 10,000 of them surrounded the Bronx courthouse packing their pieces and demanding the head of D.A. Mario Merola for indicting the murderer of Eleanor Bumpurs. And this ominous pressure tactic worked.

Killer cop Sullivan walked. Gross the ghoul is back on the job. The transit cops' "dirty dozen" who bludgeoned Michael Stewart to death are still going after "turnstile jumpers" and "graffiti artists" with their guns and nightsticks drawn. The answer to the growing bonapartist threat is not more "empathy with cops," or appeals to the capitalist state to "tighten the leash" on their attack dogs. At a July 1983 transit workers demonstration demanding vengeance for Willie Turks, TWU militants called for "union defense squads now!" Never was this call more urgent than today.

We need to mobilize our own forces to build a workers party, to organize powerful labor/black action against the racist terrorists in and out of uniform, in the fight for socialist revolution. ■



D.A. whitewash that comes down the pike.

On April 16, an 18-year-old black high school senior, Mark Davidson, who had no previous arrest record, was hauled into the Ozone Park stationhouse on a drug bust. They threw him into the soundproof interrogation chamber, his hands cuffed behind him, hanged his head against the wall and punched him in the eye. While another cop held Davidson down, racist sicko sergeant Richard Pike started in with the stun gun, yelling, "This ain't TV, nigger. We're gonna be here all night until you give us the money."

Davidson's screams of pain were heard all over the station. Altogether, more than 49 wounds were burned into his chest, stomach, buttocks and back. Pike threatened to use the gun, which puts out a 5,000-volt charge from two metal prods, on the black youth's testicles. Finally, the torturers extorted a "confession" from their victim, that he had supposedly sold \$10 worth of marijuana to an undercover cop. (A marked \$10 bill never materialized.) The

they talked of "rogue cops" and a "few bad apples." Use of stun guns was strictly forbidden, claimed Commissioner Ward. Who is he kidding? Last month Ward bought 50 "taser" guns which shoot darts attached to fine wires that emit 50,000 volts, causing severe muscular contractions and "temporarily" paralyzing the victims (if it doesn't kill them). The tasers are for the eviction squad boys and the other "Emergency Services Units" (ESU) like the one that murdered black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in a Bronx housing project last fall.

## Koch Whitewashes Gross the Ghoul

Meanwhile, back at Bellevue, a special counsel appointed by Mayor Koch has declared New York City coroner Elliot Gross "not guilty" of "the charges we investigated." This "blue ribbon" panel produced a whitewash of the amply documented findings by *New York Times* reporter Philip Shenon that Gross regularly covered up for police

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## Finish the Civil War!

# BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE JIM CROW MILITARY

### PART ONE OF TWO

"They say this is a war  
For Freedom Over There.  
Say, Mr. FDR  
How 'bout some Freedom Here?"  
—from "Ballad of Ned Turman"  
(1942)

*A Soldier's Story* is set in the Deep South, at an army camp for black troops in World War II. And the signs of vicious "Jim Crow" racial segregation are everywhere. There's no doubt who the hero of the movie is supposed to be. As soon as handsome Captain Richard Davenport (Howard Rollins), a lawyer out of Howard University, steps off the bus, wearing his snappy army uniform and sunglasses "like MacArthur's," he evokes the polished, chony middle-class black hero Sidney Poitier used to play, ready to do gentlemanly hattle with the evils of racism.

"Haven't you ever seen a colored officer before?" a white drill instructor asks the gaping black GIs as Davenport is driven past. "No sir. Have you, sir?" they answer in unison. The captain is assigned to an empty barracks since his fellow white officers refuse to be housed with him. Davenport's mission is to investigate the murder of black sergeant Vernon Waters, and of course everyone suspects the local Klan or racist white officers at the base. "They ain't crazy about us tan Yanks in this part of the country," Davenport's driver notes.

But the trail leads instead to a black private, Melvin Peterson. While not political with a capital P, he is cast in this situation as a militant, a man who stands up for black rights. (Denzell Washington, who plays Peterson, was deliberately chosen for his resemblance to Malcolm X.) The murdered Sergeant Waters, a contradictory figure, was



**A Soldier's Story:** Movie transcends liberal message of Capt. Davenport (left). At right, Sgt. Waters frames up C.J.



consumed by self-hatred born of racist oppression, determined to "improve" his race through his own personal program of "purification" in which he eliminated black soldiers he considered "inferior." "Them Nazis ain't tall crazy—whole lotta people just can't fit into where things are goin'," he says at one point. After the sergeant frames up and jails his latest victim, the popular "C.J." Memphis—driving him to suicide—Peterson kills the sergeant one night to avenge "C.J."

Investigator Davenport finally captures Peterson after a chase and confronts him: "Who gave you the right to judge who is fit to be a Negro and who is not?" Here is one of the central themes of the movie: justice is "working within the system," although the black captain is clearly torn by the situation. The case "solved," Davenport is leaving the base the next day when he is given a ride by one of the less prejudiced white officers. "I guess I'm going to have to get used to Negroes with bars on their shoulders, Captain," says the white officer. Davenport replies, "Oh, you'll get used to it—you can bet your ass on that." And so they ride off supposedly into a new dawn of black advancement and equality.

Playwright Charles Fuller and director Norman Jewison have produced a powerful film. Its characters (except for Davenport) are not cardboard but full of contradictions. From lynchings to black self-hatred, *A Soldier's Story* plumbs the most exonerating aspects of racial oppression in America. It is also a movie with a message, a clear liberal message which is not tacked on but integral—every scene builds toward the climax. And yet that message falls flat. Blacks in audiences across the country cheer Peterson's actions and find Davenport's moral lecture a letdown. Why? Because they already know the sequel to *A Soldier's Story* in real life, in their lives.

They know it took "freedom rides," mass action, deaths, just to integrate drinking fountains, lunch counters and schools. Even then blacks remained on the bottom of American society, North and South, and today the schools are as segregated as before. Many remember that most of those black troops march-

ing off to war never saw combat, so afraid were their white masters of the explosive combination of "Negroes with guns." (The play, at least, was less starry-eyed, reporting that the entire 221st Chemical Smoke Generating Company was wiped out by the Germans. But Hollywood wants its happy ending.) For Black America, it was Malcolm X, not Martin Luther King, who told it like it is:

"Prior to 1939, our people were in a very megal position or condition. Most of us were waiters and porters and bellhops and janitors and waitresses and things of that sort. It was not until war was declared with Germany, and America became involved in a manpower shortage in regards to her factories plus her army, that the black man in this country was permitted to make a few strides forward. It was never out of some kind of moral enlightenment or moral awareness on the part of Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam only let the black man take a step forward when he himself had his back to the wall."  
—Malcolm X Speaks (1965)

As Leon Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Red Army and together with Lenin leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, wrote: "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme" (*The History of the Russian Revolution* [1930]). Certainly the black experience in the U.S. armed forces has been a concentrated expression of the virulent racism of American capitalist society.

### Slavocracy vs. the Negro Soldier

From the beginning, the United States has always been a hard, mean, violently racist country, founded on genocide and the slave trade, and a slave economy. And so from colonial times to the present, the sight of armed blacks in uniform, organized for war, has been perceived as a dangerous threat to the racist status quo, whether it was plantation slavery or modern imperialism. For that reason the induction of blacks into the military was always a desperate last resort for the ruling class, to be undertaken only with the strictest racist precautions. Indeed, from the late 1700s up till the end of World War II—with

the exception of the Civil War and its immediate aftermath—race lines actually *hardened* in the military.

