

Reagan Strikes at Libya, Nicaragua, Afghanistan

Aircraft carrier USS Saratoga in Gulf of Sidra.

Turnley/Newsweek

Flashpoints for War

APRIL 7—The White House declared "Operation Prairie Fire," the brazen American attack on Libya, an unqualified success. A Navy armada, with three aircraft carriers, 30 warships and hundreds of planes, managed to sink some Libyan PT boats and hit a missile site where Russian technicians were reportedly installing Soviet SAMs. The Teflon president had found the no-risk military option, so the U.S. could flex its muscles "without loss of life or damage to American planes or ships," War Secretary Weinberger crowed. The Reaganites' war "game" in the Gulf of Sidra was supposed to teach the "bully" Qaddafi a bloody lesson and send a message to Moscow. In this confrontation, the world's working class had a side: with Libya against the insane war provocations of U.S. imperialism.

Of course, the Libyan boats never fired a shot, and the only evidence of SAMs being fired were blips on a radar screen that were not reported to journalists on board the USS Saratoga at the

Defend the Soviet Union!

time because the Navy wasn't sure they were real. Commenting on the Gulf of Sidra action, Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, noted: "I would say these operations may lead us to revise our opinion of Qaddafi's rationality. Once we made it clear that we were determined to stay there, he withdrew his forces, and I consider that a very rational act" ([London] Sunday Times, 30 March).

The next week, however, when a bomb blew a hole in the fuselage of a TWA jetliner over Greece, killing four, and another blast in Berlin destroyed a disco frequented by GIs, the U.S. declared it would "hold Qaddafi responsible" for these wanton acts of indiscriminate terror. No matter that the Libyan strongman had condemned the

TWA bomb as "an act of terrorism against a civilian target, and I am totally against this." It fit a "pattern" of Libyan terrorism, said Washington. The pattern is that Reagan will blame anything and everything on Qaddafi (and Gorbachev) if it furthers the anti-Soviet war drive.

The U.S. aggression against Libya came on the heels of an even more insane war provocation in the Black Sea, in which two Navy spy ships invaded Soviet territorial waters near the port of Sevastopol, headquarters of the "Red Banner" fleet. And just as American F-14s were firing their Harpoon and HARM missiles over the Mediterranean, halfway around the globe in Central America U.S. Army Chinook helicopters were ferrying Hon-



Der Spiegel

U.S. Invades Soviet waters in Black Sea, attacks Libya, escalates contra war against Nicaragua.

duran troops to the Nicaraguan frontier, doing their best to set off a border war in order to get Congress to approve \$100 million in aid to the CIA's contra terrorists. When at first Honduras declined to claim it had been invaded by the Sandinista army, Washington

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Under Reagan's Guns in Libya

Report from Tripoli

6 April 1986

A journalistic team of the international Spartacist tendency arrived in Tripoli on March 26. We were there with our physical presence to establish our proletarian internationalist commitment to the military defense of Libya against the barbaric attacks of U.S. imperialism and its allies. As war-crazed Ronald Reagan flexed his trigger finger, we came prepared to help in any way we can where the U.S. war drive is hottest right now—and to denounce before the world's working class the acts of aggression against

Libya by the imperialist terrorists.

Our arrival was preceded by a telegram sent by the iSt from New York addressed to Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi. The statement read: "We deeply respect and support just cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assault by U.S. imperialist aggression."

As we arrived Reagan's massive Sixth Fleet armada—with its 30 naval vessels, including three carriers and 240 warplanes—was carrying out its assault against the Libyan people. The

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Tripoli, March 28—Libyan women students in uniform march in defiance of U.S. imperialism.

WV Photo

MOVE Survivor Ramona Africa Speaks from Prison

Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the hideous massacre of the black back-to-nature MOVE group on 13 May 1985, remains in prison on \$200,000 bail, and is facing sentencing April 14. She was convicted on the incredible charges of "criminal conspiracy" and "riot," and faces 14 years in prison. Ramona's only "crime" is she survived the genocidal terrorism of Reagan, Meese and Philadelphia's "Mayor of Murder," Wilson Goode. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! We print below excerpts from a statement by Ramona written following the report of Goode's hand-picked commission.

To: The Workers Vanguard
From: Ramona Africa, Minister of Communication for MOVE

On a MOVE! People question *how* and *why* the August 8, 1978 confrontation and the May 13, 1985 confrontation came about. Well open your eyes and look around you. Look what is happening *rite now* and you will have your answer. For years, too many years, MOVE people of all ages have been victimized, terrorized by system officials who want desperately to stifle the truth. We have been beat almost to death, in some cases to death, in unprovoked police attacks, we have had our babies deliberately murdered by police, we have officials, including judges, ignore

crimes against us... I am talking about hundreds of bloodthirsty, revenge-seeking cops, along with the presence of state and federal officials (according to Gregore Sambor), surrounding our home on May 13, 1985. I am talking about cops armed with water, teargas, smoke, 357 magnums, 9 mm Uzi machine guns, Browning automatic rifles, 22 caliber rifles with silencers, 12 gauge shotguns, 30.06 sniper rifles, M60 machine guns, 50 caliber machine guns, 45 caliber Thompson submachine guns, 20 mm armor piercing antitank guns, high power explosives and bombs. I'm talking about cops shooting 10,000 rounds of ammunition at us in 90 minutes (according to their official records), using high power explosives on and around our house when officials believed we had explosives and knew we had flammable material in our house, dropping a bomb on us which ignited a fire, deliberately allowing the fire to burn as a means of affecting the arrest of only four of many people in our house (including children) on warrants that alleged crimes that the prosecutor could not substantiate and were dismissed on November 22, 1985, and finally, shooting at MOVE men, women, and children to keep us from coming out of the burning house and causing my brothers and sisters of all ages to be burned alive or shot down in the alley

while trying to escape the fire. All this criminal sadism spit on this family for years and not one official has ever gone to prison for crimes against this family....

We know exactly what the purpose of that commission is—to pacify folks, trick folks into thinking that something is being done when it was clear from the beginning that the mayor's commission can say anything but has no authority to indict or prosecute. We of MOVE are John Africa taught and we ain't tricked by the commission's report even though it is interpreted as a stinging indictment of Goode and his administration. What the mayor's commission is saying now was obvious to people since May 13, 1985 and in fact was being said by people May 13, 1985. But people were pacified with phrases like "wait and see what the commission reports." Now that the report is official, people are being encouraged to wait 'til the district attorney's office investigates whether or not they should impanel a grand jury to investigate some more.

While all this waiting is going on, I am waiting in prison, I have been tried and convicted of crimes I am not guilty of, my family is in prison for 900 years for a crime they are not guilty of, our family has been murdered and we are still being asked to wait! Wait for what! Nobody waited to arrest me, on May 13, 1985 I was arrested without investigation; on August 8, 1978 my family was arrested without investigation. During all this waiting, officials of U.S. Department of Justice boldly announced the possibility of problems with getting indictments against officials involved in the massacre of my family because they can not use evidence collected by the commission. This is not something that suddenly occurred to these officials; they knew it when the commission was created by the mayor but it was announced at a convenient time as a feeble excuse for their failure to do what they never intended to do in the first place.

Remember, the federal government provided 37 1/2 lbs. of C-4 [plastic explosives] to Philadelphia police without a request for it according to them; Edwin Meese, the Attorney General of the U.S., stated publicly—before the smoke even cleared—that Philadelphia officials did an admirable job; and while officials all over the world expressed shock and horror about the tragedy of May 13, 1985, to my knowledge the president of this country has remained silent—none of this is coincidental. Remember, it was a state helicopter being flown by state police officials who got permission from their supervisors, according to Gregore Sambor—that were directly involved in dropping that



Greish/Philadelphia Inquirer

Ramona Africa

bomb on men, women, and babies, so obviously they do not want a serious investigation....

The Mayor is talking about putting MOVE behind him and carrying on. How are system officials going to carry on like normal when the main issue—innocent MOVE people, 15 innocent MOVE people now instead of 14, being put in prison—has yet to be resolved? Do system officials, including the mayor, really believe that MOVE is just gonna forget about innocent MOVE people who are sitting in prison because of nothing more than politics? System officials are willing to do anything—including kill MOVE people thru bombs and fire or thru the slower, more subtle torturous death of prison—officials are willing to do anything but the righteous thing of investigating the August 8, 1978 confrontation and releasing innocent MOVE people from prison. The problem has been compounded instead of solved because in addition to keeping innocent MOVE people in prison, these officials have now spilled more MOVE blood, their hands are dripping with the blood of MOVE people who righteously demanded the release of our family because our family is innocent. As long as innocent MOVE people are in prison, officials will never be able to "put MOVE behind." The blatantly prejudicial attitude system officials are demonstrating against MOVE now, in refusing to prosecute those that have committed crimes against us, makes it obviously imperative for us to protect, defend ourselves. It became obvious to MOVE years ago that we can not rely on this system for justice and protection because it is this system that is committing crimes against us: killing our babies, heating pregnant women into miscarriage and deliberately trying, convicting and sentencing innocent MOVE people to prison for a total of 900 years....

Long Live John Africa's Revolution and Down with This Rotten Ass System. ■



TROTSKY

Unity of World's Workers and Colonial Oppressed

In April 1951, when America's anti-Soviet, colonial Korean War was at its height and Cold War reaction raged domestically, James P. Cannon, veteran communist and founding leader of Trotskyism in the U.S., in a speech to university students linked the struggle against imperialist war to the proletarian class struggle.



LENIN

And finally, the workers of the United States haven't said their last word yet by a long shot. The foreign policy of American capitalism is united with its domestic policy. The war program carries with it the program of militarizing and regimenting the country, already under way; of stamping out liberties, which is in the design; and of driving down the living standards of the workers, which is in progress with the wage freeze on the one side and skyrocketing inflation on the other. All this, in my opinion, will meet resistance in the United States....

So I wouldn't advise young people to bet their heads on the victory of American imperialism.

There is an alternative. In my opinion this alternative is to recognize the social reality of our time, to see capitalism as a world system in its death agony, completely reactionary and beyond salvation by any means. The alternative to support of this doomed social system is to ally oneself with the future, with the socialist and labor movement, and with the great colonial revolutions in process and still growing. The alternative is to work for a union of the world's workers and the colonial peoples, to put an end to imperialism and open the way for the socialist society of the free and equal. That is the way to secure peace and progress and a good life for all.

—James P. Cannon, "Youth and Foreign Policy," *Speeches for Socialism* (1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Linde Jerreau

EDITORIAL BOARD Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jen Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamborg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 096-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co. 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to Workers Vanguard Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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

No. 401

11 April 1986

A Spartacist Pamphlet 25c

25c (16 pages)

A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c

75c (32 pages)

A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c

75c (32 pages)

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

SL Sues Rupert Murdoch's Channel 5

Fascist Smear Job

The Spartacist League has served a libel lawsuit complaint against the owners of WNYW-TV, New York's Channel 5, and the producer of the station's "10 O'Clock News," demanding \$1,005,000 in damages. The suit charges WNYW-TV with falsely attributing to the SL the painting of swastikas on the door of the Austrian Consulate General in New York City March 31. The SL categorically denied that it or any of its members was involved in, or that it urged others to initiate or participate in, the reported events. Further, the suit charges that this defamatory broadcast sets up the Spartacist League as a target for police repression and right-wing violence.

