

Masses Want Revolution

Down with Haiti Junta!

Jean-Claude Duvalier was the only fat man in Haiti. In this hungry nation, the poorest in the Americas, what "Baby Doc" couldn't eat, drive or put on Madame Michèle's back, he stashed away in Swiss bank accounts. When the president-for-life fled for his life to the Port-au-Prince airport, to be flown aboard a U.S. Air Force C-141 together with his fancy BMW sedan and his fancy wife to a gilded exile in France, Haiti exploded with joy and dancing in the streets. The watchword

of the Namphy junta (originally hand-picked by the dictator) was: Duvalier is gone—long live Duvalierism! But today, as the country seethes with bitter protest, the Haitian masses are saying: Nothing has changed—everything must change. And this brings them into collision with virtually everyone from Christian Democrats to supposed Communists—all of whom support the junta.

Crowds of starving people marched on food warehouses and quickly

emptied their contents. Workers in government offices and private industry went on strike, refusing to continue working under Duvalierist bosses. Taxi and mini-bus drivers paralyzed the capital demanding higher wages. Mass demonstrations forced the junta to abandon the Duvalierist flag. When one of the leaders of the Duvaliers' sinister private army, the Tonton Macoutes, sought to flee in a private plane, hundreds poured onto the runways chanting, "We want commu-

nism!" Ultimately the junta was forced to try a few Macoutes, but their leader, "Madame Max" Adolphe, continues to live in luxury. Meanwhile the army has killed scores of demonstrators in the last two months. And the first installment of U.S. "aid" consisted of \$384,000 in riot gear to help keep order.

The April 26 Fort Dimanche massacre starkly expressed the government's policy. A memorial was planned to commemorate the victims of Duvalier's bloodbath of the same date in 1963. After a mass, about 2,500 people dressed in mourning headed toward the fort, notorious as the prison where political prisoners were held under "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc." Without warning, the army opened fire: eight people were killed and 57 wounded. The government justified the army reaction as "normal," blaming the

continued on page 6

Apartheid Terror Strikes

South Africa vs. Africa

MAY 20—Yesterday white racist South Africa went on a murderous rampage, bombing and raiding the capitals of three black African states while burning out black shantytown dwellers at home. As we go to press, the death toll since last Saturday at the Crossroads settlement outside Cape Town is over 50 and rising, with more than 20,000 left homeless. From Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and the Soviet Union to spokesmen for the South African police state it has been universally noted that Pretoria's attacks on the black "front line" states were inspired by the American murder raid on Libya last month. Like Ronald Reagan, the apartheid regime of P.W. Botha denounces "terrorism" to cover its own criminal terror.

The declared target of Botha's terror raids was the African National Congress (ANC), for decades the main organization of black resistance to apartheid slavery. Near Lusaka, Zambia, South African warplanes bombed a refugee camp where the ANC has its exile headquarters. In Zimbabwe's capital of Harare, helicopter-borne South African commandos shot up an ANC office, and across the city a house owned by the black nationalist organization was reduced to rubble. Near Gaborone, Botswana, South African commandos leaped from their helicopters with machine guns blazing. They killed a black government worker.

At the same time, the apartheid butchers are escalating their war at home against the rebellious black townships. This weekend government-organized thugs burned down shantytowns in Crossroads, where for years black militants have battled police trying to evict them. More than 800 shacks have been destroyed by the regime's black vigilantes, scores killed and dozens more injured. Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, where hundreds of white and black students boycotted classes to protest the South African raids, police



Apartheid cops on murderous rampage, from Soweto (above) to Crossroads.

arrested at least 13. The white-supremacist rulers have replaced their hated pass laws with bloody "squatter removal," as at Crossroads.

From Washington to Pretoria, imperialist aggression against weak and poor

countries is now called "combatting international terrorism." Boasting of the raids against the neighboring black states, South African army chief General A.J. Liebenberg declared: "The action... should be interpreted as indic-

ative of the firm resolve of the Republic of South Africa to use all the means at its disposal against terrorists wherever they may be." Sound familiar? But when "Ronbo" was still a B-movie actor, Pretoria's white supremacists were already justifying their totalitarian police state by labeling all supporters of black freedom as terrorists. Perhaps they are feeling upstaged by Reagan's attempt to murder Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi by bombing his presidential compound in Tripoli.

In recent weeks friendly Western capitals, like Reagan's Washington and Thatcher's London, have been pushing the line that Pretoria was about to enter into negotiations with the ANC. Last March seven leaders of the British Commonwealth, known as the Eminent Persons Group, journeyed to South Africa and visited ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison. They then met with apartheid butcher No. 1, P.W. Botha, and assured him that Mandela was "a man of peace."

Last weekend the Commonwealth Eminent Persons were in Lusaka, Zambia for talks with the ANC leadership. They arrived in South Africa just in time for the bombing raid on the Zambian capital. That was Botha's reply to Western pressure, divestment and all that. It was a big "screw you" to "world opinion." The bombs which exploded in that refugee camp near Lusaka should have exploded the illusion of divestment liberals that South Africa's white supremacists can be pressured into reforming away apartheid by their "democratic" imperialist allies.

These terror raids should also help

continued on page 9

Young Spartacus see pages 7-8

London Printers Battle Cops At Murdoch Scab Plant

Saturday after Saturday, since press tycoon Rupert Murdoch fired his unionized workers throughout Britain on January 21, thousands of print workers have converged on Murdoch's newly opened scab plant at Wapping, in east London, to confront an army of police strikebreakers. The weekly demonstrations, coinciding with the production of the *Sunday Times*, have been designed by union officials to blow off steam: fired printers are marched through the streets of London up to the gates of "Fortress Wapping"—in order to listen to speeches and march away again.

But on May 3 all hell broke loose, as angry workers intent on defending their jobs and their unions engaged in a bloody pitched battle with Margaret Thatcher's cops. Hardly had the 8,000 print workers, miners and other unionists arrived at the plant gate than rocks and smoke bombs flew and police charged into the crowd on galloping horses with truncheons drawn. In scenes reminiscent of the heroic miners strike, police cavalry and riot cops organized in wedge formations went on a murderous rampage. One Scottish printer suffered a heart attack during the melee but police prevented an ambulance from arriving. First-aid buses were full of pickets with serious head injuries.

But especially in the early stages, several cops got a beating—44 cops required hospital treatment and nine were detained overnight (*London Guardian*, 5 May). The cops could have been

thrown back on the defensive and a serious move made to seize the plant; however, union tops hastily cleared pickets from the area near the front gate and allowed police to run riot until they regained control. The following weekend mounted cops again charged strikers, arresting several dozen.