From the time of their first arrival in the New World as slaves in 1619, American blacks have been used to fight the white man's wars—in fact, blacks have fought in *every* American war except the 1846 war with Mexico. But the idea of arming and training blacks to fight always sent shivers down the spines of the slaveholders: "There must be great caution used, lest our slaves when armed might become our masters," noted a group of colonial Carolina landowners (see historian Jack D. Foner's well-researched account, *Blacks and the Military in American History* [1974]). Hence the recruitment of blacks into the army was always resisted, and was done only when desperate manpower requirements left no alternative. Thus the shortage of men during the French and Indian wars of the 1750s led many towns to overlook laws excluding blacks in order to fulfill their quotas, and black slaves were promised freedom if they served. Blacks served in unsegregated units in this period and were paid the same wages as whites, although slaves had to surrender at least part of their wages to their masters, and typically the blacks would be assigned non-combat roles such as laborer, scout and servant.

In the American War of Independence, the Founding Fathers tried to avoid inducting blacks, although black soldiers had fought in such early battles as Lexington and Concord in 1775, and the famous black slave Crispus Attucks was one of the five martyrs of the 1770 Boston massacre. Foner reports that on 9 July 1775 commander in chief George Washington's headquarters issued orders to his officers not to recruit "any stroller, Negro, or vagabond." Washington was himself a major slaveholder and thought blacks would make inferior soldiers, but events forced a reversal of policy. Ironically it was the cynically opportunist *British monarchy* which first instituted the policy of offering freedom to black slaves who served on their side. As many slaves started deserting their masters for the British army, and as manpower shortages grew in the Continental Army, the Americans were soon forced to enlist free blacks,



**Black slave Crispus Attucks was one of the five martyrs of 1770 Boston massacre.**



and then even slaves. Thus in this war for the birth of American bourgeois "democracy," the emerging American ruling class had to be compelled literally at the point of British guns to offer a few blacks their freedom in exchange for military service. Through the whole war, about 5,000 blacks served in the Continental Army of 300,000.

After the War of Independence, the conditions of blacks declined as they were no longer needed for the army. The slaveholders' fear of armed blacks was heightened by the greatest slave rebellion in modern times, Toussaint l'Ouverture's triumphant victory against Napoleon's army in Haiti in 1802. "The existence of a negro people in arms," wrote Napoleon's foreign minister Talleyrand to a general in Washington, "is a horrible spectacle for all white nations" (quoted in David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* [1979]). Certainly it was a horror to the white slaveholders of the U.S.—not until 1862, in the middle of the Civil War, did Washington recognize the black republic in the Caribbean. Meanwhile the exclusion of blacks from the military tightened, except in the navy, where difficulties in recruiting sufficient numbers of white sailors forced the recruitment of blacks and strict segregation was difficult to enforce.

In the War of 1812, the Americans were again forced to follow the British example of offering slaves freedom in exchange for military service, and 600 black troops fought for Andrew Jackson at the famous Battle of New Orleans. After the war, slaves seeking freedom took refuge among the motley Seminole Indians in Florida. But in 1830 President Andrew Jackson—a Southern cracker ahead of his racist time—ordered their removal. In the Second Seminole War (1835-42) Jackson managed to recapture a number of blacks for slavery, but the U.S. never managed to impose a victory treaty on the Seminoles.

## Civil War: The Second American Revolution

The Civil War (1861-65) was the first and only American war in which blacks clearly had a stake. While Lincoln considered it to be a war to preserve the Union, the "irrepressible conflict" between Northern capitalism and Southern slavery quickly became apparent. As Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote at the very beginning of the war:

"The present struggle between the South and North is...nothing but a struggle between two social systems, between the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other."

—“The Civil War in the United States,” 7 November 1861

Many Union commanders pressed for the arming and training of blacks, from professional soldiers like John C. Fremont to the abolitionists like Thomas Wentworth Higginson (a friend of John Brown) to the German-American Marxists like Joseph Weydemeyer. Lincoln and the War Department tried to resist the recruitment of blacks, and as Foster notes, "blacks themselves initiated much of the action that culminated in abolition and their admission into the armed forces. Thousands of fugitive slaves flooded the Union lines wherever federal forces penetrated new areas of the South." Union commanders had to decide on the spot what to do with the flood of sympathetic black fugitives, and many Union officers, starting with General Benjamin Butler in 1861, put the blacks to work constructing Union fortifications and performing other services. Finally in August 1862 Secretary of War Stanton relented by officially sanctioning the recruitment of blacks.

**Port Hudson,  
Louisiana,  
27 May 1863:  
The first major  
Civil War battle  
in which  
black troops  
took part.**



Lincoln, recognizing the reality of the situation, issued the Emancipation Proclamation on 1 January 1863, and after that black recruitment began in earnest. Ex-slave and black revolutionary Frederick Douglass issued a historic appeal in March 1863, "Men of Color, To Arms!" arguing that "liberty won by white men would lose half its luster." In a famous speech, Douglass argued for black enlistment not only because the logic of the war must lead to the abolition of slavery, but also because blacks fighting for their own freedom would transform the black soul itself:

"Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."

—“Address for the Prinnation of Colored Enlistments,” 6 July 1863 | *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. 3 [1952]

The close to 200,000 black troops who served in the Union Army (about 10 percent of the Union Army was black in 1865) and 30,000 in the navy (one-quarter of the total navy enlistments) provided the critical fighting spirit to bring Union victory. For instance, the famous 54th Massachusetts Regiment of black freedmen led by the white abolitionist, Colonel Robert Gould

Shaw, fought valiantly in the attack on the Confederate stronghold of Fort Wagner, South Carolina, where 247 men of the 54th died, including Colonel Shaw (see *Young Spartans* No. 90, April 1981). The racists' fear of armed blacks drove the Confederacy to take extra brutal measures against the black Union troops—exemplified by the infamous massacre of over a hundred captured black troops at Fort Pillow in 1864 by Confederate butcher Nathan Bedford Forrest, who later founded the Ku Klux Klan.

The Civil War was a revolutionary war of liberation. In Dixie mythology, pictured in *Gone With the Wind*, Union General Sherman's "march to the sea" leaves nothing but flames of destruction and weeping helles behind. But for the freed slaves the Union banner was the sign of liberation;

"Meridian [Mississippi] was thoroughly smoked.... Black smoke lay on the land as the troops marched away.... and as the column swung back toward home territory it was followed, as Sherman recalled, by 'about ten miles of Negroes.'"

—Bruce Catton, *This Hallowed Ground*, 1955

But blacks also had to fight for equality inside the Union Army: the entire 54th Massachusetts Regiment and other black units refused to accept their pay because it was several dollars less than white soldiers' pay, until Congress rectified the situation in 1865. Summa-

riking his experience in the war, white abolitionist Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson who commanded the pioneer regiment of ex-slaves, the First South Carolina Volunteers, described how the arming of blacks transformed racial perceptions:

"We who served with the black troops have this peculiar satisfaction, that, whatever dignity or sacredness the memories of the war may have to others, they have more to us...the peculiar privilege of associating with a noblest race, of training it to defend its rights and to perform its duties, this was our especial meed. The vacillating policy of the Government sometimes filled other officers with doubt and shame; until the negro had justice, they were but defending liberty with one hand and crushing it with the other. From this inconsistency we were free. Whatever the Government did, we at least were working in the right direction. If this was not recognized on our side of the lines, we knew that it was admitted on the other. Fighting with ropes round our necks, denied the ordinary courtesies of war till we ourselves compelled their concession, we could at least turn this outlawry into a compliment. We had touched the pivot of the war. Whether this vast and dasky mass should prove the weakness of the nation or its strength, must depend in great measure, we knew, upon our efforts. Till the blacks were armed, there was no guaranty of their freedom. It was their demeanor under arms that shamed the nation into recognizing them as men."