In its million-dollar suit, the SL noted that the Channel 5 newscast "falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously" defamed the SL in its report of the defacing of the Austrian consulate. According to the 10 O'Clock News, a "caller claimed it was the work of a left-wing group, the Spartacist League." This lying charge was made as the TV screen filled with close-ups of red swastikas scrawled on the consulate doorway, its front steps and the sidewalk directly outside. A press statement issued by the SL on April 5 said of this insidious smear:

"The newscast's false statements and the images of swastikas, prominently and repeatedly displayed, are a lethal double

the station chose not to cover these newsworthy items, the slanderous smear by an unnamed "caller" was broadcast on the airwaves in maximally sensationalist fashion.

It is no accident that this display of gutter journalism comes just a few weeks after Channel 5 was bought by Fox Television Stations, owned by Rupert Murdoch, who also publishes the scandal-mongering *New York Post*. Murdoch is a notorious union-buster who is currently seeking to destroy the British newspaper unions. Five thousand striking London printers have been thrown out of their jobs by the ruthless Murdoch, whose computerized printing plant in Wapping is protected by legions of armed police and surrounded by barbed wire.

The legal complaint, signed by SL General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and attorney Jonathan Lubell, charges:

"The SL has been grievously injured in its good name, reputation, character and standing as a Marxist political organization; its members branded as vandals, criminals, provocateurs and terrorists and as some sort of Nazis, and characterized as criminals outside First Amendment protections, all causing the SL and its members to be isolated, stigmatized and targeted for law enforcement and/or extreme right-wing surveillance, harassment, prosecution and violence...."

The damage inflicted on our reputation could, the suit specifies, create a climate

abstract moral aversion to spray-painting directed at symbols of imperialism and fascism. We don't believe such antics are very effective. While we deeply despise the policies of Ronald Reagan and seek to sweep away this entire racist capitalist system, we do not go about this by using the doors and windows of various government buildings as our billboards.

Moreover, the Spartacist League recognizes that in today's world, divided

SL and Partisan Defense Committee announce successful settlement of lawsuit against FBI, November 1984.



as it is among nation-states, the basis for any international relations is the diplomatic convention of the "extraterritoriality" of embassies. For this reason we were less than enamored of the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran. Our article "Teheran Embassy Revisited" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984) noted that while it was certainly "a preeminent symbol of American imperialism," we agreed with the Soviets' statement that the embassy seizure was "not in keeping with the international convention on respect of diplomatic privileges and immunity." The article concluded, "We necessarily share this view, as must any state power or aspirant to state power, such as the international Spartacist tendency."

Above all, we keenly resent the Channel 5 broadcast because it smeared our party's name with the swastika, Hitler's symbol in Germany, leading to the Holocaust against the Jewish people, the smashing of the German working class, the invasion of the Soviet Union and unspeakable terror against the peoples of Eastern Europe. As communists, we have a deep abhorrence of the Nazi insignia. In a 7 April letter to the Austrian consulate expressing our anger and disgust at the vandalism, the SL noted that "In fact, during the past year, the Spartacist League office in New York has been the target of a campaign of criminal vandalism in the form of defacement with various offensive political slogans and symbols, including a swastika carved into the door."

Waldheim Accused of Nazi War Crimes

Charges that Kurt Waldheim is a Nazi war criminal were made by the World Jewish Congress in March, which exposed Waldheim's 1939 enrollment in the SA, the paramilitary Nazi Brown-shirts. Later, Waldheim was an officer in the German Army Command 12 based in Salonika, Greece, which carried out mass deportations of Greek Jews, and was sent to Belgrade at a time of bloody reprisals against the Yugoslav partisans. It is reported that Waldheim, an Italian-German interpreter, served as staff aide to Austrian general Alexander Löhr who was executed as a war criminal in Belgrade in 1947.

According to the *New York Times* (4 March), "documents show that in July 1942, after a campaign against Yugoslav

partisans, Mr. Waldheim was awarded a high military decoration of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia.... The Croatian state was known for persecuting Jews, Serbs and gypsies through deportations, forced labor and mass murders." The article recounts, "the deportation of 42,830 Jews from Salonika to death camps at Auschwitz, Treblinka and Lublin was carried out by German forces under the command of General Löhr, Mr. Waldheim's commanding officer, between March and May 1943, part of which time Mr. Waldheim was in Salonika." Waldheim claims he never formally joined the SA, and that from 1942 on he was in Vienna studying law, and that he was not aware of the deportation of Jews from Salonika at the time.

But in recent weeks, evidence has mounted pointing to Waldheim's guilt. Of particular significance is a March 26 Yugoslav government statement documenting that Waldheim was wanted by

that country as a war criminal after World War II. Simon Wiesenthal, the noted Nazi-hunter based in Vienna, expressed skepticism, initially calling the charges against Waldheim "unlikely." At the same time, he remarked of Waldheim's service under Löhr, "It is hard to imagine that in his position Waldheim knew nothing at all" and "I don't understand why he is lying." Wiesenthal (a well-known supporter of the same Austrian People's Party as Waldheim) is now pursuing his own inquiry into the Yugoslav government's evidence and a file on Waldheim which surfaced in the UN archives on those accused of Nazi war crimes.

Whether or not Waldheim is proved to be a Nazi war criminal, Austria is not a fascist dictatorship. To be sure, it is infested with "former" Nazis in its ruling circles, as Wiesenthal himself has exposed. Whether or not Kurt Waldheim is the next president, Austria will still be a nasty little "parliamentary democracy" crawling with the same sort of people who lay wreaths at the Bitburg graves of the Waffen SS.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1939 essay, "For Grynspan," when fascism marched through Europe:

"Not the lone avenger can free the oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance wholly justifiable.... For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society." ■



Mass Labor/Black Mobilization Initiated by SL stopped KKK fascists from parading in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982.

whammy, portraying the SL as terrorist crazies who go around vandalizing the property of a foreign government, and simultaneously trying to tar us with the brush of fascism, equating our Marxist political organization with the hated swastika, symbol of anti-Semitic terror and genocide."

The SL suit charges that the March 31 newscast "grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism." The station made no effort to check with the Spartacist League as to the veracity of the claim of the anonymous "caller." Any investigation would have disclosed that the Spartacist League does not and would not paint swastikas on the consulate of a foreign government or elsewhere. In fact, the next day a man was arrested and charged with attempted criminal mischief as he was preparing to throw cow's blood, eggs and potatoes at the Austrian consulate.

Moreover, the SL's political work and program is not unknown to WNYW. The newsroom evidently did not bother to check its own files, where they would have found extensive material from the Spartacist 1985 election campaign, amply documenting our Marxist politics. In 1984, Channel 5 received our press release entitled, "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," announcing the SL's successful legal challenge to the FBI's "Domestic Security/Terrorism" guidelines. While

of "fear and revulsion, causing individuals to refrain from joining or being a member of the SL," resulting in "a loss of membership financial support and a loss of subscribers and readers of the SL's publications." We don't know the source for this malicious slander, nor the motivations of the station in promoting it. We do know that we will use all the legal, financial and political resources at our disposal to protect our organization, win this case and make them pay.

Deep Abhorrence of the Nazi Insignia

We can only speculate on the sort of groupings and individuals who might have found it expedient to smear swastikas on the consulate, among them right-wing Zionist fanatics, Nazi provocateurs or Austrian political opponents to the right of former UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim. The Channel 5 account of the criminal vandalism against the Austrian consulate went on to report recent accusations that Waldheim who "is running for president of Austria...tried to hide a Nazi war record." It is not out of the question that a misguided radical filled with hatred against the horrors of Dachau and Auschwitz was moved to express his outrage.

Our objections are not based on

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We Will Not Forget Danny Smith and Yusuf Bilal!

Racist L.A. Cops Kill Workers

LOS ANGELES—A 38-year-old Black Muslim and RTD bus driver, Yusuf Bilal, was shot in cold blood by the cops here March 18. Bilal was stopped by the California Highway Patrol in Watts, at the corner of Florence and Broadway; after beating him, the cop pulled out his .38 and repeatedly shot him. One man who had gathered with others nearby the scene of the murder said angrily, "You don't want to be black and be stopped by the police." It was wanton racist murder. And every black person who has been pulled over by the strutting Highway Patrol or the paramilitary LAPD, which marauds around the black and Latino neighborhoods of Los Angeles like Green Berets on a search-and-destroy mission in Vietnam, has to be thinking, "I could be next."

It was the second cop murder of a black bus driver in five months. Last October 10, Danny Smith, 34, was gunned down in front of his home after the cops were frustrated in their hunt for one of his buddies. Last year the racist police killed 19 people and shot 59, most of whom were black and Hispanic. It has reached the point where you aren't safe in your own backyard. In July 1985, Francisco Gutiérrez, an undocumented Mexican worker, was murdered by the cops when they came to "investigate" reports of kids playing with starter



Danny Smith



Yusuf Bilal

Anges Herald Examiner, 6 March). In other words, these increasingly bonapartist scum are gearing up for racist murder on a far larger scale.

Yusuf Bilal, who lived in Watts, was stopped by the Highway Patrol for allegedly running a red light, an occurrence about as common in L.A. as the "Blue Thunder" helicopters that hover day and night over minority neighborhoods. According to the police, CHP cop Gary Moats shot Bilal as he "was in the process of getting out" after a "struggle" over a baton Moats was using

Moats be tried for murder. Again on April 5, some 100 people marched to RTD headquarters and rallied at a park nearby. We say: Jail killer cop Moats! For labor/black mobilization to stop cop terror!

If there had been labor/black mobilizations when Danny Smith was murdered, the killer cops would have been served notice that their racist atrocities will not be tolerated by decent hard-working people in this non-union hellhole. Danny Smith was a black bus driver and former Black Panther who was known to our party as a militant fighter for union rights and black freedom. We met Brother Smith on the picket lines of the RTD strike in September 1982, where there was a lot of opposition to the sellout contract. Smith was one of two dozen drivers who subscribed to *WV* during the course of the strike.

Last October 3, Danny Smith was shot six times in the back by the cops. They were looking for a friend of his who allegedly possessed stolen leather goods. Los Angeles SWAT teams stationed themselves around Smith's house in south-central L.A. They demanded that he come out of the house with his hands over his head, and when he did, cop Kelly Shea blew Danny Smith away with a shotgun. His body was left bleeding in a driveway in front of his home, and for six hours they prevented paramedics from going near his body. They killed Smith because he was black, and the cops were frustrated.

On November 12, at a meeting called by the Equal Rights Congress, an offshoot of the Stalinist Communist Labor Party (CLP), the Spartacist League intervened with a program for labor/black mobilizations to smash racist cop terror and for a mass labor rally at City Hall demanding the cop murderer of Smith be jailed. Another SL comrade spoke of the Congress's "petition for police accountability," saying it "breeds illusions in the supposed neutrality of the bourgeois state and the cops, who cannot be reformed any more than the system of which they are a part." The CLP/ERP petition called for the "introduction of policies that make it mandatory for mental evaluation units, or PET, to be present on police calls regarding suspected mental disturbances regardless of the cause." So, if these "mental evaluation units" pronounce a person "weird," the cops supposedly would be justified in murdering you?!

There is a reformist logic behind these class-collaborationist schemes. Their aim is to pressure the city government of black Democratic Party mayor "Uncle Tom" Bradley. This is the same city government which jointly with Reagan and Meese put together the 1984 "Blue Thunder" Olympics, turning them into a

screaming "America über alles" festival of anti-Soviet frenzy, with threats to Soviet-bloc athletes who finally told them to shove it.