From the very outset Murdoch demanded that the unions commit suicide

a similar smaller plant in Glasgow. Some 6,000 unionists—predominantly printers and pressmen belonging to the National Graphic Association (NGA), as well as mailers, drivers and clerical workers organized by the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT)—found themselves locked out. The new Wapping plant really is a fortress, surrounded by a ten-foot wall with

highly skilled labor and rejects class-struggle weapons like mass picket lines. Beating Murdoch requires genuine industrial unionism. And while pariah NGA and SOGAT leaders constantly grumble about "imported American union-husting," they are quick to resort to the same *loser* class-collaborationist methods as their cousins in the American trade-union bureaucracy. Thus the centerpiece of the bureaucrats' strategy has been an impotent appeal for consumers to boycott the Murdoch press. Dozens of local SOGAT branches recently registered their disgust at the union leadership's withdrawal of its halfhearted call on union drivers and distribution workers to "black" (hot-cargo) Murdoch titles. Locked in a life and death battle, militant workers well know that kowtowing to the bosses'

Militant women strikers march on Murdoch's scab fortress at Wapping (far right).



by agreeing to the destruction of the closed shop and acceptance of binding no-strike clauses enforceable by the courts (prevalent in the U.S. but virtually unknown in Britain). The "negotiations" were entirely farcical: as soon as print workers predictably turned down this "offer" and voted to strike, Murdoch sacked them and switched his operations to Wapping and

steel gates, a moat and dense rolls of razor-type barbed wire; workers have to enter over a glass-encased drawbridge-like ramp. While union officials dithered in fruitless negotiations, Murdoch had enlisted the services of the viciously anti-communist bureaucracy of the electricians union to recruit scabs for Wapping.

Reporters crossed the picket lines en masse, and thus far Murdoch has gotten away with his scabherding. At stake is not only the future of trade unionism at Murdoch's News International company—the largest newspaper publisher in Britain—but for all printing trades workers. Already other publishers have threatened to shut their plants if the unions don't buy massive concessions. "Captain Bob" Maxwell, Labour Party bigwig and owner of the Mirror group publishing house, has blackjacked the unions into a 30 percent cut in jobs.

Branching out from his native Australia, Murdoch has made millions through his gutter journalism and union-busting. Already the most profitable part of his international empire, his British operation is needed to help finance his grandiose expansion into broadcasting and entertainment in the U.S. Murdoch has recently become a naturalized U.S. citizen: his holdings here include the chauvinist *New York Post* and Chicago *Sun-Times* as well as the recently acquired Metromedia TV stations and Twentieth Century-Fox.

The belated introduction of automated technology into the British printing industry has underscored the obsolescence of craft unionism, which relies on the supposed irreplaceability of

state won't win this strike.

With Tory prime minister Thatcher's government on the rocks, the Labour Party and trade-union tops are scrambling to demonstrate anew their reliability in enforcing social peace. During the miners strike Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock was widely reviled in the coal fields for his violence-baiting of the strikers and his condemnation of militant picket lines. The Labourite brass would like to disappear the memory of this mighty class struggle that inspired British workers and oppressed. When angry printers sought to break through police barricades at Wapping on May 3, union officials told them to "fight" against police terror through...the ballot box. What Kinnock stands for in this strike is exemplified by the fact that Labour ran a *Wapping scab* in May 8 London council elections!

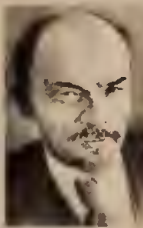
A Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the parliamentarist, pro-capitalist tops. Such a party would mobilize the unions to defend jobs and working conditions as part of the struggle against the whole capitalist system of economic devastation and deindustrialization. The sentiment to bust union-buster Murdoch is there—it must be channeled into effective action. Hundreds of printers with their fists in their pockets go to Wapping hoping that "tonight will be the night" when the scabs are taught some hard lessons. Don't play by Kinnock's rules: For militant mass pickets—miners, drivers, printers, all out to Wapping! Blockade Murdoch! Bust the union-busters! ■



TROTSKY

Trotsky on Revolutionary Leadership

Following Hitler's conquest of power in Germany in 1933, for six days in February 1934 the Austrian working class fought heroically, arms in hand, to defend their general strike against the bonapartist Dollfuss regime, until government artillery finally pounded them into submission. Drawing the lessons of this defeat, Leon Trotsky wrote:



LENIN

The behavior of the Austrian Social Democracy after the German experience proved that even the "left" parties of the Second International are completely ossified, bogged down, and incapable of learning the revolutionary lessons of the terrible experience of the German proletariat. The courageous struggles of the Austrian workers only prove that the proletariat can be bold and ready to struggle even under the most unfavorable conditions and with the worst leadership. The fact that a few Social Democratic leaders took part in the battles is at best only testimony to their personal valor. But the working class demands political insight and revolutionary courage from its leadership.... Even the narrow-minded petty bourgeois is at times capable of doing his talking with a gun if he is threatened with being deprived of his comforts and forced out of his usual mode of existence. What is necessary, however, is systematic revolutionary education of the vanguard and winning the trust of the majority of the proletariat in the practical intelligence and daring of the proletarian general staff. Without this precondition, victory is completely impossible.... Only a leadership that recognizes in advance that the revolution is unavoidable, that makes this the fundamental principle guiding its actions, and draws all the practical conclusions flowing from this can measure up to the situation at the critical hour.

—Leon Trotsky, "After the Austrian Defeat" (March 1934)

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 Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Margorie Stenberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-7701) 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: 732-7662 (Editorial) 732-7661 (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. 404

23 May 1986

25¢ (16 pages)

75¢ (32 pages)

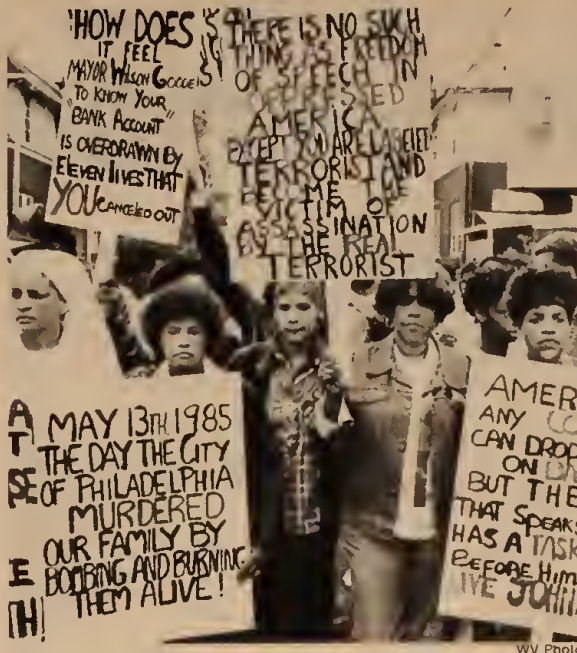
75¢ (32 pages)

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

Vengeance for MOVE Martyrs!