—Higginson, *Arm Life in a  
Black Regiment* (1869)

## From Radical Reconstruction to Imperialist War

All in all, there were 16 all-black regiments in the Union Army, and in recognition of the black contribution, after the war Congress created four special permanent "colored" regiments of the army: the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry. In the postwar Reconstruction period, when the South was occupied by the Union Army and for a few years blacks were enfranchised, the Reconstruction state governments recruited former black soldiers into federal militias, which were sometimes used to put down Klan violence (such as in Arkansas). But too often the Reconstruction governors hesitated to mobilize armed blacks, because "it was the silent verdict of all America that Negroes must not be allowed to fight for themselves" (W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* [1935]). The Compromise of 1877, which involved the withdrawal of Union troops from the South, definitively put an end to the Reconstruction attempts at "equality" for blacks and ushered in a period of thoroughgoing racist reaction and Klan terror. From then till now, for Southern whites the image of armed blacks in uniform instantly evokes memories of

*continued on page 8*

**MEN OF COLOR, TO ARMS! NOW OR NEVER!**

This is our Golden Moment. The Government of the United States calls for every Able-Bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for the THIRD ALABAMA, and join in fighting the Battle of Liberty and the Union. A man can be a hero for us. For generations, we have suffered under the laws of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our humanity violated, and our self-respect and learned, and talents covered and crushed, and the hopes of the future of this race laid in doubt and darkness. But now the whole question of our relation to the white race is changed. Now there is no question of treatment. Let us Black Men **Fail Now and Our Race is Doomed** on this the wall of our birth. We must rise awake, arise, we are forever fallen. If we lose Liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we lose our country, if we lose our families, our children, our homes, we must strike **NOW** while the Country calls, and live up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by action a right vision that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have said, the country is free, that we are weak, cowardly, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of manhood. Shall we die with this stigma resting upon our graves? Shall we lose this inheritance of shame to our children? No! A thousand times No! **We Will Rise!** The elements is upon us; let us rather the freemen that they is to be slaves. What is life without liberty? We say that we have hands enough to rise to the time to point it. A nation of a people who cannot fighting to fight, but cannot be respected. It was said to be regarded them. It was would force **SILENCE THE TONGUE OF CALUMNY**, of prejudice and hate; let us rise **NOW** and fly to arms. We have seen **VALOR** and **HEROISM** our brother depicted at **PORT HUDSON** and at **MILLIKEN'S BEND**; though they sit away from the gallies, plotting proud slavery, they have started the world by the most called brave. If they have granted themselves **LIBERTY**, and we great ourselves more? **ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES?** More than a Million White men in America cannot be free as we are. We will not our freedom!

MEN OF COLOR! All the world  
 have been called to assist their fellow  
 men in their struggle for  
 LIBERTY HAS COME! It is a  
 glorious day, a day of triumph

**MEN OF COLOR! BROTHERS!**  
 work for yourselves and your fellow  
 equality before the law for all people  
 from calling for the Army. **STRIKE NOW,** and you are home.

6 18 Board,  
 Wm 14 Fugate  
 Fletcher Dyerham  
 Wm Whipple,  
 11 11 Turner,  
 J. M. Crumwell,  
 A. C. Cramer,  
 A. M. Gierke,  
 J. W. Linger,  
 E. M. Harkness,  
 M. L. Lamberson.

John W. Pri  
Augustine H  
Rev. Mr. J. H.  
N. W. H.  
Mr. J. H. W.  
J. W. H.  
P. J. H.  
J. W. H.  
Rev. J. H.  
N. W. H.  
W. H. H.

Union Army  
black  
recruitment  
poster signed  
by Frederick  
Douglass.  
Statue of white  
abolitionist Col.  
Robert Shaw,  
commander  
of the 54th  
Massachusetts  
Regiment  
of black  
freedmen.

### Young Spartacus





# Black Soldiers...

(continued from page 7)

the Civil War and black liberation, and so it is no coincidence that many blacks have been lynched in their army uniforms.

Ironically, the four regular black regiments were used after the Civil War to crush the other colored peoples of even lower social status than the blacks—the Indians. The black “Buffalo Soldiers” won many medals in the Indian Wars of 1869-1890, and were again used in the Spanish-American War of 1898, in the fight to seize Cuba for the U.S. ruling class. After a campaign around the slogan “No officers, no fight” resulted in the recruitment of 100 black officers, blacks joined in the creation of volunteer outfits in addition to the four regular black regiments. But as the U.S. turned to crushing an anti-imperialist guerrilla movement in the Philippines, a split developed in the black community as many felt sympathy for “another people of color.” Many black soldiers actually deserted in the Philippines—the most famous was David Fagan of the 24th Infantry, who accepted a commission in the Philippines guerrilla forces of Emilio Aguinaldo.

The rise of American imperialism abroad in the Spanish-American War was of course directly linked to the triumph of racist reaction at home. The racist tide was reflected in a monumental racist frame-up of black soldiers of the 25th Infantry stationed at Fort Brown, Texas. The men had suffered the typical racial abuse by the white citizens of nearby Brownsville, and when a shooting occurred in the town in August 1906 in which one white man was killed and a cop injured, 170 black soldiers were immediately charged with murder even though their white officers proved the men had been asleep in their quarters at the time of the shooting. The War Department immediately sided with the townspeople, and without a trial, President Theodore Roosevelt signed an executive order drumming all 170 men out of the army with dishonorable discharges.

## World War I: The Main Enemy Was at Home

The entry of the U.S. into World War I in 1917, allegedly to “make the world safe for democracy,” at first raised false hopes among the black community that by fighting in that war perhaps a little “democracy” might be granted to blacks at home. Despite some opposition from black leaders like A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, the predominant black view as expressed by W.E.B. Du Bois was that an Allied victory would bring the Negro “the right to vote and the right to work and the right to live without insult.” Du Bois urged blacks to “close ranks” behind the war effort and defer all “special grievances” until the war was



Library of Congress

**In Spanish-American War of 1898, black soldiers were used to seize Cuba.**

over. It was a betrayal—for the entry of American imperialism into the world battle for booty only led to an intensification of racial and class oppression at home. Under President Wilson segregation became government policy, especially in Washington, D.C., where “colored” restrooms were established in government office buildings and blacks were systematically removed from federal employment.

As usual, the government was reluctant to use blacks in any combat role—the four experienced, regular all-black army regiments were never allowed to do any fighting throughout the war. But once again the need for manpower forced a reversal of policy, and blacks were inducted into new units to do some fighting. Eventually the rate of black draftees accepted was higher than the white acceptance rate, as whites found more ways to get deferments from the all-white draft boards. But of the 380,000 blacks drafted, only 42,000 were given a combat role, in the all-black 92nd and 93rd Divisions in France. Over one-third of American forces in Europe were black, but they were concentrated disproportionately in non-combat menial assignments.