Tom Bradley has been mayor for 13 years and the fake-lefts like the Communist Party and the CLP have been supporting him for as many. It's no accident that under the reign of former top cop Bradley, "The Tank" has been unleashed against black people. This six-ton armored vehicle with a 14-foot steel battering ram is the newest super-weapon in the LAPD's arsenal. In February 1985, Bradley's chief of police, the racist maniac Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates, personally "christened" the battering ram, riding aboard as, cameras rolling, it crashed through the front room wall of a house in Pacoima the cops said was a center of cocaine dealing. Gates crowed, it went through the wall "like butter." A police SWAT team was inside the house in six seconds. There they found two women and three children frightened to death—and they would have been killed if they hadn't gone into the kitchen moments before to eat ice cream!

From the five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, gunned down watching TV in his bedroom in Orange County, to black kids in the den of their San Fernando Valley home—no black person is safe from the racist terrorists in blue! It was Bradley's top cop Gates who lauded Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode for the racist firebombing of MOVE. The black Democratic front men for Reagan reaction and anti-Soviet austerity are the class enemies of the workers and minorities. And now with Bradley running for governor against Deukmejian, you can bet the reformists will be even more craven in their capitulation to the "progressive" exploiters and their black lackeys.

There must be mass militant mobilizations of bus drivers, auto workers, phone workers, longshoremen, minorities and others throughout the Los Angeles area against this growing wave of police murder and terror. There is a felt need right now for such labor/black action. We need to build a powerful integrated labor movement, organizing the unorganized, fighting for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers, and breaking labor from the Democrats. To avenge the murder of the MOVE martyrs, Danny Smith, Yusuf Bilal, and the thousands upon thousands cut down by the capitalist police, we must forge a multiracial vanguard party to lead the working class to power through a socialist revolution. The revolutionary workers government will extend its long arm of justice to those who have murdered our brothers and sisters! ■



"The Tank": LAPD armored vehicle with 14-foot battering ram used to smash into black people's homes.

pistols. Like the rest of the victims, Gutiérrez too was unarmed. And on October 3, in an incredible display of police violence, the cops descended upon the GM auto plant in Van Nuys: 47 black, white and Hispanic auto workers were beaten up and subsequently arrested while on a lunch break for allegedly "disturbing the peace."

In open shop Los Angeles, the murderous LAPD has declared open season on workers and oppressed minorities. Last November the racist terrorists-in-blue initiated a new training procedure that "requires officers to fire two-shot bursts into a suspect's chest, then follow up with another shot to the head" (*Los*

to "pry" Bilal. One witness said that while in his car, Bilal "looked as if he was trying to ward off blows from the baton when the cop dropped the nightstick, drew his .38-caliber police revolver.... He just started firing and firing. He didn't stop until that man was dead" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 20 March).

The cops are claiming that many of the witnesses' accounts are "inaccurate" because people supposedly were caught up in the "excitement" of the moment. But black people and opponents of cop terror know that this was cold-blooded racist murder. On March 21, nearly 200 Black Muslims demonstrated at the CHP headquarters demanding that

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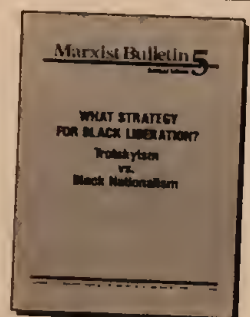
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Don't Let Flight Attendants Strike Stand Alone!

Airlines Unions: Ground TWA!

After one month on strike, the rank and file of the hard-pressed Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) remains determined to win against Trans World Airlines. At a coast-to-coast teleconference on April 1, IFFA's membership overwhelmingly threw the airline's latest "offer" back in the face of company chairman and notorious Wall Street raider Carl Icahn. Icahn demanded that his proposal, virtually identical to the one rejected by the flight attendants a month ago, be put to a rank-and-file vote "without comment" from the union's leadership. The ranks voted nearly unanimously that Icahn's *diktat* not even come to the floor.

Icahn is going after the largely women flight attendants not only as a typical wage-gouging capitalist but also as a brazen male chauvinist pig. Demanding the stewardesses take a 45 percent pay cut, Icahn declared: "These girls aren't breadwinners, they will give me what I

want." This infuriated the flight attendants and made them even more determined to stand up to Icahn. Paul Basista, a full-time union rep in the New York headquarters, told *WV*:

"...he is sexist and these comments do reveal his true attitudes towards the workforce, but his position as a financier brings it down to much more basic terms. He feels we are a replaceable workforce and the market should determine what we should be paid. It took this union, over the years, to bring it to the respectable profession that it is, and we don't intend to go backwards."

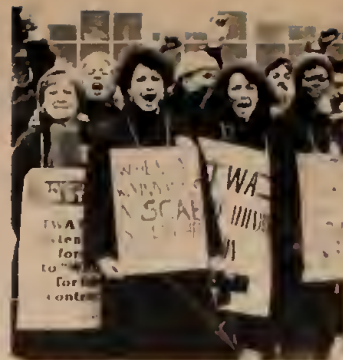
But spirit and determination alone will not win this strike. Flight attendants have little, if any, economic power, and even IFFA officials concede that as much as 90 percent of TWA's flights are now getting off the ground. If the Machinists and other airline unions at TWA don't honor the IFFA's picket lines, the flight attendants strike is dead.

When the walkout began on March 7,

thousands of airport mechanics, members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), *did* honor the picket lines and the airline was crippled. But as soon as TWA got an injunction from the bosses' court, the Machinists' "socialist" president, William Winpisinger, ordered his membership back to work, and the IFFA was left hanging. The general attitude among the flight attendants is to accept that the Machinists are going to work TWA and to go it alone. Basista told *WV*:

"I think not having the IAM support has turned this fight into a longer one than it might ordinarily have been, but I think we're showing that we can do it alone."

But the IFFA cannot do it alone. A victory for the flight attendants today requires a fighting leadership which will defy the injunctions, organize *mass pickets* that nobody dares cross and above all organize *joint strike action* by



WV Photo
New York's JFK airport, April 5: Striking flight attendants stand up to TWA boss Carl Icahn.

all airline unions that will stop the scabbing and shut down TWA. And that requires a *political* fight within the labor movement, to oust the scabherders like Winpisinger and the rest of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and to forge a class-struggle leadership that is prepared to fight to *win* against the bosses, their parties and their state. This strike can still be won but it will take solid labor action, not playing by the bosses' rules. ■

USWA Tops Abandon Industrywide Contract

Steel Workers: Don't Buy LTV Sellout!

CLEVELAND, April 5—In what could be an ominous harbinger for the upcoming round of contract negotiations in basic steel, the United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy announced that it had narrowly succeeded in forcing a horrendous concessions package down the throats of 30,000 steel workers at the nation's second largest steel producer, LTV. By slightly more than a three-to-two margin (with about a third of the workforce not voting), LTV workers approved a contract which gives the go-ahead to the rest of the steel bosses to take it out of the hides of their workers. Even so, the company cops in the USWA bureaucracy may have their hands full in policing this rotten contract for LTV.

The contract is the kind of grand larceny that Ferdinand Marcos would admire: an outright wage *cut* of \$3.15 per hour, the elimination of the cost-of-living escalator, seniority rights and a week's vacation pay—a total of \$7,500 per worker and \$140 million per year into LTV's pockets. But LTV workers, 8,000 of whom remain laid off after eating concessions to "save jobs" in 1983, are not looking forward to being sacrificed for the company's profits. While desperate Pittsburgh locals voted it up on the illusion it will save their plants, workers in Chicago and Cleveland voted solidly against the giveaways.

On March 22, over 1,000 angry, chanting workers came to two mass meetings in downtown Cleveland to oppose USWA District 28 director Frank Valenta, who had launched a pro-concessions media blitz with LTV vice president of public affairs David L. Carroll. Militants shouted "No! No! No!" and "Bullshit!" and carried placards calling for a thumbs-down vote. One sign read "Concessions Mean Depression." This was the first time that the USWA bureaucracy has allowed a rank-and-file vote on a national contract, and they almost failed to get the vote they wanted.

In a year that has seen sharp labor battles go down in bitter defeat at the hands of the pro-capitalist labor tops, what are being called the "basic steel wars of 1986" are in reality an attempt by the steel giants and the USWA tops to destroy three decades of industrywide unionism in steel. They have set up a

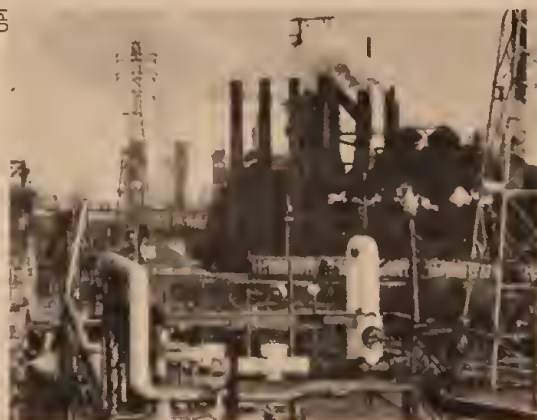
revolving-door bargaining timetable offering individually "tailored" deals for each company between now and the contract's expiration August 1. Advising union chief Lynn Williams in designing the massive "givebacks" package is Lazard Frères & Co., the Wall Street investment bankers.

As for the joke that "concessions save jobs," no one is laughing. U.S. Steel took its millions in concessions in 1983 and invested them in the then-lucrative oil industry while "divesting" itself of thousands of steel workers. Even the capitalist press is cynical about the

"peace" in steel, and its defeat established a new low in basic steel wages to which LTV, U.S. Steel and the rest of the industry aspire. The USWA tops isolated and knifed the W-P workers, and now they're going after the rest of the union.

The "steel wars of 1986" must be met with the fight for a class-struggle leadership, which is prepared to shut down the entire industry, meeting the steel barons' offensive with solid strike action in defense of the industrywide contract. Where the bosses threaten to close mills they must be met with plant occupations

LTV plant in Cleveland: run-down American steel industry can compete with Japanese only by wage-gouging.



future of the steel industry. *Business Week* (31 March) said that the massive LTV giveaways would only "huy some time," but "tens of thousands of the USW's current 220,000 members at large and small steelmakers may lose their jobs in upcoming years. That's not an encouraging thought for union workers trying to decide how to vote at LTV." It sure isn't. LTV steel is the product of the desperate mating of two decrepit dinosaurs, Republic Steel and Jones & Laughlin. The USWA tops sold the giveaways on the promise that workers would be repaid for their sacrifice in worthless stock in the all-but-bankrupt LTV.

Steel workers remember a similar stock ownership fraud that was tried at Wheeling-Pittsburgh, which went ahead and declared bankruptcy, tearing up its union contract. The bitter 98-day strike that followed shattered 25 years of class

and the massive mobilization of labor in their defense. Particularly in the Midwest, tens of thousands of blacks have been the victims of the massive layoffs in steel. A class-struggle fight in steel would spark a mobilization of labor and blacks which could smash the giveaways, union-busting and racist assaults which have been the signature of the Reagan years.

The centerpiece of the bureaucracy's strategy is racist protectionism against imported steel—the LTV contract provides for a \$300,000 annual contribution from the company for a "steel crisis" fund to push for tariffs! For years steel has been the most "protected" of all U.S. industry. And for years the capitalists have raped the plants of their value, turning the steel belt from Pittsburgh to Chicago into a rust bowl, taking their profits and running, while half of the steel workforce was thrown on

the slag heap.

USWA president Lynn Williams whips up protectionist poison, especially against Japanese and Korean steel workers, in loyal defense of American capitalist profits. And Williams' calls for trade war lead straight to support for U.S. imperialism's war drive.

The whipsaw tactics used by Williams to ram home giveaways against USWA members are what United Food and Commercial Workers president William Wynn used to set up meatpacking workers for slaughter. And when the defiant and courageous P-9 strikers at Hormel fought in defense of their union, Wynn—backed up by the treacherous AFL-CIO tops—openly scabbed and eventually knifed the strike. For steel workers, as with the Hormel strikers, the fight to defend their jobs must be part of a political fight to oust the protectionist, pro-capitalist labor traitors.