PHILADELPHIA, May 13—One hundred supporters and defenders of the black commune MOVE gathered today at the entrance to Osage Avenue, in memory of the eleven MOVE men, women and children who were bombed and burned alive one year ago. Kept behind a chain-link fence by Philadelphia police, MOVE family members lit candles at 5:27 p.m., the time Mayor Wilson Goode's cops bombed the MOVE house after a murderous eleven-hour siege. There should have been a massive labor/black show of outrage today, with thousands demanding vengeance for the MOVE martyrs.

The MOVE massacre, carried out with Reagan/Meese's aid and approval, was a threat to all blacks and workers who want to fight racist, capitalist oppression. Today, the Spartacist League stood with MOVE, as we did a year ago when MOVE supporters were abandoned, and even blamed for this hideous racist atrocity, by the entire reformist "left." We vow to sear 13 May 1985 into the memory of the working class and fighters for black freedom, as we fight for the day that the justice of a victorious American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! ■



"They literally terrorized our family to death!" MOVE relatives march to site of bombing, issue memorial statement (right).

MAY 15TH, 1986

"THE DISTANCE TO TRUTH IS COMPLETELY UNBROKEN"
JOHN AFRICA...

ON MONDAY, MAY 15TH, 1985, WE WATCHED AS MEMBERS OF OUR FAMILY REACHED THE FINAL HOURS OF THEIR LIVES.

AT 5:27 PM ON THIS DAY, A BOMB WAS DROPPED CULMINATING A DAY LONG SIEGE, WITH FULL BLOWN WAR TACTICS, AT THE HANDS OF PHILADELPHIA TERRORISTS. THE POLICE, ALL UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MAYOR WILSON GOODE, THEY LITERALLY TERRORIZED OUR FAMILY TO DEATH!

A RAGING INFERNO WAS THE RESULT OF THAT BOMB, AND FIRE COMMISSIONER WM. RICHMOND STOOD IDLY BY WATCHING THAT INFERNO RAGE, MAKING NO ATTEMPT TO PUT THAT FIRE OUT. WHILE THE FIRE COMMISSIONER WAS WATCHING THE FIRE, MAYOR GOODE WAS WATCHING TELEVISION... THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, MONITORING A HOMICIDE ON TV.

WHEN THE FIRE WAS SPENT, 11 PEOPLE WERE DEAD—6 ADULTS AND 5 LITTLE KIDS, BURNED AND CHARRED BEYOND RECOGNITION.

IT IS WITH HEAVY HEART AND SEARING PAIN THAT THESE WORDS ARE WRITTEN, BUT WRITTEN THEY MUST BE.

ON THIS DAY TUES., MAY 15TH, 1986, ONE YEAR LATER, WE GATHER IN SILENCE THAT IS BOTH SOLEMN AND REVERENT, AS WE PAY TRIBUTE TO THOSE OF OUR FAMILY WHO WERE MURDERED, WHILE THE POLICE STILL RAN WARMS IN THEIR VEINS.

WE MOURN WITH OUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS WHO ARE IN JAIL—SOME OF THEM LOST THEIR CHILDREN... ALL OF THEM LOST THEIR FAMILY.

WE THANK EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU, WHO TRAVELED BOTH FAR AND NEAR TO STAND WITH US, IN THIS... OUR HOUR OF REMEMBRANCE.

SARAH, GAIL, LARNE & LOUISE

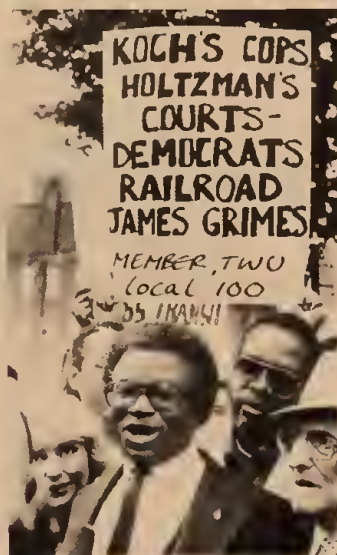
"TA/D.A. Hands Off James Grimes!"

More than 100 New York transit workers and supporters rallied outside the Brooklyn criminal courthouse on May 7 chanting "TA, D.A., Hands Off James Grimes!" Inside, Judge Seymour Gerscher arraigned black subway clerk James Grimes on a gun rap for defending his life and Transit Authority funds from a murderous assault by three muggers on January 6. For this elementary act of self-defense TA cops arrested Grimes, chained him to a bench for nine hours and refused to release him until late the next day. The Grimes case has evoked wide support throughout this union, the 37,000-member Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, and from every decent person in NYC. But "liberal" Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman, the Brooklyn district attorney, has dragged this courageous 55-year-old transit worker through the court system for five months. Grimes has suffered two heart attacks and had emergency surgery to have a pacemaker implanted after the January 6 assault.

If convicted he faces up to a year in prison and TA discipline, including possible firing. But right now the courts are killing James Grimes. In the courtroom, Grimes's attorney Harry Lipsig argued vigorously for his motion to dismiss the charges "in the interest of justice." Lipsig pointed out that Grimes had been the victim of four previous muggings, including one in which his token booth was doused with gasoline. But Judge Gerscher postponed the hearing on Lipsig's motion until May 30, thereby continuing the state's victimization of this model black worker and family man.

When James Grimes and his family entered and left the courthouse that day they were greeted by the applause and chants of the scores of transit workers who have stood by their union brother since his first court appearance in January. Fellow railroad clerks who face the same dangerous working

Transit Workers Rally for Black Subway Clerk



Black high school students join TWU members defending James Grimes (left) at Brooklyn courthouse, May 7.

conditions and militants from the Committee for a Fighting TWU have made Grimes's cause their own, forming Transit Workers to Defend James Grimes. They were joined for the first time by Local 100 president Sonny Hall and a dozen officials who had issued a leaflet for a "mass demonstration," calling on transit workers to "fill the streets with people and protest signs." The Hall "team" then proceeded to undermine their own call by issuing their leaflet only two days before the arraignment and restricting circulation to an internal TA mailing to token hoots.