Needless to say, there were very few black officers, and the (frequently Southern) white officers assigned to black units often treated their ranks with racist contempt. Even in France, where there was no native policy of segregation and black soldiers were more readily accepted as equals by the French soldiers, the U.S. Army tried to export Jim Crow to make it clear that blacks must know “their place” after the war. A secret order from General Pershing’s headquarters to the French military liaison on 7 August 1918 made this clear:

“We must prevent the rise of any pronounced degree of intimacy between French officers and black officers. We may be courteous and amiable with the last but we cannot deal with them on the same plane as white American officers without deeply wounding the latter. We must not eat with them, must not shake hands with them, seek to talk to them or

to meet with them outside the requirements of military service. We must not commend too highly these troops particularly in front of white Americans. Make a point of keeping the native cantonment from spoiling the Negro. White Americans become very incensed at any particular expression of intimacy between white women and black men.”  
—quoted in Mary Penick Motley, ed., *The Invisible Soldier* (1975)

Nevertheless, of the four all-black regiments attached to the French army (the 369th, 370th, 371st and 372nd), three received the *Croix de Guerre* medal from France. In contrast, the U.S. Army’s fear of black leadership was highlighted in May 1917 when the army forced Colonel Charles Young, the only black West Point graduate on active duty, to retire for “medical reasons.” Young would have been in line to become a general and hence possibly command white troops; he protested by riding on horseback from his home in Ohio to Washington, D.C. to prove his fitness, but it was no use. Young did manage to establish a training school for black officers at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and one of the first black officers to graduate from that school, Colonel Howard Donovan Queen, years later described the most infamous racist incident of the war:

“In August 1917, a race riot between the white citizens of Houston, Texas, and the 24th Infantry Regiment, a Regular Army regiment, occurred. It was the result of insults and abuse heaped upon the members of the 24th by the white citizenry. Two Negroes and seventeen whites were killed in the ensuing battle...”

**February 1919: Returning soldiers of the black 369th Infantry Regiment wearing the Croix de Guerre.**



National Archives

“Major General Chamberlain, Inspector General, United States Army, came to Fort Des Moines and in the presence of the 1,200 men announced, ‘If you know anything about the matter you’d better start talking now because there is going to be a big hanging!’ this before the General Court-martial members had been appointed to try the case! Thirteen soldiers were hanged and a large number [42] were sent to prison for life.”

—Motley, *The Invisible Soldier*

This was the largest murder trial in U.S. history, and the *one-day* proceeding by an all-white military tribunal can only be called a legal lynching. It was a signal of what was in store for blacks in American “democracy” after the war. Indeed, hundreds were lynched during and after the war, many of them still wearing their army uniforms. The defeat of the postwar strike wave of 1919-20 encouraged the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, and the dream of “freedom” for blacks quickly turned into a nightmare of race-terror.

If black soldiers returned from World War I to the lynch mobs, race riots and mass unemployment, this was due in no small part to the political immaturity of the American working class and the domination of the reactionary Jim Crow AFL in the organized labor movement (except for the heroic IWW). But in Russia, where the workers had a revolutionary leadership, a Bolshevik party that could link their aspirations to the emancipation of the colored peoples

and oppressed nations of the tsarist empire, out of the blood and destruction of World War I there emerged the first victorious proletarian revolution. V. I. Lenin sought through the Communist International (Comintern) to impart to the young Communist parties that emerged in solidarity with the October Revolution the indispensable lessons of that revolution, especially the need to rally the specially oppressed to the banner of the proletariat. It was centrally the experience of the Russian Revolution that compelled would-be American revolutionists to turn to the unfinished tasks of the Civil War regarding black emancipation.

And so in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Comintern, at Lenin’s request the American Communist John Reed gave a report on the black question in the U.S. in which he explained how the experience of blacks helped them to resist the postwar racist tide:

“The first awakening of the Negroes took place after the Spanish-American War, in which the black troops had fought with extraordinary courage and from which they returned with the feeling that as men they were equal to the white troops.... With the beginning of the European war half a million Negroes who had joined the U.S. Army were sent to France, where they were billeted with French troop detachments and suddenly made the discovery that they were treated as equals socially and in every other respect. The American General Staff approached the French High Command and asked them to forbid Negroes to visit places used by whites and to treat them as second-class people. After the war the Negroes, many of whom had received medals for

bravery from the English and French governments, returned to their Southern villages where they were subjected to lynch law because they dared to wear their uniforms and their decorations in the street....

“The first of these [racist] outbreaks took place in Washington, where civil servants from the administration returning from the war found their jobs occupied by Negroes. The civil servants were in the main Southerners. They organized a night attack on the Negro district in order to terrorize the Negroes into giving up their jobs. To everybody’s amazement the Negroes came on to the streets fully armed. A fight developed and the Negroes fought so well that for every dead Negro there were three dead whites.... In all these fights the Negroes showed for the first time in history that they are armed and splendidly organized and are not at all afraid of the whites.”

—John Reed, report on the Negro Question, 25 July 1920 (reprinted in *BL* No. 348, 17 February 1984)

The Communists, said Reed, should intervene in the black movement “to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people.” To finish the Civil War requires a third, proletarian, American revolution, led by a multiracial communist party.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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# Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

participated in a 1944 mass execution of at least 86 American prisoners of war at Malmédy, Belgium (carried out by the SS First Panzer Division). They ignored the fact that the men of the SS Second Panzer carried out a massacre of 642 civilians at the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane that same year. And it certainly didn't bother them that this same unit, also known as "Das Reich" division, spearheaded Hitler's attack on Smolensk, Kiev and Kharkov in the Soviet Union. According to the *New York Times* (28 April), "In September 1941, some of its members assisted an extermination squad in the killing of 920 Jews near Minsk."

From the beginning Reagan's visit was intended to be a vehicle to demonstrate the unity of the Western imperialist NATO alliance. Like John Kennedy's 1963 visit to West Berlin where he looked over the Wall and proclaimed, "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" (I am a Berliner), it is to be a platform for anti-Soviet propaganda. The whole purpose of the trip is to draw attention away from the 40th anniversary of the World War II Allies' victory in Europe (V-E Day) on May 8. All the talk of "reconciliation" between former enemies is supposed to bury the fact that it was the Soviet peoples who bore the brunt of World War II and the Soviet army which brought down the Hitler tyranny. That's why Reagan also boycotted celebrations of the meeting of Soviet and American troops on the Elbe.

Bonn feels betrayed by its American ally. What's the fuss about, they ask, didn't we just divvy up the Hitlerite war criminals? The Americans built their whole space program with Nazi scientists, and helped set up West Germany's army and secret police with Hitler's former officers. Speaking before West Germany's current version of the Reichstag, Christian Democratic chancellor Kohl pointedly reminded his Social Democratic critics that none other than Kurt Schumacher, the virulently anti-Communist SPD leader after the war, was a prime mover in the policy of rehabilitating members of the Waffen SS. Meanwhile, anti-Semitic articles in the sensationalist German press claim that the outcry in the U.S. is the product of a Jewish conspiracy: "Reagan's Visit: The Power of the Jews" headlined the mass circulation *Quick* magazine.