But the "dissident" USWA officials who posture as an alternative to the USWA tops, like Ron Weisen of the Homestead Local 1397, are even more rabid in their defense of "American profits" through protectionism. Weisen, like P-9 president Jim Guyette, is a leader of the National Rank and File Against Concessions, which *diverted* P-9ers from the crucial fight to mobilize labor to shut down the Hormel plant. Instead the strikers were led into useless civil disobedience, a powerless consumer boycott, and eventually dragging the union into the bosses' courts.

Like the Williams gang, Weisen's program of jingoism, coupled with useless stunts like leaving dead fish in the mailboxes of steel executives, is founded on hostility to class struggle and a reliance on Democratic Party capitalist politicians.

There is a will to fight in the American working class. But from Morenci, Arizona to Austin, Minnesota, hard strikes have been smashed by a traitorous labor bureaucracy. It took "reds," leading workers in hard class battles against the bosses and their agents in the labor movement, to establish industrial unions in this country. The future for steel workers lies in the fight for a workers party and a workers government to accomplish the reindustrialization of America under a socialist planned economy. ■

Report from Tripoli

(continued from page 1)

frenzy whipped up by Reagan and the bourgeois press was at its peak. The cold-blooded order to shoot and kill was aimed not only at Libya but at the Soviet Union as well. Soviet personnel were servicing the missile site at Sirte bombarded by U.S. planes. The U.S. missile cruiser *Yorktown*, the warship that led the attack on the Gulf of Sidra, had just returned from carrying out the provocation against the Soviet naval base at Sevastopol on the Black Sea. Military support to this small country under Reagan's guns is integrally linked to the burning need of the international proletariat to rally to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The iSt team included an Italian, an American of Jewish background and a French woman. We wished to cut across lines of national hatred and demonstrate solidarity from the working-class movement of imperialist countries that have ravished Libya and other colonial peoples. We made clear our desire to interview survivors and relatives of the victims of the barbarous aggression as well as official representatives of the government, and expressed our willingness to speak to any audience about the class struggle in our own countries.

At the airport in Tripoli we delivered our statement from the iSt to Libyan officials there. They smiled and shook our hands. Later they drove us along with other journalists to the Al Kahir Hotel overlooking Tripoli harbor. It was obvious that the Libyan government genuinely extended itself to invite reporters into the country. Normal visa requirements were waived. There were upwards of 150 reporters and cameramen at the hotel, mostly from the U.S., British, French, Italian and Japanese



Placard shows fist of Qaddafi's "Green Revolution" smashing U.S. Sixth Fleet.

aggression held in Arab countries, as well as Greece, Spain and Italy—and the absence of such rallies in the U.S. testified only too well to the support given by liberal Democrats and most of the American left to Reagan's virulent anti-Soviet war drive. (Interestingly, one message of solidarity came from the Afghan government. One can be quite sure that Reagan's CIA-financed Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas there do not take Muslim Libya's side against the Afghan feudalists' American imperialist benefactors.) In particular, while the Libyan media featured long lists of solidarity statements, there was nothing from the U.S. except for a brief mealy-mouthed statement from Jesse Jackson. Clearly people understood that the reporters were for the most part mouthpieces for imperialist propaganda. So the presence of an American socialist there counted for quite a bit.

Expressing the feelings of the delegation going in, one comrade said, "On the one hand it felt extremely dangerous, frightening, not so much from the standpoint of what could happen to us in Libya, but rather from what the crazy people who run American policy these days could do. On the other hand we were conscious of the opportunity we were given of expressing directly the solidarity of our revolutionary organization to the Libyan people against U.S. imperialism and we felt proud of that." Our presence attracted interest and some sympathy from the Libyan officials we spoke to. One of our guides appreciated the "Crush the Contras! Defend Nicaragua!" badge we wore. When one of our members required hospital treatment, he received prompt attention from Libyan officials.

Popular Mobilization Against Imperialist Attack

One of the first things we learned was that a private plane carrying journalists had been harassed and driven out of the area by the Sixth Fleet. However, at the beginning we were cautious. The bourgeois press was claiming that Qaddafi was out to kill all Westerners and had whipped the population into an anti-American frenzy. This was simply a bald-faced lie. Throughout our stay we were never assaulted, jeered at or threatened by any of the populace, even when walking through Tripoli without Libyan guides. Nor did we hear of any such incidents involving other journalists. In fact, the Libyan people were generally relaxed and eager to pose for photographs and demonstrate their pride in standing up to the American war machine.

In his 28 March speech, Qaddafi underscored this point, saying that American and other foreigners who worked in the country were welcome guests and were to be treated as such.

(Our flight in was shared by a number of Scottish technicians working in the oil fields.) In fact, it was Reagan himself who sought to order Americans out of Libya in clear violation of U.S. law. The journalists in Tripoli were those who generally covered the Middle East—many had been to Libya before. One American correspondent who had previously interviewed Qaddafi said, "But of course he always draws a distinction between the American government and the people." This, however, did not prevent the bourgeois press from launching its endless scare stories about Libyans being trained as "human bombs" to launch themselves at Americans, etc.

While we were in Tripoli we attended two mass rallies. But these were hardly the only rallies that took place during this time. On television every day there were reports and film footage from other cities such as Benghazi. On one occasion a comrade walking in Tripoli came upon a rally that the reporters had not been informed of—you never knew where something might break. There was clearly a mobilization of a population prepared to defend their country. Wall posters and slogans, mainly in Arabic but some in English, were prominent throughout the city—not only around the airport and Al Kahir Hotel frequented by journalists. One popular placard depicted a big green fist (stylized after Qaddafi's "Green Revolution") smashing a U.S. aircraft carrier. Reagan was portrayed as a Dracula in several posters. Under one of these was the slogan in English: "The Evil Doers—The unkempt barbarian Reagan is a necrophilic (obsessed with death) because his approach suffocates humans."

Despite the real concern over the U.S. provocations, there was no frenzy or hysteria in Tripoli. Shops, schools and businesses were open as usual. There was no curfew and the visible police presence was low key. In the parking lot across from the hotel soccer games were being played. There were motorcades that occasionally came by the hotel at night with horns tooting and militants shouting slogans, and the evening prior to the big demonstration there was a fireworks display set off near the hotel. One journalist we spoke to aptly characterized the general attitude of the people as contempt for Reagan. Reagan had threatened to teach the Libyans a bloody lesson and there wasn't much to show for it. Despite the bombastic threats of the U.S. warlords and the anger at losses suffered by the Libyan people, they clearly did not perceive themselves as defeated or humiliated.

When we arrived, the Western press was boasting of a huge victory for Reagan: four Libyan naval vessels sunk, the SAM-5 missile site at Sirte wiped out, and no American losses. The

Libyan government conceded that one of its ships was sunk while saying that they had shot down three F-14s; they also accused the U.S. of vindictively sinking a fishing boat and a trawler attempting to rescue Libyan sailors. While we were obviously not in a position to verify the military claims, we did note how the Pentagon's stories kept changing. While still in Tripoli we were informed that they now claimed only two Libyan boats. Qaddafi said that one of the American missiles fired at Sirte had not exploded and that he was turning it over to the Soviets. The U.S. was then insisting that all the missiles had detonated on target. (One friendly journalist in fact told us he had seen the missile being delivered to the Soviet embassy.) After leaving Libya we noted that the bourgeois press was now admitting that the Sirte missile base was operational and offering excuses that maybe all of the American missiles didn't explode. In fact, our sense was that the American government was so paranoid about taking any losses that they chose to avoid a serious engagement with even Libya's modest forces.

Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam: Defeats for U.S. Imperialism

On 28 March we attended the demonstration of upwards of 10,000 people addressed by Qaddafi at the military barracks in Tripoli. This demonstration, while part of the general mobilization, was specifically to celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the expulsion of British military bases from the country. There was a cross section of youth, militarized students, a contingent of nursing students, soldiers and sailors, military bands and representatives of various ethnic groupings including Bedouin horsemen. There was a heavy security presence, with soldiers posted on surrounding rooftops, army personnel with red and blue berets carrying Kalashnikovs, and civilian militia as well. (The red berets we later learned are apparently Qaddafi's personal guard.) The crowd included large numbers of women, mostly younger in green uniforms (some armed) and a number in traditional veils. At the front of the barracks there were four Soviet-built tanks visible and apparently ready to operate.

Qaddafi spoke in Arabic for a little over an hour. We did recognize several times the words "Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam." Qaddafi is undoubtedly popular here. There were numerous placards with his picture and he was repeatedly interrupted with chants in English such as "Down, down USA!" and Arabic equivalents. A couple of times he indicated the crowd should stop, without receiving immediate attention. People overall looked not too tense, talking to each other, laughing and apparently having some fun. At the end of the demonstration a cow with the tag "Reagan" was slaughtered, accompanied by militant chanting and waving of weapons in the air.

We were able to move about freely during this demonstration. When military personnel did not want to be photographed they indicated so firmly and politely. Weapons were shouldered quite professionally with the muzzles pointing down. There was no evidence of craziness, jumpiness or hysteria. At various points there were photographers who put their hands on soldiers to climb up or down platforms. To operate with crazy, gun-toting cops in such a fashion at a demonstration in Rome or New York would be to take your life in your hands.

The next day we obtained a translation of much of the speech from the daily JANA (Libyan news agency) bulletin. A Soviet TV journalist to



Nogues/Sygma

Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi

press. From the beginning it was clear that the government had taken many steps to guarantee the safety of the foreign journalists whilst their own people were facing the American Sixth Fleet. It turned out that this was not so necessary but we appreciated their efforts.

We were somewhat surprised to find out in Tripoli that we were the only Western left-wingers in town: one would have expected that some of the various groups, some claiming to be socialists and even Trotskyists, would be present. The Italian CP paper *L'Unità* is one of the major dailies, and they didn't have a reporter there. This absence, however, was not accidental: Libya happens to be right now one of the hot spots of the confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union. It's certainly easier to be a gung-ho guerrillaist from an armchair in Rome or Paris than to express concrete solidarity with this people targeted by the anti-Soviet war drive.

Every night on Libyan television you could see demonstrations against U.S.

Report from Tripoli

whom we had made available a copy of the iSt statement and our pamphlet on Reagan's Korean Air Lines spy plane atrocity informed us that in fact there had been no Soviet casualties at Sirte and tipped us off that Voice of America was claiming that Qaddafi was daring the Americans to come back again. In fact, Qaddafi's speech was fairly low key and restrained (this accorded with our sense of the crowd reaction). Qaddafi had counterposed Libya's "modest and defensive" forces to the bloody record of U.S. imperialist aggression. He correctly noted the U.S. designs on Nicaragua as well as Reagan's fiasco in Lebanon. JANA reported: "Trivial and ignorant Reagan, he said, should have recalled the American defeat in Vietnam and consulted figures to see the number of American casualties after which they came out defeated and Vietnam became a united powerful and respected socialist state. But America suffered a political and military defeat for which, and without justification, thousands of Americans paid with their lives for that defeat."

The JANA news release also said: "Colonel Muammar al Gathafi confirmed that the madness of the Nazi force made Hitler imagine he can conquer the world and turn the Soviet Union into Colonies, occupy Africa and the North Pole.... Where are the empire of Alexander of Macedonia, the Ottoman empire, Hitler's empire which he wanted to build by force and on the skulls of nations? Where are the empires of Portugal, Holland and Britain?"