Nevertheless, even their token call for defense of Grimes was a welcome about-face for the Local 100 bureaucracy,

which up until then had actively sabotaged that defense. In March, Hall got TA buses to bring 400 transit workers to lobby an arbitration hearing for the TA to enforce its own rules and provide "protection" for clerks, i.e., more transit cops like the thugs who heat to death Michael Stewart, son of a retired black transit worker, and who arrested and chained James Grimes. At the April 11 court hearing for Grimes, a Hall hireling distributed a vicious link leaflet which attacked the ailing subway worker for not getting out of his sickbed to testify and demonstrate at the hearing, for getting an "outside" lawyer, and even for going on sick leave! But the courthouse protests spoke for broad sections of the union and Hall was

compelled to cover his ass, at least among railroad clerks.

If the Hall "team" put in a token appearance at the May 7 arraignment that's more than can be said for the assorted, sordid fake-oppositionists like Arnold Cherry, moribund Communist Party supporters, the faded-out leftists in the workerist clot around *Hell on Wheels*, and the Healyites without Healy of David North's Workers League (WL). The WL's "twice-weekly organ," the *Bulletin*, notorious for its "color-blind" laborite coverage, had not a single word to say about the Grimes case until a grand jury rubber-stamped Holtzman's gun charges. Then the *May Bulletin* blames Grimes for the

continued on page 10

Fascist Past Gets Big Vote in Austria



World Jewish Congress
Lt. Kurt Waldheim (left) with Waffen SS in Yugoslavia, 1945.

Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who may soon be president of Austria, is a fascist war criminal and a liar, and now everybody knows it. Yet even as his war record became the center of the Austrian election campaign, Waldheim received 49.6 percent of the vote May 4, just shy of an absolute majority. In fact, all evidence indicates that the revelations only helped him. American and West German news media commented haughtily about a country where a Nazi past was an electoral plus. They were less exercised over the fact that this "statesman," who since 1947 was on the United Nations' top priority "A" list of mass murderers who should be brought to trial, had been elected UN general secretary from 1972 to 1982. Certainly the U.S. had known for years, having officially and publicly listed Waldheim in 1948 in the U.S. Army's "Combined Registry of War Criminals."

In March, amidst what was supposed to be a quiet and provincial Austrian-style campaign, the World Jewish Congress came out with its revelations of Waldheim's fascist past. Simultaneous articles in the *New York Times* and the Austrian magazine *Profil* exposed his 1938 enrollment in the Nazi SA and his war record as staff aide to General Alexander Löhr, the commander of German Army Group E, executed as a war criminal in Belgrade in 1947. This immediately sparked a nationalist uproar in defense of "Austria's dignity." Waldheim's ratings surged over his social-democratic adversary, Kurt Steyrer. The tiny Viennese Jewish community was bombarded with hate mail; a dozen graves in a Jewish cemetery were desecrated. Charges of "outside forces"



AP
Reagan and Kohl at Bitburg, 1985: U.S. and West Germany rehabilitated Nazis in anti-Soviet war drive.

War Criminal Waldheim

flew, and stickers were pasted over Waldheim election posters, proclaiming "Now more than ever!"—a 1930s Nazi slogan.

After "forgetting" his wartime activities in the Balkans for 40 years and disappearing them in his cover-up memoirs, when confronted Waldheim claimed he "didn't know" about Nazi atrocities. Yet Waldheim knew more than anybody, as chief intelligence officer for the Wehrmacht army unit responsible for the bloody extermination of tens of thousands of Yugoslav partisans, and the mass deportations of 50,000 Greek Jews to the gas chambers. His next story was that he was only a modest soldier who, like thousands of other Austrians, just "did their duty." Here is the Eichmann defense turned into an election slogan! His claim that he was never a Nazi was done in by the discovery of his 1944 doctoral thesis lauding the "Idea of the Reich" by the rabidly anti-Semitic 19th century German nationalist Konstantin Frank.

Waldheim dismissed the sinister hate mail as "no problem really." Obscenely equating the Nazi mass murderers with the heroic partisans who fought them, he remarked that "many German soldiers were trapped and executed in a similar way." And he cynically claimed his accusers would "rekindle a new wave of anti-Semitism" in Austria (*Die Presse*, 24 March). But in this bastion of clerical reaction, anti-Semitism hardly had to be resuscitated: with only 7,000 Jews left of 220,000 before the Holocaust, an official opinion poll showed that one person in five said they felt "physical reluctance" to shake hands with a Jew. In Austria, where last February the defense minister personally "welcomed home" SS Major Walter Reder from serving a 40-year sentence for murdering 600 villagers in Italy, the ruling class stands in unbroken continuity with the Nazi Reich.

The scandal over a Nazi war criminal heading a Western "democracy" is making imperialist rulers squirm. In the midst of the uproar, West German chancellor Helmut Kohl praised Waldheim as a "great patriot" and made it clear he would vote for him if he were an Austrian. After all, the upper levels of government, commerce and industry in the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich are crawling with "former" Nazis like Flick and Thyssen. Last year there was a massive outcry when President Reagan joined the head of the German "Fourth Reich" in symbolic reconciliation over Nazi SS graves at Bitburg, in order to prop up the U.S.' most important NATO partner in the war drive against the Soviet Union. Now, ostensibly "neutral" Austria, intertwined in a thousand ways with NATO and the European Common Market, is experiencing a Bitburg of its own.

Waldheim's War Atrocities

"What is Waldheim's disease?" the wags are asking. "That's when you grow old and forget you were a Nazi." In two

memoirs and his official UN biography Waldheim had maintained that after being wounded on the Eastern Front in 1941 he returned to Vienna to pursue his legal studies until the end of the war. In an interview for the initial 4 March *New York Times* article, Waldheim finally admitted serving in the Balkans, but claimed he "knew of no war crimes or atrocities" ascribed to his units, and that this was the "first time" he had ever heard of mass deportations of Greek Jews from Salonika! Subsequently, he admitted he was on General Löhr's staff, but only as an "interpreter." Following disclosure of German army intelligence reports bearing his signature, Waldheim admitted analyzing and passing on documents, but only as a desk man.

Was Waldheim a war criminal? The UN War Crimes Commission concluded in 1948 that there was a "clear prima facie case" against him on charges of "murder" and "putting hostages to death" during the period from April 1944 to May 1945, and that he "should



Tanjug
Yugoslav partisans hanged by Nazis, 1942.

be delivered up for trial." These charges came from a December 1947 document, File F-25572, submitted to the UN commission by Yugoslavia, which was recently published by the Belgrade daily *Vecernje Novosti* (26 March). This article also notes a memorandum addressed to the Yugoslav embassy in London suggesting that particular attention be paid "to registering Waldheim since there is strong evidence for this and the report is complete and sufficient." Yet in the reams of material written in the Western press on the Waldheim affair, little attention has been paid to the original charges.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug has made available to *Workers Vanguard* translations of File F-25572 and other relevant reports which show that:

- According to a Wehrmacht clerk, Johann Mayer, who worked in the Intelligence-Counterintelligence (I-C) branch of German Army Group E, Lieutenant Waldheim was the O-3 officer in the department. "Waldheim's task was to prepare drafts for his superior officer Lt. Col. Warnstorff on all actions of group I-C concerning procedures for hostages, reprisals, war prisoners and civilians."