In the U.S. a tiny gang of fascist punks, the SS Action Squad, spoke on the steps of Dearborn City Hall in Michigan celebrating Hitler's birthday and praising Reagan's trip. But they're about the only ones. The American people may not like "reds," but one thing they really hate is Nazis. World War II was an imperialist war, but the generation of Americans that fought that war believed they were fighting the heinous, barbarous crimes of the fascists. Hundreds of thousands of Ameri-

cans are refugees or children of refugees from Nazi terror and genocide. While a handful of Nazi seum in the U.S. will crawl out of the gutters to shout "Sieg Heil!" to Reagan's homage to the Waffen SS at Bitburg—and more nativist fascists may be emboldened—America, including the hard-core racist Reaganites, is up in arms over Reagan's visit on the 40th anniversary of V-E Day.

Reagan is in trouble over this one, and his aides have been madly scrambling around in an effort at "damage control." National Security Adviser McFarlane tried to order Kohl to call off the cemetery visit. (The White House sometimes forgets the distinction between powerful imperialist allies and its Central American puppets.) They even had the *chutzpah* to ask hunter of Nazi war criminals Simon Wiesenthal to come along for the ride, no doubt recalling his recent signature on a full-page ad calling on Congress to fund the Nicaraguan contras. But Wiesenthal told them to forget it. Even U.S. Holocaust Commission chairman Elie Wiesel, who accepted a medal from Reagan, turned them down. At the White House awards ceremony, Wiesel implored Reagan, "Your place is with the victims of the SS." But he is wrong. Reagan belongs at Bitburg.

It's certainly fitting that Reagan and Kohl proclaim the "reconciliation" of German and American imperialism in an anti-Soviet crusade over the grave-stones of the SS killers. But the American people hate Nazis, and Reagan may not like the reaction when thousands of anti-fascists and Holocaust survivors in concentration camp attire show up at Bergen-Belsen to repudiate these genocidal Cold Warriors. For our part, we stand with the leftists who reportedly passed out a leaflet on the anniversary of the liberation of Dachau thanking Soviet soldiers for freeing the victims of Nazi terror and for smashing the heinous Hitlerite dictatorship.

## Nicaragua: Reagan's Vietnam?

Reagan pulled out all the stops to get his Nicaraguan "contra aid" bill passed by Congress. "Few votes will ever be so important to the survival of democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean. Few votes will ever be as important to the national security of the United States," he proclaimed bombastically in his weekly radio show (*New York Times*, 21 April). He even accused the Democrats directly of "surrender to Communism." But the USA today isn't the same as in the McCarthyite witch-hunts. It wasn't the \$14 million that was at stake, everyone agreed: it was a "new Gulf of Tonkin resolution," promising "another Vietnam" in Central America. And after the U.S.' fiasco in its last colonial war, the bourgeoisie is leery about getting dragged down to defeat again.

Ten years after the last U.S. helicopter took off from the Saigon embassy, America is still obsessed with Vietnam. Currently, every TV network, every major newspaper is doing a retrospective, trying to find out "what went wrong?" Most of it is arrogant garbage, trying to put a brave face on defeat. Others recognize that the "Vietnam syndrome" continues to check the appetites of Washington. The *New York Times* (28 April) editorialized that:

"To the cry of 'No More Vietnams,' the United States has tied itself into knots over Nicaragua. The President wants a virtual declaration of war against the Sandinistas—no more piecemeal humiliations by Soviet proxies. Congress, in a stunning demurrer, says no more piecemeal investments of prestige in a war we're unwilling to send American boys to finish."

Richard Nixon writes a book titled *No More Vietnams*; the same cry is uttered by the liberals, radicals and reformists who lament this debacle for Washington. But we Marxists, Trotskyists, say "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"



Der Spiegel

Reagan and Kohl—new anti-Soviet axis.

The day after his defeat in Congress, Secretary of State Shultz lashed out in an anti-Communist diatribe on "The Meaning of Vietnam." "South Vietnam was not a Jeffersonian democracy with full civil liberties" (!), he admitted. Hardly—not with Hitler-loving dictators like Marshal Ky in power, political dissidents thrown into "tiger cages," suspected Viet Cong assassinated by the CIA's Phoenix Program, entire villages carpetbombed by B-52s. (For that matter, "Jeffersonian democracy" meant chattel slavery for blacks.) But still, the U.S. was supposedly engaged in a "noble cause" in bringing "democracy" and "economic progress" to Asia. Back in the days of naked colonialism, it used to be called the "white man's burden," bringing "civilization" to "savages."

The problem in Vietnam, said Shultz, was not that the U.S. went in but that it

up on. But they know that the contras are militarily as useless without the 101st Airborne as Hitler's East European *Einsatzkommandos* were without the *Wehrmacht* (army) behind them. And they're afraid that direct U.S. military intervention would lead to explosions throughout Latin America and at home.

The Spartacist League has declared for several years, "Defense of Cuba/ USSR Begins in Central America!" The reformists spread the Big Lie that this demand was a Reaganite provocation, and built a popular-front "anti-intervention" movement under the aegis of the Democrats. Last spring, summer and fall they went all out to "defeat Reagan" and "vote for peace in November"—i.e., for loser Democrat Mondale, who called for a full-fledged naval "quarantine" of Sandinista Nicaragua, an unambiguous act of war! And on the "contra aid" fight, the *Washington Post* underlined, "During Congressional Debates, Virtually No One Defended Nicaragua's Sandinista Government."

In seeking a bloc with the liberal Democrats, the popular-frontists hark back to the days of "the good war," World War II, when Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill were allies. WWII is presented as a "war for democracy" and a "war against fascism," but as soon as Germany and Japan were defeated, the colonies were reoccupied and the fascists were cleaned up and put back in power as "freedom-loving democrats" in the war against "Soviet totalitarianism." If you support the war, you support the victory of "your" side. The victory of U.S. imperialism led straight to the Cold War, Korea, Vietnam and now Central America. Hitler is gone... and now you have Reagan, who threatens to plunge the planet into barbarism in order to restore the "American century."

In World War II, the Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, but opposed the inter-imperialist slaughter which laid waste to most of Europe and much of Asia, just as Lenin and the Bolsheviks called for



Losers scramble to board last flight out of Da Nang, April 1975.

got out. And today? "Our goals in Central America are like those we had in Vietnam," he declared. The Reaganites want to avenge U.S. imperialism's humiliation in Indochina with the blood of Nicaragua. Vietnam was the first-ever military defeat for Yankee imperialism, and it's precisely the fear of another losing war that has stayed their hand from Angola to Afghanistan. The Reagan gang wants to disappear this reality, blaming it all on the liberal media's "stah in the back," just like Hitler blamed the Social Democrats for Germany's loss in World War I. But more enlightened sectors of the American ruling class, including much of the Pentagon, know different.

It's not that the Democrats love the Sandinistas. Far from it. The "compromise" contra aid bill failed by only two votes, and the *Washington Post* (26 April) noted in a headline, "Congress Expected to Back Some Form of Aid to 'Contras.'" The Democrats steadily voted for the CIA's "covert war" on the Sandinistas up until a year ago when the mining of Nicaraguan harbors made it impossible to keep up any semblance of "plausible deniability" of U.S. involvement. They called for economic strangulation of Nicaragua through a trade embargo—which Reagan is taking them

revolutionary defeatism on all sides in the First World War. The Democratic Party, the party of World Wars I and II, of Yankee intervention at the Bay of Pigs, Santo Domingo and Vietnam, will hardly stop U.S. intervention in Central America. Voting hundreds of millions to CIA puppet Duarte in El Salvador, they are up to their necks in it. And so are the fake-leftists who support them.