Libya Ravaged by Imperialism and Colonialism

The memory of bloody imperialist rampage and spoliation is burned into the Libyan masses. The Turko-Italian war of 1911, in which thousands of Arabs were butchered, was a barbaric conflict over the possession of Libya. For the first time in a war, airplanes were used—against a population whose most advanced form of military transport was camels. It was, as Lenin called it, "A perfected, civilised bloodbath, the massacre of Arabs with the help of the 'latest' weapons" ("The End of the Italo-Turkish War," 28 September 1912). This conflict set off a 20-year resistance against Italian imperialism in which almost 6,000 Libyan fighters were executed by the Italian government.



Libyan women protest U.S. military attacks. WV Photo

During World War II Axis and Allied troops ravaged Libya for years, without any respect for the population or the country. In the massive North African campaign between 1940 and 1943, some cities like Benghazi changed hands four or five times. And every time one army would retreat they would poison wells, loot, burn stores and granaries. The Australian troops were particularly notorious for their brutal treatment of Arab women. Tripoli, Tobruk and other cities were all sites of interminable air raids that indiscriminately incinerated civilian targets. No matter who "won" the Libyans lost. Quite logically, the Libyan people do not make much of a distinction between the belligerents: they surely don't see in the Allied troops any kind of "liberators." It highlights in a stark fashion the correctness of the Trotskyists' position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides during this imperialist war.

Neither the demise of the Italian imperialist presence nor the later evacuation of the British and Americans from their military bases has meant an end to the horror of this war for the Libyan people. In 1943 the German general Rommel alone laid down upwards of 150,000 mines in the area west of Sirte in a futile effort to contain a British counteroffensive. These mines were laid too late to stop the British, but along with similar "defensive lines" established by Allied troops they have been responsible for killing and maiming thousands of innocent men, women and particularly children since then.

As recently as 1980 five boys from Ghadames tripped an undetonated mine—two were killed outright, the others crippled. The Germans, Italians and British have all refused to pay reparations for their grisly handiwork in a war justly characterized by the Libyan government as a "war that was fought on their land between people who were strangers to it and who—after having struggled against each other for a long time—left Libya, became reconciled and have become friends."

The Italian comrade on the delegation told *Workers Vanguard*: "I was proud to go to Libya as part of a revolutionary communist delegation to express our proletarian solidarity with a country under imperialist threat. Seventy-five years ago another man bearing my name was sent by Italian imperialism to help fight a war that was not his: my grandfather was ever since a socialist and an atheist, toiling daily as a dock worker to provide a living to his wife and children, among whom was my father, who became a communist quite early and together with my mother, herself a communist, gave me my basic social and political education."

Libya and Nicaragua: The Difference Is Revolution

One of the comrades on the delegation had earlier been part of an iSt delegation to embattled Nicaragua. She remarked on the different perceptions of the two countries: "Between Nicaragua and Libya there are really enormous differences, two countries on two completely different roads. When I was in Nicaragua, a very poor country, one had endless contact with the population because there is a revolutionary situation. People were politically mobilized both against U.S. imperialism and to build something. In Libya, while there was the same spirit of fighting against U.S. imperialism, it is not a revolutionary situation. I was impressed by the level of development in the country—lots of housing complexes being built, many of the poor neighborhoods in the process of being torn down. But you can see clearly that here religion and the state go together, and it is felt particular-

ly deeply around the woman question. You can see lots of women wearing a veil.... I noticed that most women without a veil were either young women or foreigners."

In the course of their short stay, our comrades could only get a glimpse of the daily life of the Libyan people and of the social conditions in the country. The standard of living is higher than in many other Arab countries; the nationalization of the oil industry in this thinly populated country in the 1970s provided an increase in social wealth. The streets



March 28—Mass rally at military barracks hears Qaddafi remind Reagan of U.S. defeat in Vietnam. WV Photo

are filled with cars, many of them new, and the roofs of houses are crowded with TV antennas. The one hospital we saw was modern and clean, and medical care is free for all.

On a social level, there is a quite obvious effort to mobilize the population against the U.S. aggression, and reportedly all students, men as well as women, undergo military training. On the other hand, we noticed a great deal of enforced separation between the sexes: no cafes where men and women can mingle. Many women wear the *baracan*, the white veil typical of the area, which is less strict than the Iranian *chador*, in that the face may be uncovered. Alcoholic drinks and pork cannot be consumed anywhere. (One French businessman told us you could get a bottle of whiskey on the black market for 150 pounds!)

As we were leaving, the government announced that it was closing down the English and French departments of Al Fatch University in Tripoli and English and French language books were burned. This was courageously resisted by some students. We also found that it was virtually impossible to find any papers or reading material in languages other than Arabic, and that even at Tripoli airport announcements were not translated into other languages. Even more disturbing were the posters we noticed as soon as we arrived at the airport, of American missiles with the Star of David painted on them, thereby identifying U.S. imperialism with the Jewish people.

Libya thus remains a backward country which has to depend on the export of its only source of wealth, oil. And this subordination to the ups and downs of the world capitalist system—which led last year to the expulsion of 30,000 Tunisian workers, made the scapegoats for food shortages—cannot be overcome within the borders of a country of four million people, still suffering from the legacy of decades of imperialist exploitation. This can only be overcome

through international proletarian revolution to open up the perspective of worldwide socialist economic planning. In particular, it is the duty of the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries to militantly struggle against its own bourgeoisie's attempt to re-enslave the semicolonial peoples and restore capitalism to the deformed workers states. The position of revolutionary communists toward Libya under imperialist guns today is akin to that expressed by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Soviet Union,

in relation to Mexico in 1938 at a time of acute hostility and threats from Britain and the U.S. over the Mexican government's nationalization of its oil fields. Trotsky wrote:

"The international proletariat has no reason to identify its program with the program of the Mexican government. Revolutionists have no need of changing color, adapting themselves, and rendering flattery in the manner of the GPU school of courtiers, who in a moment of danger will sell out and betray the weaker side. Without giving up its own identity, every honest working class organization of the entire world, and first of all in Great Britain, is duty-bound to take an irreconcilable position against the imperialist robbers, their diplomacy, their press, and their fascist hirelings."

—"Mexico and British Imperialism," 5 June 1938 (*Writings 1937-38*)

In a statement delivered to Libyan officials on departure, we made very clear the political context of our trip and our aims:

"The terrorist actions of the U.S. imperialists against Libya are part and parcel of the war preparations of the USA and NATO forces against the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Cuba, Afghanistan, Poland, and any other country that is perceived as an obstacle to imperialist domination."

In leaving Tripoli, we pledged to "undertake every effort to propagandize the need for the world working class to take the side of Libya against U.S. imperialism."

The war drive of Reagan, Thatcher & Co. is aimed at restoring untrammeled imperialist domination all over the world, by "rolling back" the expropriation of capitalism in the degenerated and deformed workers states and re-establishing in full their sway over the former colonial subjects. In their mad pursuit of this counterrevolutionary end they are quite ready to blow the world apart. Let's stop them! Workers of the world, unite to smash the capitalist system! Open the road to a peaceful, free world where every human being can enjoy life! ■

Flashpoints for War...

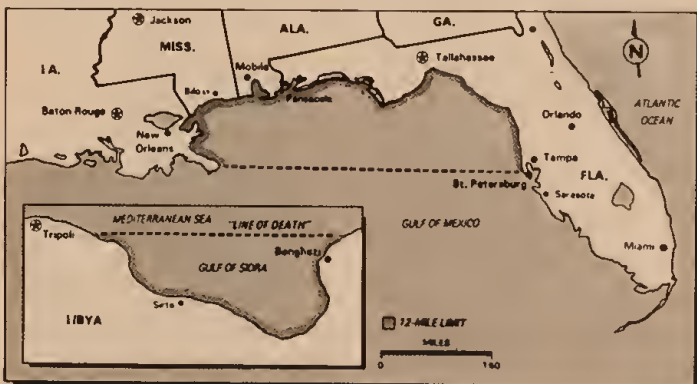
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threatened to cut off its dollars. When they saw the light in Tegucigalpa, the U.S. promptly supplied the Honduran military with \$20 million in unsolicited aid. And the next day the Senate dutifully approved the contra aid bill.

The Reaganite Cold War hawks were off and running. In addition to their "show of force" in the Black Sea, the Med and Central America, the U.S. set off an atomic bomb in Nevada in March, rejecting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's offer of a moratorium on nuclear testing, and word leaked out that the CIA is delivering Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries attacking Soviet-backed Afghanistan and Angola. They're planning to do the same for the Nicaraguan contras, it was reported, as well as dispatching Green Beret advisers, as soon as the Democrats on Capitol Hill fall into line. A revote of the contra aid bill is scheduled for April 15, and if it passes, the administration will use it as a "Tonkin Gulf resolution," an elastic substitute for a declaration of war, as they did in Vietnam.

Don't Mess with the Russians!

Ever since Ronald Reagan moved into the White House, we have warned that this anti-Communist nut is driving toward war with the Soviet Union by engaging in provocations and military confrontations across the globe. The events of the past few weeks have demonstrated this so dramatically that even prominent spokesmen for American imperialism are worried that "Ronbo" is pushing things too far. Leslie Gelb, the *New York Times* "national security" expert and a former high-level State Department official, reported that administration officials were saying that Reagan's actions come from "an atti-



Philadelphia Inquirer published suggestive map: what if Soviet warships sailed deep into Gulf of Mexico, as U.S. did in Gulf of Sidra?

tude of confidence and optimism about having the Soviets on the run?"

"Now, the sense is that Moscow is on the defensive and that the United States can be somewhat more venturesome in challenging Soviet interests with less risk of a serious Soviet response. Thus, there are the open and strong military challenges to Soviet client states."

—*New York Times*, 27 March

In other words, Reagan thinks the Soviet Union is a 97-pound weakling, and he is gleefully kicking sand in Gorbachev's face.

Reagan believes that faced with relentless military pressure and an all-out arms race draining its economic resources, Russia will crack. He also believes that the U.S. can commit endless provocations against the Soviet Union, its allies and military clients without fear of escalation (or even American casualties). This is a strategy that could touch off a thermonuclear World War III. Thus the Russians would have been entirely within their rights to blow the two U.S. Navy spy ships off the Crimea right out of the Black Sea. And this might well have occurred. As the USSR deputy minister



Spartacist League marches in Berkeley protest March 25, after Reagan's war provocations against Libya and Nicaragua.

of defense, Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, recounted:

"Taking into account the obviously provocative character of the American vessels' operations, the [Soviet] command sent out an order to heighten the battle preparedness of the fleet's strike forces. Ships and aircraft were immediately readied for battle duties.... "The strike forces of the fleet were prepared immediately to stop the provocative operations of the American warships in Soviet waters. But we distinctly understood the severity of the possible consequences. And this time, we showed patience and restraint."

—*Izvestia*, 23 March

In Central America, too, the Pentagon is playing with fire. Commenting on the ominous escalation of U.S. helicopters moving into battle zones, Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega warned that American personnel who supported the contras ran the same risks as those mercenary terrorists. "I would not be surprised if tomorrow a U.S. helicopter was shot down by our combatants or if U.S. officials or military advisers appear dead." Nicaragua, he said, would shoot down U.S. helicopters in Nicaraguan airspace or attacking from Honduran airspace, "even if it would mean they launch North American troops into our

anti-Communist fanatics. Liberals hailed the attack on Libya, and the Democratic-controlled House is almost certain to vote aid for the Nicaraguan contras. What unites liberal Democrats with Reaganite right-wingers is their bipartisan commitment to defend capitalism, and therefore to seek the destruction of the Soviet Union, whose proletarian revolution of 1917 was the first and greatest blow in liberating the workers and oppressed of the world from this war-driven imperialist system. Despite its subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the USSR still stands today as the main obstacle to U.S. imperialism's mad ambitions to dominate and exploit the entire world. It was fear of Soviet military power which prevented Kennedy from invading Cuba and Johnson and Nixon from nuking North Vietnam.