Reuters
Waldheim campaign poster. Sticker says, "Now more than ever!"

- According to an organization chart of the I-C branch (*Novosti*, 31 March), O-3 was in charge of intelligence from the Allies, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, as well as radio interception. Also among its duties were "mopping-up operations" and interrogations.

- According to convicted war criminal Egberg Hilker, Waldheim was responsible for a reprisal in October 1944 in which 114 people were killed and three villages burned between Kocani and Stip.

- Waldheim told *Vecernje Novosti*, "I was on Kozara." According to a 27 March Tanjug dispatch: "In the offensive on Mount Kozara, in Summer 1942, the forces of Nazi general Löhr and quisling Ustasha and Domobrani (home guard) units of the Nazi-controlled independent state of Croatia

carried out massive and unprecedented atrocities against the civilian population. Large numbers of innocent men, women and children were killed or deported to the Ustasha death camps of Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. Sixty-eight thousand people from Kozara, including 23,000 children, were deported, very few of them to return to their demolished and burned homes."

- Waldheim is listed in a Wehrmacht document as one of 30 German officers participating in the Mount Kozara operation, and he was awarded the fascist King Zvonimir Medal for "merit under enemy fire" by the Nazi puppet state of Croatia for his role in the Kozara massacres.

In April 1943, Lieutenant Kurt Waldheim and Army Group E were based in and around Salonika, Greece. Salonika was once the largest center of Sephardic Jews in the world. Yet by the end of the Nazi occupation, 96 percent of Salonika's Jews had become victims of the Holocaust: 50,000 were deported to their death. ABC-TV's *Nightline* (24 April) showed a front page of the German army newspaper in the Balkans with a huge photo of 12,000 Jews lined up in front of the train station awaiting

deportation. Leon Benmayor, now president of the small group of Jews who returned to Salonika, said:

"Everybody knew what was being done to the Jews, especially German intelligence officers. They knew about the trains of 50 cars that left every three days. They knew our yellow stars.... How can Waldheim say that he came to a city where maybe one-quarter of the population wore the yellow star and didn't notice that they all disappeared?" —*New York Times*, 10 April

Waldheim's response to this and other charges was that he was only a translator. So, Leutnant, how do you translate "Get into the boxcar, Jew"?

Now Robert Herzstein, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina and consultant for the World Jewish Congress, who unearthed the documents on Waldheim in the U.S. National Archives, has produced evidence showing Waldheim directly involved in the deportation of nearly 1,800 Greek Jews from the island of Corfu in 1944. Herzstein also found Army Group E's daybook, kept by Kurt Waldheim, which on 8 August 1943 recorded Hitler's order to kill captured partisans in Greece, and send suspected resistance fighters to labor camps. There is also the photograph showing Waldheim with Italian and German officers, including the commander of the Prinz Eugen Waffen SS Division in Montenegro, Yugoslavia in 1943. According to the division's history, the officers were discussing strategy during "Operation Black," an anti-partisan sweep in which 16,000 Yugoslavs were killed.

Waldheim is clearly a war criminal. Was he a Nazi? *Novosti* quotes a fellow Wehrmacht officer who claims Waldheim rejected Nazism, "more because of religious and conservative reasons than because of social or scientific reasons," and notes Waldheim's Jesuit education. The Waldheim family roots go back to the privileged bureaucracy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. His father, Walter, was stripped of his job as a school inspector by the Nazis for being a follower of Austria's clerical-fascist ruler Kurt Schuschnigg. Waldheim claims he was only an opportunist, seeking to advance his own career—a trait confirmed by those who knew him as UN secretary general. The scion of an old Viennese upper-class family longing for the return of the gilded Hapsburg court might well consider the Nazis *Untermenschen* (subhumans), along with the Serbs, Croats, Jews, Communists, Socialists and everybody else on the Nazis' hit list.

A home-grown fascist, then? Perhaps at the beginning. Documents show that Waldheim joined the Nazi student organization in April 1938, three weeks after Hitler marched into Austria, and in November 1938 he enrolled in a mounted unit of the SA. This was just four days after the infamous "Kristallnacht," the Nazis' night of anti-Semitic violence when Jewish houses and shops were destroyed and burned, and Jews were brutally beaten and killed. Austrian Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal has noted that "in comparison with the Viennese Kristallnacht, the one in Berlin looked like a cozy Christmas party." When Waldheim claimed not to know the "riding club" was really a paramilitary Brownshirts unit, Austria's social-

democratic chancellor Fred Sinowatz quipped, "I get it, Waldheim wasn't in the SA—only his horse was."

But by the end, there can be no doubt. Waldheim's 1944 thesis, written as the Nazi Reich was already heading toward a Wagnerian *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods), declared that "the concept of Reich corresponds to the innate drives of the German nation." "Today," he wrote, "after overcoming so many...difficulties and obstacles, the idea of a unification of all Germanic groups has been realized—although in a more disciplined form...in consequence of the current great conflict of



Vienna, 1934: Austrian workers, organized in socialist armed militias, fought heroically against fascist shock troops and Mussolini-backed Dollfuss regime.

the Reich with the non-European world, in magnificent collaboration of all the peoples of Europe under the leadership of the Reich, the way is being prepared against the...danger from the east" (quoted in the *Nation*, 17 May). And then Waldheim headed back to the Balkan front to instill some Nazi "discipline."

Austria and the German Reich

Tito's partisans, heroically fighting in isolation in the mountains, managed to hold out against the monstrous Nazi terror and inflict punishing blows on the German and Italian imperialist aggressors. They defeated the royalist Chetniks, who were aided by the imperialist Allies, and smashed the Croatian fascist Ustashi. In alliance with the Soviet Red Army, they emerged victorious, overcoming centuries of national hatreds in the Balkans. The Communists' fight for national equality made it possible for a predominantly Serbian CP to mobilize partisans from all nationalities, such as the Croat and Muslim minorities of Bosnia, and for the first time lay the basis for a united South Slavic state. The "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" was the product of this historic victory. If today national tensions are once again on the rise in Yugoslavia, it is because of its character as a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state.