In 1945, Nazi fascism was not rooted out but replaced by another form of bourgeois rule. Those Nazis who could, fled to South America or made themselves useful to the Americans, or took up their places again in West Germany. The torture techniques of the death camps were taken over by the CIA and transmitted to Latin American death squads, from Argentina to El Salvador. Only where capitalism has been overthrown, from East Berlin to Hanoi, have the war criminals been brought to justice. The degeneration of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay is reflected in the leadership it throws up. The American bourgeoisie wanted Ronald Reagan, and it got the Nazis in the bargain. From South Africa to Germany to Central America and the United States, the scourge of fascism will only be wiped out through international socialist revolution. ■



Wohl/Syigma

Reagan's "brother" at work: contra slits throat of Sandinista supporter.



# V-E Day in Germany...

(continued from page 3)

October 1944, nearly all of Eastern Europe had been liberated by the Red Army.

The Western Allies were deeply disturbed: the influence of the Soviet Union had to be driven back. So they finally established the Western Front, and the race to Berlin began. On 6 June 1944, U.S. troops landed in Normandy. Up to that time the Germans had been able to concentrate 95 percent of their divisions in the East, and the Red Army never faced less than 65 percent of the Wehrmacht strength. In the last analysis, "Operation Thunderclap," the April 1945 British-American firebombing of Dresden, filled with refugees from the East, which took 35,000 lives, and even more so the atomic mass murder in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, were intended to intimidate the Soviet Union.

## West German Imperialism: Hitler's Heirs

In the Soviet occupation zone, which later became the DDR, resurgent Nazism was deprived of any social base through the destruction of capitalism, and more than 350 Nazi mass murderers were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. In contrast, the Nuremberg Trials of 1945-46 and other Allied war crimes trials only served as an alibi. Prominent Nazis like the banker Hermann Josef Abs were soon pulling the strings again. Abs, an influential board member of the Deutsche Bank under Hitler who was sentenced *in absentia* to 15 years hard labor by Yugoslavia, became chairman of the board and headed the Reconstruction Credit Agency. Hitler's war industry chief, Friedrich Flick, who had made gigantic profits from the slave labor of 40,000 foreign forced-laborers and concentration camp victims, was released from jail in 1950 and soon became known as Bonn's "uncrowned finance minister." Flick Jr. deals with Bonn governments and the Bundestag [West German parliament] as branches of his industrial empire: representatives of the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Free Democrats all snap to attention in return for cold cash.

American imperialism had nothing against the reinstatement of "former" Nazis in key positions in politics and the economy. Only a strong German capitalism could be of use against the Soviet Union. In the United States itself, the CIA falsified 800 files and gave Nazi specialists "laundered" documents in order to make use of them for their own purposes. The file of "V-2" rocket builder Wernher von Braun was among the dossiers of 14 scientists who in 1947 were considered "security risks" by the U.S. but were later "denazified" at the



Yakov Ryumkin

**Stalingrad, August 1942-January 1943: Hardest fought battle in WW II. Workers' Russia shattered Hitler's dreams of conquest.**

stroke of a pen. The "Foreign Armies East" secret service under Wehrmacht general Gehlen was absorbed by the CIA to continue its spying and sabotage against the Soviet Union. The Gehlen organization was taken over in 1955 as West Germany's secret police. Together with Adenauer's secret service coordinator Glogke, sentenced in the DDR to life imprisonment as one of the organizers of the genocide against Jews, Gehlen created the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*).

The constitution for which the men in trenchcoats do their spying and persecution asserts the claim of the Federal Republic [West Germany] to be the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich, *within the German borders of 1937* (thus including much of present-day Poland and parts of the USSR). So when Bonn's state secretary for "Inner-German Affairs," Otfried Henning, claims "East Prussia belongs to Germany" he is only stating openly what has implicitly been official policy all along. In June Chancellor Kohl is to speak at a revanchist Silesian "exiles" convention under the slogan: "Silesia remains our future in a Europe of free peoples." The January issue of their newspaper painted out this vision of the future:

"The armed forces of the German Federal Republic had marched through the Warsaw Pact area without coming upon resistance to speak of, and now stood on the Soviet border.... The fact of German reunification had come—without war!"

Leaders of Polish Solidarność, who look to the Frankfurt bankers for their salvation, seem to forget that the German imperialists are not exactly generous with their *Lebensraum*.

## SPD Nationalism: Rollback in "Peace" Costume

Forty years after the end of the war, U.S. imperialism is only first among equals. Interimperialist competition

is escalating into bitter trade wars, and differences between the NATO brothers-in-arms have increased—differences centering on the question of *how* the Soviet Union should be destroyed. The basis for "Europacism" is the fear of Europe being turned into an atomic battlefield. In West Germany, the Social Democrats, once a kept party of the CIA, have switched masters back to German imperialism. The SPD's road isn't that of open revanchism, whose pro-war course would only lead West Germany to defeat and atomic catastrophe. Social Democracy wants to win back German imperialist dominance over Eastern Europe, to destroy the East German and Polish workers

**Firebombing of Dresden (right) and atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were monstrous war crimes whose intent was to intimidate Soviet Union.**



Walter Hahn

states, by undermining them economically through internal counterrevolution, like the Lutheran church-dominated "peace" movement in East Germany or the (now prostrate) yellow "union" Solidarność in Poland.

The "left" nationalism of the SPD is a trap for the German working class. Everyone knows that the CDU/CSU (Christian Democrats) are riddled with former Nazis, while Social Democracy pretends to be the party of clean hands. SPD chairman Willy Brandt presents himself, a one-time anti-fascist fighter, as the most effective figure to reconcile the German workers with their "own" bourgeoisie. Oskar Lafontaine, successful SPD "peace" candidate in the Saar, expresses this clearly: more autonomy inside NATO, no MX missiles, and a powerful arsenal for the Bundeswehr. The SPD boasts that it is the real party of *Ostpolitik* ("Eastern policies") for German imperialism. Quite right. Its tradition as a reformist workers party gives it the chance to act in the East German workers state as a pro-imperialist alternative to Stalinism, disguised as a true, national "force for peace."

West Germany's left trails in the wake of Social Democracy. The Greens make their contribution to whitewashing

German imperialism by demanding that Kohl visit Auschwitz [in Poland] on May 8th. They pose as peace wardens, but the Green-supported "peace" movement in the DDR, and their beloved Solidarność, aim at the economic, political and military disarming of the workers states in the face of imperialism. On May 4, "Greens," "Autonomists," Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyists will demonstrate against the Reagan visit and the imperialist world economic summit in Bonn—an anti-American and anti-Soviet demonstration of the new German nationalism. An effective protest against the imperialist robbers would have to be based on defense of the DDR, Poland, the Soviet Union and other workers states, with the perspective of class war against one's "own" bourgeoisie.

Among the helligent powers of World War II only the Soviet Union today sees a reason to celebrate the destruction of the criminal Hitler regime on May 8th. Reagan and Kohl would like everyone to forget the horrors of the Nazi regime, because the imperialist enemies of old are now NATO allies carrying out the program of Admiral Dönitz. DDR leader Erich Honecker recently remarked:

"We will not forget the victims of Hitler's barbarism and the victims of the Dresden bombing terror.... All in all, you can't say that the right conclusions have been drawn from World War II. Not even the Star Wars architects or their planners would survive a war unleashed with atomic weapons."