Class War to Stop Imperialist War!

The Reagan gang likes to pretend that the American people have turned into a bunch of Rambos, itching to reinvade Vietnam or go into Nicaragua or the Crimea. In reality, the "Vietnam syndrome"—the revulsion produced by that long, losing, dirty colonial war—remains very much alive in this country. Even after Reagan pulled out all the stops for contra aid, polls show a large majority in this country still oppose it. They know it's a major step toward sending in U.S. combat troops. And that they don't want, in a big way.

It was not only Vietnam which turned the American people against foreign military adventures. Reagan can't even overcome the "Lebanon syndrome." When the U.S. sent a small contingent of Marines to Beirut following the Israeli invasion of 1982, expecting to cow the contentious Arabs and impose a Pax Americana in the region, a one-man truck bomb that blew away 240 U.S. soldiers was enough to end it. The strong popular reaction at home was to blame Reagan for wasting the lives of American youth. Washington managed to get out of this tight spot by its rape of the black Caribbean island of Grenada. But a few months later the "macho man" in the White House ate crow and withdrew the Marines from Lebanon.

There is no stomach in this country for a military adventure in which Americans, not just foreign hirelings, will be killed. And they will be killed, by the hundreds and perhaps thousands, if the United States invades Nicaragua. Social democrat Irving Howe noted: "Consider the probable costs of an invasion: significant, perhaps large-scale resistance at home, with the campuses aflame once more and many churches aroused as never before" (*New York Times*, 3 April). We have already seen a revival of student protest on the campuses, mainly against apartheid in South Africa. But America's rulers vow they will have no repeat of the '60s; they're out to crush in the egg any radical student dissidence.

While campus protests may upset the men in the Pentagon war room and CIA headquarters, it does not threaten their

power. Years of mass student demonstrations, building takeovers and campus strikes didn't stop American imperialism from killing two million Vietnamese. The notion that the antiwar movement forced the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam is a myth peddled for their own self-serving purposes by both rad-lib "doves" and right-wing "hawks." The former want to claim victory for their popular-front alliance with bourgeois defeatist Democrats, while the latter want to hide the fact that the U.S. armed forces were beaten on the battlefield by the incredible heroism and sacrifice of the Vietnamese peasants and workers.

The campus-centered radicalism of the '60s never went beyond protest because it failed to link up with the one social power which can destroy the imperialist colossus from within: the organized working class. Now, as American rulers escalate toward World War III with Russia, we are experiencing an upsurge in working-class resistance to Reagan reaction on the home front. Ever since the PATCO air controllers union was smashed in 1981 (while the wretched AFL-CIO tops stood by), U.S. capitalism has waged a "one-sided class war" against the labor movement. However, a series of militant strikes in recent months have courageously taken on the bosses and their state, and defied the International labor traitors, from Lane Kirkland on down: the long and bitter Hormel strike, the hard-fought battle of predominantly Mexican canner workers in Watsonville, California, TWA flight attendants standing up to notorious Wall Street raider Carl Icahn.

Significantly, the recent strike wave has also included workers at major armaments producers such as Lynn, Massachusetts GE, which makes turbine engines for U.S. warplanes, and Colt Industries in Hartford, Connecticut, manufacturers of the standard-issue M-16 rifle for the American infantry. Despite all the hoopla about a "new patriotism" abroad in the land, these workers are willing to stand up to the Pentagon. True, they are fighting first of all to defend themselves against union-busting and wage-gouging. But the war at home against the workers, black and Hispanic poor has the same root cause as U.S. war provocations around the globe: the drive of decaying capitalism to destroy the Soviet Union.

The same force which is sabotaging the workers' struggle from within is also mobilizing them for war: the rabidly anti-Communist labor bureaucracy and its masters in the Democratic Party of American capitalism. There is no future for humanity under a system in which an insane warmonger like Ronald Reagan has his finger on the nuclear button. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, coming out of the slaughterhouse of the first imperialist world war, opened the road to a future without war, social oppression and capitalist exploitation. Only an American workers revolution, led by a communist vanguard party, can prevent World War III. ■

Spartacist Forum

Eyewitness Report: Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

Speaker: Nicaragua brigadista
Jon Lawrence,
SYL National Committee

Wednesday, April 16, 7:30 p.m.
UW-Madison
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
For more information: (608) 257-8625

MADISON

Saturday, April 19, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Envoy Room
636 South Michigan Avenue
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Nazi-Style "Final Solution" Next?

Pentagon Wants to Brand AIDS Victims

A team of mad scientists wants \$12.5 million from the U.S. Defense Department to prove that the terrible disease AIDS can only be contained by "mandatory and overt identification" of AIDS victims, what a project memo calls "a 'Star of David' concept," the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported February 9.

It's a Nazi-like proposal to brand AIDS victims. What's next—is this team of American would-be Dr. Menges preparing a "final solution"? The "research" proposal, which has passed initial stages of Defense Department funding, aims to "prove" what medical science has fairly conclusively *disproved*: that AIDS can be casually transmitted. The "researchers" also seek to subject millions of U.S. enlisted men, already intimidated by Pentagon threats to discharge anyone discovered to be either sick with AIDS or gay, to a new AIDS test. The proposal suggests servicemen are to be barred from any contact with "potential carriers," including prostitutes!

The sinister project was initiated by two Bay Area-based centers with a long history of military research. One of them, the AIMS (Advanced Investigation of Medical Science) Group, has done classified work on biological and chemical warfare. Centrally involved are senior scholars from the Hoover Institute, the anti-Soviet think tank which lists Ronald Reagan as an honorary member. One of them, Rita



Pentagon would stigmatize AIDS victims with Hitlerite "Star of David concept"!

Ricardo-Campbell, was a leading contender for a Reagan cabinet post as head of Health and Human Services, to replace Margaret Heckler who was insufficiently rabid against abortion.

These witchdoctors are not interested in facts. They claim that AIDS can be transmitted by "a mosquito bite or something as simple as touching a door knob" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 February). But concurrent with news of this "research" proposal was an editorial in the authoritative *New England Journal of Medicine* reporting a study of families

of AIDS victims, showing that even close day-to-day contact with AIDS patients does *not* spread the disease.

The "Pentagon researchers" propose to brand those who carry the AIDS virus, just as Hitler forced Jews to wear a yellow star. And they won't have to look far for their AIDS symbol: the Nazis branded homosexuals with pink triangles. Thousands of them died in concentration camps in the Nazis' hideous massacre of millions of Jews, Communists, gypsies and others on their death list. In a grotesque column on the *New York Times* (18 March) Op Ed page, "former" U.S. intelligence operative and veteran witchhunter William F. Buckley, Jr., called for *literally* branding AIDS victims:

"Everyone detected with AIDS should be tattooed on the upper forearm, to protect common-needle users, and on the buttocks, to prevent the victimization of other homosexuals."

Why not numbers on the wrist, like the Nazis did in the concentration camps?

Today, as the hysteria over AIDS reaches epidemic proportions, a fascist "mark of death" for gays is frighteningly real. "Gay bashing" has been on the rise across the country, while mob hysteria has acted to bar AIDS children from school. After a long court battle, Kokomo, Indiana junior high-schooler and AIDS victim Ryan White managed to go to school for one day until crazed parents ran him out again. Now a Harvard

professor has suggested that a desolate Massachusetts Bay island, a former leper colony, be turned into an "AIDS colony," under provisions of an ancient state law. And rabid Rabbi Yehuda Levin, candidate for NYC mayor on the "Right to Life" ticket, equated homosexuality with murder and rape in the pages of the *New York Times*.

Largely because of the spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users, in the big urban centers on the East Coast close to half of the AIDS victims are black and Hispanic. And in this deeply racist and anti-homosexual society—which imprisoned thousands of Japanese in concentration camps during World War II—the prospects of a fascist mobilization of hate against AIDS victims is a terrifying possibility.

Although no cure to AIDS has yet been discovered, on March 7 scientists announced the isolation of the enzyme crucial to the virus's reproduction cycle, facilitating research into medicine which can deactivate the enzyme. The challenge that AIDS presents to medicine makes it all the more urgent that *billions* of dollars be poured into this research. Yet Reagan continues to *cut* funding for AIDS research—while the Pentagon is seriously considering giving \$12.5 million to the Palo Alto cabal of crackpots for their fascist "modest proposal."

Smash the anti-gay, anti-sex witch-hunt! Billions for AIDS research!

Full Democratic Rights for Gays!

After a bitter 15-year battle against the forces of anti-homosexual bigotry, a gay rights bill was finally passed in the New York City Council March 20, by a vote of 21 to 14. The bill, known as "Intro 2," is a simple statement of civil rights, banning discrimination against individuals based on "sexual orientation" in housing, employment and public accommodations. A banner headline in the *New York Daily News* summarized the outcome of two controversial votes the previous day: "Gays, Yes—Contras, No." The White House was up in arms over the passage of the

NYC gay rights bill and Congressional rejection of aid to its Nicaraguan contra terrorists. Ronald Reagan himself attacked Intro 2, complaining about those who are "demanding an acceptance of their particular life style." Reagan, of course, only wants to impose his version of the "American Way of Life" on Nicaragua at bayonet point!

Passage of the gay rights law was a minor victory for human decency and democratic rights, particularly coming amidst the climate of anti-homosexual hysteria surrounding the AIDS crisis. In early March, New York City's

Human Rights Commission reported complaints of violence and discrimination more than doubled in the past year. In the weeks leading up to the City Council vote, Cardinal O'Connor ranted against homosexual "sin" in his weekly sermons at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Religious bigotry was ecumenical, however, including crazed "right-to-life" reactionary Rabbi Yehuda Levin, who ran for mayor under the symbol of the fetus, and members of the Brooklyn Hassidic community who turned out en masse to confront homosexual rights advocates at a City Council showdown.

Mayor Edward I. Koch, who glories in union-busting and cop terror against blacks, supported the bill, which has been a long-standing cause for New York homosexuals, a big constituency which votes overwhelmingly Democratic. But Koch was quick to reassure bigots that "the sky is not going to fall," and is seeking amendments to water it down. Earlier, Koch capitulated when O'Connor got a court ruling overturning the mayor's executive order banning anti-gay discrimination by agencies with city contracts, such as church-run day care centers. Leading black Democratic pols like Herbert Daughtry and Bronx councilman Wendell Foster also attacked the bill. Only when it was clear the bill would pass with a big margin did Foster vote for it, all the while railing that gays "frighten" and "intimidate" him.

The Spartacist League has consistently fought for passage of the homosexual rights bill as a basic democratic measure. On March 18 we rallied outside City Hall along with 2,500 other New Yorkers. Spartacist placards called for



WV Photo
Spartacists at rally for gay rights bill at New York City Hall last month.

"Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals! Pass Intro 2!" "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights of Gays!" and "Down With All Porn/Sex/Drug Laws! Government Out of the Bedrooms!" And in the 1985 NYC elections, the Spartacist platform demanded: Free abortion on demand—free quality health care! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Billions for AIDS research! For the separation of church and state! ■

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Strike Upsets Aquino "Honeymoon"

U.S. Bases Out of the Philippines!