As the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna was once the political and cultural hub of central Europe. The glittering cosmopolitan life here stood in sharp contrast to the rural hinterland, and it was distinguished in particular by the Jewish intelligentsia

who made important contributions in almost every field. Names such as Sigmund Freud, founder of psychoanalysis; the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein; writers such as Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig and Karl Kraus, the Vienna/Prague circle of Franz Kafka, Max Brod and Franz Werfel; the artist Max Reinhardt and the musician Gustav Mahler come to mind. The leaders of the Austrian working class such as Victor and Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer were also Jewish. At the same time anti-Semitism runs deep.

With the Austro-Hungarian Empire having lost the war against Prussia in

1866, and being reduced to its German-speaking corner as the result of World War I, Jews were made the scapegoats for the demise of imperial glory. The Trotskyist Abram Leon, who died in Auschwitz, wrote of Vienna in his outstanding Marxist work, *The Jewish Question*:

"Anti-Semitism showed its roots most clearly in Vienna, one of the great centers of Jewish immigration before the first imperialist war. The petty bourgeoisie, ruined by the development of monopoly capitalism and headed for proletarianization, was exasperated by the mass arrival of the Jewish element, traditionally petty-bourgeois and artisan."

Adolf Hitler, himself an Austrian from Salzburg, in describing his student years in Vienna wrote in *Mein Kampf*: "I had turned into a fanatical anti-Semite."

Today Austria likes to preserve the myth it was an innocent victim of Nazi occupation through *Anschluss*, the 1938 annexation of Austria into the German Third Reich. In reality the German tanks were greeted by hundreds of thousands who cheered wildly when Hitler rode into Vienna, thus destroying the reactionary Catholic Austrian state. A century earlier, had unification with a bourgeois-democratic Germany been achieved as an outgrowth of the 1848 revolution, this would have been a progressive achievement. If in 1938 there was no noticeable resistance to Hitler's occupation of Austria and fascist rule, but instead euphoria on the part of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, it reflected the decisive defeat of the Austrian working class in the civil war of 1934 by the bonapartist Dollfuss regime.

In 1934, with the German workers already under the Nazi jackboot, the workers of all Europe looked to Vienna. For days, the Austrian proletariat fought pitched battles against the Austro-fascist *Heimwehr*, which later joined with Hitler. Socialist workers militias of the *Schutzbund* defended every working-class housing project, every meeting place they could. But the Austrian workers were abandoned by their social-democratic leaders, who never believed in proletarian victory, and the 1934 uprising was smashed. As Trotsky wrote of the coffeehouse rhetoric of "Austro-Marxism" in his article "After the Austrian Defeat" (March 1934): "It turned revolutionary action into a legalistic-literary threat that it did not take seriously itself."

Already in 1918 Austrian social democracy had sided with its own bourgeoisie by joining the constituent assembly against the workers' soviets.

Austria today is not a nation, but a remnant of the breakup of Austro-Hungary, a provincial little Alpine republic with a deeply reactionary hinterland. (Its very name in German, *Österreich*, means the "eastern empire.") Under Hitler there were 500,000 Nazi party members in Austria, a higher proportion than in Germany itself. But, exempted from the Allied imperialist victors' phony "de-Nazification" campaign, in 1949 every one of the Austrian political parties presented former Nazis on their electoral slates. Long-time Austrian chancellor, Socialist Party (SPÖ) leader Bruno Kreisky, a Jewish anti-Zionist and survivor of the Nazi concentration camps, had four ex-Nazis in his first cabinet. Friedrich Peter, the head of the ultraright Freedom Party, presently part of a coalition government with the SPÖ, was an Obersturmführer in the First SS Infantry Brigade which participated in the mass execution of Jews during its operations in the occupied Ukraine.

Today, the Austrian working class still needs a party worthy of its heroic fight of 1934, a Trotskyist party with a program to conquer state power and sweep away the festering Nazi filth and the whole putrified reactionary bourgeois state. Such a party must be forged in combat against the social-democratic traitors of the SPÖ, which is still the recognized party of the Austrian working class. Key to splitting this bourgeois workers party along class lines is the fight against Austrian chauvinism. Thus Kreisky initially commented that the Waldheim revelations were a "monstrous meanness," while the SPÖ presidential candidate Steyer proclaimed that "Austria is capable of dealing with her problems herself" (*Die Presse*, 27 March).

Revolutionary opposition to resurgent Austrian nationalism means the most forceful defense of Austria's biggest minority, the 30,000-strong Slovenian population in the southern province of Kärnten. After *Anschluss*, the rabid nationalism of the German-speaking population gave Kärnten the reputation of the "Führer's most faithful district." Recently officials ordered reductions in the teaching of Slovenian in the schools, in a move to force the population to speak German. It was in this enclave of diehard nationalism, where the Nazis carried out fierce reprisals against villages suspected of harboring partisans, that Waldheim made some of his most demagogic appeals. Only by smashing bourgeois class rule will the victims of the Nazi terror, such as the inmates of the Austrian Mauthausen concentration camp, be avenged and social justice achieved through proletarian class rule.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

In 1947, Yugoslavia sought Waldheim's extradition for war crimes. However, a 21 April Tanjug dispatch states, "In the era of Cold War and the deterioration of international relations

continued on page 9



Vienna, 1938: Nazi storm-troopers forced Jews to scrub streets, including with toothbrushes.

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

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

Chicago

Tues. 5:00-9:00 p.m. Sat. 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St. 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m. Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

deaths on "agitators" and "un-Haitian" elements. The foreign press retailed the junta's claims of provocateurs. And what's more, most of the Haitian "opposition" jumped on the anti-communist bandwagon by denouncing "extremists of the right and the left."

Playing on fears of a bloodbath by the Tonton Macoutes and/or U.S. intervention, the junta has systematically denied even the most elementary democratic demands. It has refused to abrogate the draconian 1969 anti-communist law, which specifies that anyone who supports, facilitates or aids expressions of communism, whether written or orally, formally or informally, directly or indirectly, domestically or internationally; who receives, collects or furnishes funds; who shelters or assists anyone propagating such ideas, be they teachers, priests, printshop owners, landlords or managers of public or private halls, "shall be punishable by death and their property confiscated and sold for the profit of the state." The government also continues to require that the hundreds of thousands of Haitians abroad obtain a visa to return to their own country!

The mobilization of the Haitian masses has not slackened since the overthrow of Duvalier. Demonstrations erupt daily, crowds barricade the streets. But so far, the junta has managed to channel the innumerable local groups which have sprung up into innocuous self-help efforts such as cleaning the streets and painting houses. Demonstrators in Fort Liberté recently carried red flags ("Russian flags") as a way of complaining that they had no jobs, electricity or running water. They're quite right to wave the spectre of communism, for in this country of 60 percent unemployment and \$300 average yearly income, none of the fundamental problems, including the fight for democracy, can be solved without socialist revolution. What's urgently needed is a Bolshevik party to lead it.