The "right conclusion," say the Stalinists, is to resuscitate the old wartime alliance. But even if there were a chance for a Gorbachev-Reagan pact, it would

no more protect the Soviet Union against imperialist attack than did Stalin's pact with Hitler. A proletarian political revolution is needed to oust the sellout bureaucracy in the degenerated/deformed workers states. Not détente illusions but international socialist revolution will defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution.

Germany was divided as the result of the defeat of German imperialism in the last world war. Talk of reunification without overthrowing resurgent German capitalism in the West is a call for counterrevolution in the East and a new world war—this time a nuclear holocaust for all humanity. To achieve a progressive solution to the German question, a revolutionary-internationalist, authentically communist party must be built which energetically opposes the "left" nationalism of the "peace" movement as well as open right-wing revanchism. The Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands seeks to build such a party, fighting for revolutionary reunification of Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. The red flag which was unfurled over the Brandenburg Gate on 1 May 1945 must fly over all of Europe, as a signal for world revolution, for a socialist future in which genocide and war are banished forever. That is our goal. ■

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## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA



# Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 12)

African consulates, the result was a wave of struggle which could go beyond the boundaries of liberal "witness" and "dissent." It was the black struggle for civil rights that put an end to Cold War McCarthyism and awakened the last generation of militants to political consciousness fighting Jim Crow segregation in America. The protests over South Africa are not just a question of "foreign policy"; the black question is the key to the American revolution.

From the powers that be, the reaction to this nascent student upheaval has ranged from brute force to sophisticated attempts at co-option; both have the shared purpose of nipping in the bud a potentially explosive opposition. UC Berkeley exemplifies the combination of brute force *and* co-option. From shouting down Reagan's dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick at Cal in 1983 to militant street demos against Reagan's secretary of war Weinberger last summer to protests against Marine recruiters on campus this spring, a series of militant actions have stirred students. The response of the UC administration has been repression, cop beatings and arrests. Campus cops used the deadly choke hold on Spartacus Youth League member and Berkeley student Guillermo Bermúdez on March 28 at the protest that drove out Marine recruiters, breaking his arm, and then charged the 5'5" Bermúdez with "assault" against the burly 6'3" cop! The cop rampage at Berkeley is so vicious that some 48 witnesses and victims testified to the UCPD terror campaign at a recent Berkeley Police Review Commission.

In a dawn raid April 16, campus police in riot gear hustled 154 protesters on the steps of Biko Hall. Later that day thousands turned out to protest the arrests, and the demonstrations have continued since then. On April 24, some 6,000 swelled into Sproul/Biko Plaza, then converged on a meeting with the UC Regents. This "discourse" was rigged from the outset to allow luminaries from the Democratic Party and trade-union bureaucracy and student bureaucrats from various UC campuses to digress at length about the "moral quandary" facing the university community. It was demonstrably *not* a forum for any of the student victims of the campus cops' peculiar views on "democracy," nor for militant opposition to apartheid slavery, and effectively dissipated the strength of the protest that day. At the meeting, UC president Gardner had the gall to lecture students on the "correct" method of civil disobedience, pointing to Martin Luther King and Gandhi as role models. A lecture on pacifism from the man whose cops routinely beat student protesters bloody! On April 26, another four students were arrested, beaten and jailed; hail was set at astronomically high figures.

The events at Columbia are the starkest expression of the "soft kill" technique against student protest. Here the administration was determined *not* to call the cops, and wisely so from the rulers' point of view. New York City would likely explode over a repeat of 1968 when the brutal cop riot against student blockaders shocked the city and radicalized a layer of idealistic students, breaking them from illusions in the university as a "free marketplace of ideas" and in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. Today, in the face of growing outrage among blacks in particular over the New York Police Department's spree of racist killings and now electric-shock torture, university officials were not about to risk a big mass hust of black and white students protesting apartheid racism. And why bother? With a cooperative liberal



Young Spartacus

**UC Berkeley, April 16: thousands protest mass bust of student anti-apartheid demonstrators.**

leadership of the protests who had chained the front door to Hamilton Hall but not the back. Columbia figured they could leave them out there 'til nuclear winter.

After prolonged shadowboxing between university attorneys and the student Committee for a Free South Africa (CFSA), a court finally upheld Columbia's request for an injunction. The student Committee obediently removed the chains, and to put an upbeat face on it decided to end the blockade with a march through Harlem. This was significant: Columbia, the imperialist think tank, is also a notorious Harlem slumlord, and it was the students' demands to open campus facilities to the neighboring black community of Morningside Heights which sparked the '68 "Columbia revolt." On the April 25 march through Harlem, an SYL contingent chanting "From Harlem to Soweto—Same struggle, same fight! Workers of the world unite!" was well received by marchers and onlookers alike. But the march ended with protesters being herded into a Harlem church to hear the election campaign announcement of CFSA's lawyer C. Vernon Mason that he was running for district attorney!

Deals with the administration were no "sellout" by the CFSA leadership. From the beginning, the black Democrats who initiated the action have proclaimed their goal to be "disinvestment" of Columbia's stock in South Africa, a demand the students have generally accepted as a legitimate means of fighting apartheid. Thus the whole strategy of the movement is rooted in wheeling and dealing over how best to manipulate endowment portfolios, as if there is *any* way the capitalist class can be made to act in the interests of the oppressed black masses on whose exploitation the whole rotten system rests!

The implicit idea behind the "Free South Africa" campaign is that somehow American bankers, auto magnates, oil barons, and so forth can be shamed into pressuring their South African partners to act right...like in the good ole USA. But if you could free South African blacks simply by negotiating with the Columbia trustees, surely the people of Harlem would long since be free. South African black leader, ANC president Oliver Tambo, said as much in a speech in New York April 27, when he told black supporters in Harlem, "You are now free. Well, perhaps not as free as you'd like to be. But we look across the Atlantic and say, in that country, in the United States, these things don't happen anymore." "Oh yes, they do!" angry voices from the crowd shouted back.

While opposing the demand for divestment as a liberal/moralist tactic which is at best meaningless and at worst counterproductive, we Marxists recognize that the current outbreak of student struggle has taken on the character of a referendum on apartheid. Spartacus Youth League members from

Columbia to Berkeley to UCLA have taken their place with the students against the U.S.-backed Pretoria regime, the university, its cops and the courts. A support telegram from Hamilton Hall blockaders at Columbia, initiated by the SYL, was cheered by Berkeley students on the steps of Sproul Hall. But we are also intervening in this struggle to divest a new generation of youth of their illusions in "liberal" imperialism. We know the imperialists cannot be shamed into abandoning their key anti-Soviet partner and gendarme in the strategic region of southern Africa. We know apartheid cannot be smashed short of the workers seizure of power which wipes out South African capitalism once and for all.

Students at Berkeley got some token working-class support April 18, when some 500 convention delegates of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union boarded buses and came over to join student protesters on the steps of Biko Hall, with a banner

## South Africa...

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cordoned-off townships will be massacred without any chance that their sacrifice will bring down the white-supremacist regime. Incidents such as the severe burning two weeks ago of a white youth who stopped in a black township to buy liquor could be used as the pretext to unleash the bloody holocaust. A senior cop declared, "If there are any further attacks on whites...there will be a serious risk of white vigilante action..." We are only a step away from it" (*Newsweek*, 29 April).