The Philippines was to be the success story of 1986 for U.S. imperialism. Liberal Democrats congratulated the Reagan White House for bringing "democracy" to the former American colony and site of the two largest U.S. military bases in the world outside North America. These bases are the linchpin of the U.S.' anti-Soviet Pacific strategy. A hated, pro-American dictator who had ruled for 20 years, Ferdinand Marcos, was dumped and replaced by liberal opposition leaders even more dependent upon Washington.

The Pentagon no doubt thought its Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base were now more secure, protected by the "popularity" of Corason Aquino and the intact Philippine military under ex-Marcos flunkies Defense Minister Enrile and General Ramos. So when American war minister Cap Weinberger made his proconsular tour of the Philippines this week, he probably expected to be greeted like a benevolent godfather. He suffered a rude awakening. As the Pentagon chief was driving away from the presidential palace in Manila, protesters surrounded his motorcade, pounding on his bullet-proof van and chanting, "Go home!"

On the day of Aquino's inauguration as president in late February, we wrote that "a more 'democratic' oligarchic regime can't even begin to deal with the bankruptcy of Philippines capitalism, which has fueled widespread worker and peasant unrest and a deep-rooted popular insurgency" ("Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos," *WV* No. 398, 28 February). This prediction was dramatically confirmed less than a month later, when more than 22,000 Philippine workers struck the two big U.S. bases.

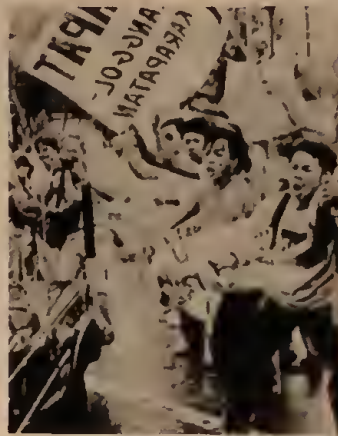
Forced to work at one-seventh the wages of American base personnel in comparable jobs, thousands of members of the Federation of Filipino Civilian Employees Associations threw

up mass pickets and barricades at Subic's main gate on March 22. The action soon spread to Clark Air Force Base and six smaller military installations. For eleven days workers defied the American brass and what strikers dubbed "robot negotiators," who were no doubt emboldened by the union-busting climate in Reagan's America. Subic workers withstood a knife-wielding assault by American sailors and marines trying to strong-arm their way back onto the base, and forced the Seventh Fleet to divert several ships from port calls at Subic Bay.

Unable to contain worker militancy by their own devices, the Navy and Air Force resorted to the mass of social parasites drawn to the U.S. military throughout the Third World like flies to honey. The picket line at Clark was finally broken on March 30 in what union leaders claim was a U.S.-instigated attack by hundreds of prostitutes and taxi drivers from the nearby town of Angeles (which alone employs 10,000 bar girls). They were irate because the strike, by confining U.S. servicemen to the base, was depriving them of their livelihood.

The union called off the strike three days later in return for a hundred dollar bonus for each worker upon the signing of a new contract and a quarterly 110-pound rice subsidy. But initial resistance to the settlement by workers on the picket line may indicate that the U.S. will soon have a harder time quelling the rage of its ex-colonial subjects with paltry dollar handouts and a few sacks of rice.

The Subic/Clark strike appears to be only the most visible episode in an outbreak of worker-peasant unrest that has been mounting in this American neocolony for years, and has assumed epidemic proportions since the fall of Marcos. As of March 21, an estimated 38 strikes were in progress throughout



Chanting "Go Home!" Philippine leftists storm car of U.S. war minister Weinberger in Manila, April 7.

the country, with demands for higher wages and the ouster of Marcos cronies from management positions. Ten thousand workers of the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co. remain on the picket lines despite a back-to-work order from Aquino's newly appointed minister of labor (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3 April).

With Marcos and his closest cronies fled to Hawaii, the state apparatus of Philippine capitalism in turmoil and the class struggle continuing to mount, the potential for struggle by the Filipino masses to overthrow 90 years of colonial and semi-colonial domination by the U.S. is enormous. Yet this potential is in danger of being squandered by a Stalinist leadership, weaned on the popular-front illusion of an alliance with "progressive" and "patriotic" sections of the national bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), at the head of a mass movement that Reagan's pressure for

reforms was designed above all to defeat, has over the past month issued a welter of contradictory public statements concerning Aquino. This is doubtless a consequence of internal disputes between those in its ranks reluctant to abandon a 20-year struggle against U.S. imperialism, and those anxious to jump aboard the Aquino "people's power" bandwagon.

The CPP leadership seems to be tilting toward "conditional" support for Aquino. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (29 March) reports:

"Ranking communist leaders in the northern Philippines... said the party and the New People's Army would support the government of President Corason C. Aquino if foreign control over the country were eliminated.

"We have always maintained the position, from the very start, that we should give the Aquino government the benefit of the doubt," the rebels said...."

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 29

To call upon a CIA-pedigreed scion of one of the wealthiest landowning families of the Philippines, backed by Washington and elevated to power by the last-minute defection of two of Marcos's most brutal military henchmen, to oppose imperialism is like asking a trained lap dog not to heed its master's voice. Support, however "critical," to a regime whose reason for existence is to preserve U.S. imperialism's Pacific watch is equivalent to accepting continued American hegemony over the Philippines.

The imperialists are focusing above all on the guerrilla insurgency by the 20,000-strong CPP-led New People's Army, which is strong on several islands. Even more importantly, the Stalinists currently exercise hegemony over a trade-union federation comprising hundreds of thousands of urban and rural workers—a force with the potential to rally the Filipino masses and inflict upon Yankee imperialism a blow no less momentous than the Vietnamese triumph ten years ago. The task of achieving genuine national independence, most immediately driving out the U.S. bases, requires above all the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, Philippine section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

Norfolk Busing...

(continued from page 12)

Portsmouth. This makes it all the more urgent for the entire Tidewater labor movement, a beachhead of union power in the "open shop" South, to mobilize that power from the shipyards and docks of Norfolk, Newport News and Portsmouth to the teachers and other city workers, to stop the segregationists and crush the racist terrorist nightriders before it is too late! A rally has been called for April 13, the day before the board is to take up the so-called "compromise." All out to defend busing in Norfolk! Tidewater labor must take the lead!

The stakes are high, for Reagan's racist union-busting war against labor and black people has targeted integrated education in Norfolk. Reagan's top cop, Edwin Meese, and Meese's "civil rights division" chief William Bradford Reynolds (a post akin to "Bantu Affairs" minister in apartheid South Africa) have openly sided with the school board. Reynolds crowed that the Fourth Circuit ruling would mean that "as many as 370 more school systems also probably could qualify to be freed from court-ordered busing" (*Virginia Pilot*, 19 February).

The big business media, which overwhelmingly lauded the Appeals Court ruling and the Hardy "compromise" capitulation to the racists, has run article after article declaring busing dead, saying that even black parents don't care about it anymore. But when the school board first voted to abolish

busing three years ago, 10,000 predominantly black workers and youth poured into the streets of Norfolk for a huge pro-busing demonstration. A 200-strong International Longshoremen's Association contingent was in the forefront with signs that read: "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools."

At that time Willis's present Judas role was prefigured when this local head of the "Rainbow Coalition" flew in his mentor, Democratic Party hustler Jesse Jackson, to derail this militant, labor-centered march against Jim Crow. Jackson's first act was to meet secretly with Norfolk's racist government officials, then praise their "courage" to the press as he announced: "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost." The following year Jackson took his campaign to sign up black votes for loser Mondale and busing-hater Ferraro to Montgomery, Alabama where he gladhanded George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace beneath the Confederate flag and bellowed, "The South will rise again!"

No wonder Willis attempted to explain his treacherous wheeling and dealing by quoting a piece of vintage Jackson jive: "If you talk, you don't have to walk" (*Ledger-Star*, 20 March). Willis's talk was music to the ears of Norfolk mayor Joseph Leafe and his law partner, president of the school board, Thomas G. Johnson, Jr., chief architect of the anti-busing program.

When Willis and Hardy came out with their so-called "compromise" March 19, black anger sharpened and the liberal pro-busing forces split. There was widespread outrage over the details of the "compromise" which gives the racists everything they want in return

for meaningless "oversight committees," "multi-cultural programs" and other bogus measures. Black public housing residents hit the roof when they learned that one of the proposals was to reduce the number of all-black schools in the new plan from ten to eight... by closing the two schools in their projects!

Several black ministers and other spokesmen have forthrightly denounced Willis and Hardy's capitulation to the anti-busing forces. But the liberals can't provide a strategy capable of defeating the all-sided war on black rights and black people in Reagan's America. Either they're banking on an appeal to the Reaganite Supreme Court, which has been in the forefront of the administration's attack on civil rights, or they're talking about opposing anti-busing candidates in elections to the city council, which appoints the school board.

Because of the liberal leadership of the pro-busing forces, there is a big contradiction between the deep outrage felt by Norfolk blacks over plans to re-segregate their schools, and the organized response limited so far to court suits, church rallies and lobbying the school board. Thanks to Reagan's sinister anti-Soviet war drive the shipyards are booming, and Tidewater labor has the power to shut them and the city of Norfolk down. The time to fight is now! The unions must immediately call their ranks into the streets to defend the busing plan and demand its extension to Virginia Beach, Portsmouth and Chesapeake.

One of the leaders of the April 13 rally and the Norfolk Coalition for Quality Education, James H. Harris, said it straight, "Separate by its nature is unequal." But as black teenage unemployment goes over the 50 percent mark

and ghetto schools are turned into concentration camps, as cops patrol black neighborhoods in armored cars and drop military explosives from helicopters on black babies, this rotting racist capitalist system demonstrates it can never provide equality for blacks.

Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union abroad means union-busting and racist terror at home. Nor is the road to black freedom to be found in the Democratic Party of Jimmy ("Ethnic Purity") Carter who paved the way for Reagan reaction. As for Jesse Jackson, according to a recent book on South Africa by senior *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Lelyveld, Jackson is even praised by apartheid ideologues as an "authority for the argument that school integration is an 'antiquated concept'" (*Move Your Shadow*, New York, 1985).

After a string of defeats blacks are looking for answers, for a way to fight and win. A winning strategy was demonstrated on 27 November 1982 when black militants from Tidewater labor organized the Nat Turner Brigade and joined in the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that routed the KKK and their planned racist hate march through Washington, D.C. The fight for black freedom requires a fight against capitalism, for *revolutionary integrationism*, under the leadership of a multiracial workers party with a strong black leadership component. For labor/black mobilizations to defend busing in Norfolk, and extend it to Portsmouth and Virginia Beach! For a third American revolution—a workers revolution—to finish the Civil War and free blacks and labor at last from the chains of capitalist slavery! ■

Cop Riot at Berkeley...

(continued from page 12)

During the protest the cops shut off the power to the campus radio station, cutting off live coverage of the events. Protesters also reported that pay phones in the area had been disabled. A police helicopter hovered overhead. News photographers were especially targeted: UPI photographer Lloyd Francis told the press he was picked up by a cop and thrown several feet in the air, landing in the bushes; a photographer from the *Daily Californian*, the campus paper, was clubbed; and David Nuang, a photographer from the campus paper at California State University at Humboldt, was clubbed in the head as he attempted to photograph the blockade of police buses.

The arrested protesters were slammed with an array of misdemeanor charges, including resisting arrest, vandalism, trespassing, lodging without permission, participating in a riot and failing to disperse. Two were held for supposedly possessing "Molotov cocktails" (one of which even the cops admit was an empty bottle). Eighty-six activists have been banned from the campus for two weeks as a condition of their release from jail. (Bail was originally set at \$7,250 each, but protesters were released on their own recognizance when a felony "resisting" charge was dropped.)