"Left" Supports the Junta

The present explosive political situation cannot last. Except for two brief "democratic" interludes in 1946 and 1956, Haiti has been ruled by a string of U.S.-backed dictatorships ever since the Marines left (after 19 years of brutal occupation) in 1934. In 1956, after the collapse of the Magloire dictatorship, which distinguished itself by enforcing American-inspired anti-union laws, there followed a period of agitation and unrest. Daniel Fignolé, head of the populist MOP (Workers and Peasants Movement) held power for barely two weeks as the last of four short-lived governments. He was overthrown by a bloody coup in which 3,000 people were killed in the space of two days and which then led directly to the Duvalier dynasty. The possibility of a direct U.S. intervention or a new



Haitian masses protest in Port-au-Prince: "Nothing has changed, everything must change."

dictatorship faces Haiti today.

The central task in Haiti today is to channel the intense dissatisfaction with "Duvalierism without Duvalier" into revolutionary mobilization of the working class. A popular song written right after the ouster of Baby Doc captures the mood: "Fòl jije" (He must be found guilty), referring in turn to Duvalier, the CIA, Ronald Reagan and "Tonton Sam." The Macoutes and their Uzis have only temporarily gone into hiding—the junta itself is a threat to life and limb of ordinary Haitians. As a matter of elementary self-protection, popular tribunals should be formed to mete out justice to Duvalier's secret

overlooking the capital to settle accounts. As might be expected, the bourgeois "opposition"—such as Sylvio Claude, Grégoire Eugène and Hubert de Ronceray—denounced the April 26 memorial, opposing "extremists of the right and the left." But they were joined by René Théodore, head of the Stalinist PUCH (United Party of Haitian Communists), who reiterated his support for the junta, known by its French initials CNG, after the Fort Dimanche massacre on the grounds that there was "no alternative" (New York Times, 30 April).

Scandalously, the Haitian left is supporting the military junta against the

"Baby Doc's" General Namphy (right) and junta: Duvalierism without Duvalier.



police and other notorious Duvalierist criminals. In Cuba in 1959, revolutionary tribunals which tried Batista's most vicious torturers mobilized the population to root out the remnants of the dictatorship while avoiding random acts of vengeance.

But in Haiti today, no one is calling for revolutionary justice against the dictator's henchmen—except the people. The entire "political class" lives in deadly fear of arousing the masses: they have nightmares of thousands of residents of the bidonvilles (slums) marching up Avenue John Brown to the chic suburb of Pétienville in the hills

Haitian masses. PUCH leader Théodore was quoted by *Le Monde* (15 May) saying that the CNG was experiencing "an apprenticeship in democracy." This "democratic" prettifying of bourgeois regimes is nothing new for the Stalinists. In 1946 they actively supported the Estimé regime which stifled a popular upheaval and led to the Magloire dictatorship. Another leftist group, the KID (Democratic Unity Committee), while denouncing the bourgeois opposition, has called on the Namphy government to set a calendar for social change (*Guardian* [New York], 21 May). And the American SWP approvingly reported that one local committee called on the army to "control" any protests that "got out of hand" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 April).

After decades of enforced silence, the Haitian masses are expressing themselves in an explosion of democratic aspirations and demands which bring them into direct confrontation with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In Haiti today, the working class must lead the fight to smash the whole Duvalierist edifice of anti-communist laws and anti-union laws, for unrestricted democratic rights of assembly, association and the press, and the simple right of return. We fight for a revolutionary constituent assembly, to bring down the bonapartist junta, as part of the struggle for a workers and peasants government. This is the only road to overcoming the terrible misery which has beset the black republic under capitalism. And the key

is the construction of an internationalist, Trotskyist party forged on the program of permanent revolution.

There is no room in Haiti today for "simple trade unionism." The workers who have been streaming into the 40 new unions that have been founded since Duvalier's flight face the threat of a brutal counterrevolutionary crackdown. Mass factory committees, organs of dual power, must be organized and linked together in proletarian centers such as the free trade zone, where organizations with the revolutionary potential of the Chilean *cordones industriales* could arise. Links must be forged with the Dominican workers next door, where Haitian cane cutters, laboring under conditions of virtual slavery, are key to the production of export earnings; and with the hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers in the diaspora, from Miami and New York to Montreal. Together with popular tribunals, food distribution committees and other organizations of the toiling masses, the basis can be laid for soviet power.

Right now, the army and the Macoutes have the guns. The KID calls for "a purge of the army, from which Macoute elements must be expelled" (*Haiti Progrès*, 26 March). To leave the Leopards, the elite anti-insurgency units trained by the Americans? When the Jacobin commissioner Sonthonax distributed arms to the former slaves in French Saint Domingue in 1793 he told them that these guns were the only guarantee of their freedom. Toussaint L'Ouverture liberated Haiti by organizing a revolutionary army, founded on the ideals of the French Revolution.

However, unable to grasp the consequences of Thermidorean reaction, he was killed by Napoleon. Dessalines, who represented the Thermidor of the Haitian Revolution, completed the fight for Haitian independence but also laid the basis for the ruin of Haiti under capitalism ever since. Faced with bloody repression by Namphy's army and the threat of renewed Macoute terror the Haitian masses must hark back to the traditions of Toussaint's revolutionary army to form groups of self-defense.

If the present mass unrest is to become anything but an interlude prior to another dictator or U.S. invasion (or both), Haitian workers abroad will be key. Their experience in the heartland of imperialism can be crucial in fighting illusions in Yankee imperialism or in the possibilities of a "reform" junta. American workers, meanwhile, must fight Reagan's attempts to deport Haitians still held prisoner in concentration camps at Krome Avenue and the "Olympic Village." Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! In the 19th century, revolutionary Haiti defended itself against invasion by France, Britain and Spain by sparking slave revolts in other colonies in the Caribbean. Today, Haiti, a small country whose best-known exports are blood and baseballs, where workers toil for under three dollars a day, can liberate itself only by being the catalyst for workers revolution against the imperialist domination throughout the region. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
☐ New ☐ Renewal

International rates: \$20/24 issues—Airmail
\$5/24 issues—Seamail

☐ \$2/4 issues of
Women and Revolution

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

404

Young Spartacus

Drive Fascist Punks Off S.F. State!