It is urgently necessary to bring the power of the black proletariat into struggle for its own class rule. The increasing organization and consciousness of this working class is the Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism. With a revolutionary proletarian leadership the

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" and placards reading "We Back South African Unions." It was a gesture by the ILWU leadership of Jimmy Herman. Much more significant was the battle over the ship, the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, which sat at Pier 80 in San Francisco for ten days last November/December while the longshoremen refused to unload its South African cargo. This action grew out of a desire for militant protest against the racist apartheid repression, although the union bureaucrats tried to sabotage it and get themselves off the hook by such tactics as "work the ship, not the cargo." Finally they capitulated in the face of a government injunction and ordered ILWU members to move the *Kimberley's* blood cargo. On April 16, the day of the mass hust at Berkeley, Stan Gow of the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board came to the Cal campus, receiving cheers from the crowd when he told the students "I strongly urge you all to sit down" and stick together 6,000-strong against the threat of new arrests. But, like the ILWU tops' betrayal, the student bureaucrats rushed in to urge people to disperse and dissipate the action.

Jesse Jackson showed up at Columbia and Rutgers hoping to repeat the old 1960s shell game of turning student protest into voting cattle for the imperialist Democrats. During Vietnam, antiwar demonstrations were massive but had little impact on the war because they were focused on the campuses. The Spartacist League sought to win students to a working-class perspective, agitating for antiwar political strikes of labor. Our movement approaches the new generation of student protesters with the advantage of a fighting Marxist youth organization that is intervening in major protests across the country. Not divestment—a utopian call for a "strike" of capital to pressure the apartheid racists—but a working-class struggle for power from Durban to Detroit. ■

black union movement could give direction and purpose to the rebellion of youth in the townships, all of whom are wage earners or families of workers. The determined Afrikaner rulers can isolate and napalm black townships, but they cannot replace or obliterate the black working class, which produces the wealth of South Africa.

To succeed, the liberation struggle against apartheid must throw off the nationalist leadership, which only looks to the workers as a vehicle to power for a petty-bourgeois layer aspiring to exploit "their own" black toilers, as in Machel's Mozambique and Mugabe's Zimbabwe. Instead, as we stated in "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April), internationalist communists, black, coloured, Indian and white, must lay the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party, to lead the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

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## Revolt and Repression in South Africa

APRIL 29—As anti-apartheid protest sweeps major American campuses, mass revolt and massive repression continue throughout South Africa. At the world's largest gold mine at Vaal Reefs 14,400 black miners went on strike protesting low wages and the firing of four shop stewards. Since their strike was "illegal" under Pretoria's slave labor laws, these courageous miners knew that they faced mass firings and deportation to the desperately impoverishedbantustans and neighboring black states like Mozambique. Indeed the company, Anglo-American, fired all strikers, who

proceeded to barricade themselves in their hostels. On Saturday the South African cops moved in with rubber bullets and tear gas to evict the strikers. But the miners strike, like the Transvaal general strike in November, demonstrates that South Africa's migratory labor system of indentured servitude no longer cows black labor.

In the black townships collaborators with the apartheid regime are being doused with gasoline and torched or hacked to death, and repeated confrontations with heavily armed South African cops are met with new Sharpeville massacres. Six-

teen leaders of the largest anti-apartheid formation, the United Democratic Front (UDF), have been indicted for treason, and the last two leaders at liberty have now been seized. The UDF 16 will stand trial for their lives for the "crime" of leading peaceful protests for basic human dignity and rights like being able to live with your family. Drop the charges against the UDF 16! Free all anti-apartheid fighters!

In South Africa today, funerals and religious services are the *only* public meetings blacks are permitted to organize and attend. And as they bury

their dead, with tens of thousands singing religious hymns and liberation anthems, bloody police repression is daily producing new martyrs. Alan Cowell reported in the *New York Times* (28 April) repeated chants of "This is a bad place" punctuated by cries of "Bazooka!" from militant youth yearning to replace stones with guns in their running battle with the police.

South Africa is heading for civil war. But should it slide into simply a black-vs.-white race-national military conflict, the poorly armed blacks in the

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## Protests Sweep U.S. Campuses

# Smash Apartheid!

In the last month student actions against South African apartheid—blockades, "sit-outs," sit-ins, demonstrations—have swept the campuses in proportions not seen since the 1960s and early '70s. When students at Columbia blockaded Hamilton Hall on April 4—renamed Mandela Hall in honor of the "banned" and imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC)—it sparked nationwide campus protests. The week following the Columbia blockade, students at UC Berkeley took similar action at Sproul Hall (now named Biko Hall in honor of the martyred South African Black Consciousness Movement leader), which continues as we go to press. Mass arrests at Berkeley—the largest since the early days of the Free Speech Movement—and a calculated campaign of cop brutality have not dissuaded the protesters, but had the opposite effect. Over 700, including faculty members, have been arrested in the course of daily sit-

ins at the administration building at Cornell University.

Both at Berkeley and Cornell, students have resisted the cops, surrounding buses and trying to stop them carting off arrested demonstrators. Even in Boulder, Colorado nearly 500 were arrested for protesting CIA dirty work in Central America. Student actions have taken place at Harvard and Tufts University in the Boston area, at UCLA and UC Santa Cruz, at Madison, Ann Arbor, Princeton, Rutgers, Oberlin and Northwestern. A "national day of action" called for April 24 by anti-apartheid student protesters brought out thousands across the country. This has not escaped the notice of the bourgeoisie: the *New York Times* (25 April) noted a "tentative and somewhat limited resurgence of student activism at American colleges and universities this spring. For the first time in many years, campuses are stirring to calls to take a stand on the political and social issues of the day."

For the past several years the media has been playing up the phenomenon of "conservatism on campus," students kissing the ground after being "rescued" by the Grenada invasion, flag-waving youth chanting "USA! USA!" at the Los Angeles Olympics, "youth for Reagan" election rallies. But we have repeatedly noted the shallowness of this mood:

"The 'new patriotism' of middle-class college-age youth has yet to be tested in blood. If the nuclear maniacs running this country think they can finally get over the 'Vietnam syndrome' of bourgeois defeatism with a generation of youth for whom Vietnam is at best a fuzzy TV-screen memory, then ain't seen nothing yet. The body bags returning from a Yankee invasion of Nicaragua would gag the flag wavers faster than Dr. Strangelove could toller 'Yahoo!'"

—*Young Spartacus* No. 124,  
February 1985

No students have yet been drafted to invade Central America. But already the



Young Spartacus

Berkeley students sit in at Biko Hall. From Columbia U. to UC Berkeley anti-apartheid protests crack Reagan reaction on campus.



Berkeley campus cops: Do they think they're in South Africa?

campuses which were prominent centers of student radicalism during the Vietnam War are the scene of mass militant protest. And together with Reagan's impasse over Nicaragua and the liaseo of his upcoming SS cemetery visit, a breach has been opened in the wall of Reagan reaction.

The protests were sparked by the South African police murder of dozens of black protesters near the industrial city of Uitenhage last month, marching to a funeral on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. While Reagan alibis this latest massacre and calls for "constructive engagement" on behalf of the racist apartheid regime, the South African black revolt has touched

the raw nerve of the race question in the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz warned the U.S. "cannot afford to let southern Africa become a divisive domestic issue—tearing our country apart" (*New York Times*, 17 April). But South Africa *has* become a burning issue in this country. American blacks see in South Africa the magnification of their own racist oppression.

After their disastrous support to Mondale last November, the black Democrats rushed to look up the address of the South African embassy in order to clean up their image. But when it moved beyond symbolic arrests and photo opportunities outside South

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