The Berkeley city council, which covets its image as an oasis of "progressivism," is in an uproar over the participation of Berkeley city cops in the brutal busts on campus. City officials

April 3—Outraged students gather at Sproul Plaza after most violent cop attack at Berkeley since Vietnam War.



say the Berkeley cops were sent in to aid their fellow thugs in open defiance of guidelines established by the civilian authorities. Vice Mayor Veronika Fukson told the press: "I think that the UC Police Department is provocative, uncontrolled, and brutal." True enough. But busting heads is the cops' job, and the hand-wringing of liberal politicians doesn't get between them and their work.

Lashing out against "nonstudents" and "outside agitators"—the McCarthyite bogeyman of every college president and Southern cracker sheriff during the antiwar and civil rights movements—UC Berkeley chancellor I.M. Heyman has vowed to use police repression as often as "necessary" against campus protests. What's going on at Berkeley is "preventive counterinsurgency" aimed at heading off an explosion of student protest in response to a U.S. invasion of Central America. UC officials were prominent at last September's Washington, D.C. confer-

ence on strategies against "campus disruption," attended by officials of the State Department, the South African government and Mobil Oil, as well as university bigwigs from around the country. The game plan for repression comes straight from the White House. Denying that the U.S. military was defeated by the Vietnamese, Ronald Reagan falsely claims the U.S. lost in Vietnam because the government was "stabbed in the back" by protest at home. The ruling class is determined to launch a pre-emptive strike against campus activists as part of its drive toward anti-Soviet war.

In an editorial against the cop/administration rampage, the *Daily Californian* (3 April) noted that "the velvet glove... came off, exposing the iron fist inside." But rather than succeeding in isolating and picking off campus activists one by one, the repression at Berkeley has generated a broad determination to defend all the victims of administration/cop attacks. It is note-

worthy that among the 14 demands put to the UC administration by the shantytown protesters were that Heyman rescind the suspension of SYL activist Guillermo Bermúdez and that all charges be dropped against political protesters.

An old labor movement axiom says, "There's more education in the end of a policeman's nightstick than in a hundred college courses." Faced with the organized violence of the bourgeois state, many students are getting a rude awakening to the hard realities of this capitalist society. As students' liberal illusions get shaken up by the blows of cop repression, the SL/SYL has intervened to win the most serious anti-imperialist students to the Marxist program. We reprint below an SYL leaflet issued the morning of April 3. The first leftist leaflet to hit the campus after the cop rampage, it was snatched up by over 3,000 students, dozens of whom asked for multiple copies to give out to their friends.

Heyman's Brownshirts Rampage

Cops Off Campus! Drop All Charges! Defend Student Protest!

Education at Berkeley is increasingly meted out by the billy club, the jackboot, the choke hold and the frame-up. The administration and cops were not satisfied with the flailing of nightsticks, the twisting of arms to breaking point and the grinding of faces into the pavement, the choke-holding and mass arrests with which they smashed the "shantytown." That was just for openers. They are once again hurling the frame-up charge of "assault on a police officer," which can get you sent away for a long time. They have banned 19 protesters from campus. They've gotten 1,000 "John Doe" restraining orders to use against *anyone* they want to ban. They have taken to swooping down on activists as they pass out leaflets or walk through campus, arresting them on "outstanding warrants." This repression targets all those who want to protest the crimes of this government, its apartheid partners and contra assassins.

What's the next step for the UC administration and its sadistic cops? To patrol Sproul Plaza with South Africa-style "hippo" personnel carriers? To shoot a protester dead, in order to "protect health and safety"? Assistant Reichschancellor John Cummins admitted they're going all-out to crush campus protest with his declaration that "we don't want to get into another prolonged period of demonstrations...." The violent and dangerous men who run this campus in the service of the capitalist ruling class would be willing to carry out a Jackson State/Kent State-type massacre here if they deemed it necessary for this war on student protest. They are obedient servants of their masters in the White House, the world's biggest terrorists.

Remember what the country's top cop, Attorney General Edwin Meese, said in 1980 about the young man blown away by a deputy sheriff's shotgun during the 1969 "People's Park" protest: "James Rector deserved to die." It was

Meese who directed bloody repression of antiwar protests and murder of Black Panthers under the governorship of one Ronald Reagan. These are the creatures with whom Berkeley students have begun to tangle.

The nightstick smashing into your spine is as likely to be property of the Berkeley Police Department as of the UCPD, as the city's armed thugs join forces with their brown-shirted brothers on campus. No matter how "progressive" the city administration, nothing gets in the way of the cops' fulfilling their function as the armed fist of capitalist class rule. Look at any picket line of striking workers and you'll see which side the cops are on. And remember it was a liberal Democratic governor who sent the National Guard against the Hormel strike.

We demand: Cops off campus! Drop all the charges! Rescind the suspension of Guillermo Bermúdez! Rescind the banning orders!

This social order—capitalism—rests on organized violence. Why is the ruling class giving students a stiff dose of this violence here and now? So that next month or next year, when the U.S. invades Central America, protest activists will have been purged from campus. We've been stressing the point about the obsessive administration/cop/D.A. vendetta against Guillermo Bermúdez: the ruling class is hell-bent on regimenting the youth for imperialist war.

If you want to change the world, you've got to understand it. *Why* are the rulers of this country busting unions, carrying out open racist state terrorism like the bombing of the black MOVE commune, and cracking students' heads? *Why* are they gearing up for an invasion of Nicaragua? *Why* did they attack Libya, only days after invading Soviet waters in the Black Sea? What are the material class interests that drive this government?

It is literally impossible to understand

the world today without understanding that this government is the instrument of the capitalist class. That capitalism is a sick, decaying system. And that the actions of this capitalist government are guided by the drive toward war against the Soviet Union. This drive is the dominant fact of politics today. It unites the Democratic and Republican parties, two heads on the imperialist beast: the Democrats rallied 'round Reagan's assault on Libya, they have only tactical differences over *how* to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution (and they're getting ready to vote for Reagan's contra aid).

Reagan and the Democrats don't just "happen" to hate Russia. They *must* seek to destroy the USSR, for the same reason we Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the USSR: because the Russian Revolution, which established the Soviet Union's planned economy, was capitalism's biggest defeat and the biggest victory for the world working class. Despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state, the collectivized economy makes the USSR an economic and military powerhouse standing in the way of total U.S. world domination. Until student activists confront and reject the anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-working-class prejudices instilled by this country's rulers, they will be chained to fatal illusions in "reforming" or "pressuring" the American ruling class.

Capitalism (imperialism) cannot be reformed. The U.S. capitalist ruling class cannot be persuaded or pressured into cleaning up the world, be it through "divestment," "disarmament" or any other liberal panacea. What's needed is a revolution, a socialist revolution to replace this rotting, irrational capitalist system with socialism.

The question is one of *power*: to change society you need social power. Students don't have that power. But in South Africa, the six-million-strong black proletariat has the power to bury apartheid slavery. In the U.S. the working class—first and foremost the black workers, concentrated in key industries and facing the American nightmare of racist capitalism—has the



Young Spartacus

SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez, suspended by UC and up on felony charges for protesting Marine recruiters last year, addresses Sproul Plaza rally April 3.

social power and material class interest to eliminate racial oppression, poverty and imperialist war. The key, from the U.S. to South Africa, is building a revolutionary leadership, a party like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

Mobilizing the power of the working class under the program of world socialist revolution is the urgent and unpostponable task. Students can play an important role in this work. To do so they must find their way to the Marxist program and party of the proletarian class struggle. Building the revolutionary workers party is the only road to doing away with the violence inherent in this sick social order—from the violence of police repression here in Berkeley to the racist bombing of Philadelphia MOVE to contra and death squad murder in Central America, apartheid terror in South Africa, and the growing threat of thermonuclear annihilation unleashed by capitalism's insane drive for war.

Spartacus Youth League
3 April 1986

WORKERS VANGUARD

Police Kneecap, Choke-Hold Students Bloody Cop Riot at Berkeley

BERKELEY, April 7—"Riot at Berkeley," blared the bourgeois media. It was a riot, all right—the worst police riot on the University of California campus since the 1960s. In the early morning hours of Thursday, April 3, UC campus cops, backed up by police and sheriff's deputies from 13 Northern California cities, brutally smashed a symbolic "shantytown" built by anti-apartheid protesters, arresting 91. Protesters had rebuilt the shantytown after the police had demolished it, arresting 61, two days earlier. Cops used a sweeping temporary restraining order issued by the courts, which gives the UC administration the authority to virtually ban protest altogether. The police savagery against the shantytown protesters represents a further bloody escalation in the administration/cop campaign to crush student protest. In response, thousands of students rallied in Sproul Plaza Friday, and further protests have been called for this week.

Cops dragged demonstrators out of the shanties, often slamming them into the pavement, and shoved them into buses bound for Santa Rita jail. When the crowd piled debris in front of the buses and sat down to try to block them from leaving for the jail, the cops went berserk, clubbing wildly with their nightsticks, smashing heads and breaking kneecaps, which can cripple for life. The crowd responded to the brutal police attacks with a hail of debris. Campus authorities are intent on ensuring that there will never be a repetition of the famous episode during the 1964 Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley campus, in which hundreds of students prevented a police car from



April 3—Massive police attack on Berkeley demonstrators is intended to crush student protest as U.S. imperialism gears up for war. AP Photos



For Mass Student/Labor Action Against Cop Terror!

driving off with an arrested activist inside. The cops were intent on making a bloody example of the protesters, and were determined to get the arrested activists off campus before thousands of students began arriving for morning classes. Throughout the day, hundreds of police in riot gear patrolled the campus.

Berkeley student and Spartacus

Youth League activist Stefan Arnold told *WV*: "The police clubbed people, choke-held them, pulled their hair, twisted arms, twisted wrists, pushed faces into the pavement, ganged up on demonstrators and heaved them into the air. The cops threw one protester in the air; he landed on a woman, who was knocked down, hitting her head on a stone wall. She went unconscious. I was

afraid she was going to die." Another Spartacist militant present at the protest, a veteran of the 1960s antiwar demonstrations at Berkeley, summed up the cops' strategy as "deliberately inflicting injury in order to intimidate people from continued protest." At least eleven demonstrators required medical attention.

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Labor Must Lead Fight for Integrated Schools All Out to Defend Busing in Norfolk!

The hour of decision has arrived for black people and labor in Norfolk, Virginia. At stake is the survival of the city's 15-year busing program and the very safety of the Tidewater area's largely working-class black population in the face of Reagan reaction and the ominous resurgence of KKK-style race terrorism. On February 6 the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the racist school board's plan abolishing busing for elementary school students and reestablishing Jim Crow "neighborhood schools," a third of which would be 98-100 percent black. In response, thousands of blacks and their white allies have rallied in churches and at school board meetings to stop resegregation.

Ten years after busing was defeated for virtually the entire country by ram-

page mobs in the streets of Boston and by Northern liberal Democrats in Congress, this Southern city has remained a bastion of black labor fighting for integrated education. This determination has only been steeled by bitter resentment and outrage at the stab-in-the-back phony "compromise" delivered by one Bishop L.E. Willis, Sr., a prominent Norfolk black political "leader," and Willis's henchman, school board member Rev. G. Wesley Hardy, who capitulated to the racist school board after some backroom maneuvering with Norfolk's white political bosses.

And now the racist terrorists have taken their cue with a series of cross-burnings at the homes of black and interracial families in neighboring *continued on page 10*



Norfolk: Longshore contingent marches in demonstration to defend busing in May 1983. WV Photo