Race-Hate Leaflets, Rape Threats, Thugs Terrorize Campus

Racist punks are running amok at San Francisco State University (SFSU), menacing a large section of the campus. On May 7—the opening day of a provocative “White History Week” initiated by the so-called “Resident’s Liberation Army”—one of these racist pigs assaulted Spartacist supporter Todd Nolan, causing laceration and severe contusion around one eye with damage to a nerve. The assailant—one Greg Foster—was, along with some cohorts, distributing a bogus leaflet purporting to be from the Spartacus Youth League entitled “We Apologize.” This forgery describes the “RLA” as a “group of non-violent, non-political pranksters.” When SYL supporters confronted these scum, Foster punched comrade Todd, while Foster’s weirdo racist buddies ran away. Foster ended up on the ground and was barely saved from getting the lesson he richly deserved. Predictably, the campus cops took no action against the thug Foster and instead “banned” Nolan for three days.

Has the KKK slithered onto the campus? Women students have recently been terrorized by something calling itself the “Circle of Twelve”—who specialize in rape threats and death threats. (Recall that in 1865 six college men—former Confederate officers—formed a “club” called the Ku Klux Klan, which derived its name from the Greek word for circle—“kuklos.”) What is the “RLA’s” connection to this misogynist “circle”? These bigoted creeps have also called for “Heterosexual Day.” In San Francisco, where “gay-bashing” has become grotesquely common, this obscene trash is a real threat. In April, Spartacist and Labor Black League for Social Defense supporters joined forces with the Hispanic student organization La Raza to defend a student government (AS) meeting under threat by the “White History Month” gang. As the SYL leaflet denouncing the attack on Nolan by the racist thugs put it: “They talk like fascists, they act like fascists...and they should get the appropriate treatment!”

The SYL has undoubtedly earned a special enmity among these scum, since we are not only communists but front line defenders of all those they seek to destroy. The ultraright punks would do well to remember our successful 1975 protest at SFSU where brown-shirted Nazis had their butts kicked off the campus by outraged students and workers. The racist, anti-gay, anti-woman, anti-communist hooliganism at SFSU is no joke. This filth must be met with a solid mobilization of students, area trade unions and other anti-racist, anti-fascist organizations.

We print below an excerpted version of the SYL leaflet distributed May 1 titled “Crush Klan/Nazi Race Terrorists in the Egg!”

Emboldened by Reagan’s terror bombing of Libya and cop riots against anti-apartheid students at UC Berkeley, Klan-style fascists have crawled out of their holes at San Francisco State University. An anonymous leaflet entitled “White History Week” appeared on campus two weeks ago. Part of this hate-sheet read: “In the early years of our nation, the humanitarian whites



KKK-style leaflet is threat of racist violence. Fascists must be crushed in the egg.

generously transported hundreds of thousands of impoverished third world minorities to a new and better life in America.” Obscenely extolling black slavery and the genocide of American Indians, this trash bears the unmistakable mark of the lynching, cross-burning KKK. It is an incitement to

racist terror against black, Hispanic and other minority students and it will not be tolerated!

Scrawled on the leaflet was a call to action: “Meeting Tonight... Bring Your Friends,” giving the time and place of a student government meeting on April 17. Dozens of angry students, largely Hispanic and black, turned up determined to deal with the threatened racist mobilization. An integrated team of Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense supporters attended to ensure that any fascists who turned up would receive an appropriate welcome. The Hispanic student organization, La Raza, came, along with some brothers from the Spanish-speaking community. The fascists stayed away.

The foiled racist threat on April 17 is part of an ominous pattern of fascistic provocations on campus. A second leaflet the same week denounced protest against the lynching of Timothy Lee, a black gay man, in the largely white suburb of Concord last year as “anti-Concord propaganda”—openly linking arms with the perpetrators of that brutal racist murder. A gang of white punks in the dorms known as the “Circle of Twelve” have been terrorizing women students with threats of rape or worse. Several years back, white eco-racist Richard Moss stabbed black student Doris Collum for smoking in an elevator; only last fall, a bomb was placed in the Ethnic Studies department. KKKer Tom Metzger, former Democratic Party Klandidate, has been active in the Bay Area and his outfit may well have targeted the SFSU campus. Racist terror is what the Klan/Nazis are all about. *They can and must be crushed in the egg!*

An immediate target for these scum is the largely minority Associated Students (AS) student government, embroiled since elections last fall in a court suit brought by sore loser William



Young Spartacus SYL-called protest sent fascists packing at SF State, March 1975. Racist “White History” punks deserve same treatment!

Tsangares. Using a racist smear against the Hispanic students who won in the election as academically “incompetent,” Tsangares wants himself appointed to the office he lost to a Hispanic woman. His racist cohort Michael Dickson put out a leaflet which said: “La Raza voters and La Raza officers own each other. They also own one thousand votes.” The two launched a petition drive for new elections. The April 17 meeting was set to discuss the issue.

While the AS bureaucrats at that meeting stuck religiously to a legalistic defense against the petition, SL and LBL spokesmen were warmly applauded when they said that the fascists behind “White History Week” have no place on this campus or anywhere else. Students especially welcomed LBLer Jeff Higgins who warned the Klan/Nazi race-terrorists: “We’re not going to take it. We’re going to fight!” Spartacus Youth League supporter Paula Daniels emphasized that what was important was not the AS squabble but the need for mass labor/black action to smash the fascist threat trying to make itself felt on campus. Tsangares and Dickson

continued on page 8

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Dear *Young Spartacus* subscriber,

You may wonder what the *Young Spartacus* masthead is doing inside *Workers Vanguard*. As *YSp* reported in our last issue (March 1986), a discussion has been underway in the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League over the future of the youth organization and its press. A poll of the SL Central Committee has now endorsed the proposal to suspend the publication of a monthly youth press in order to apply the resources of the common movement to other stress points and priorities. Readers are referred to the article “Walkabout” in the last issue of *YSp* for a fuller account. We noted there that “The proposal which seems to be finding favor is to liquidate the national youth organization *per se* in favor of building active local Spartacus Youth

clubs, and to establish a youth commission of the party Central Committee with the right to publish from two to four pages a month in *Workers Vanguard* under the *YSp* masthead.” With this issue of *WV*, we are initiating the publication of “youth pages” in that format.

Young Spartacus subscribers who so choose will now receive *WV* as the continuation of their *YSp* subs. Joint subscribers to both *YSp* and *WV* may elect to have their *WV* subs extended by the number of issues remaining on their *YSp* subs. However, *YSp* subscribers who prefer a refund will on request receive a cash refund for the unexpired portion of their *YSp* subs. A letter is being sent to all our subscribers detailing these options.

As we said in “Walkabout”: “Our political tasks have not changed: we

need to continue building communist youth fractions that intervene in the political struggles of working-class, minority and student youth and getting out propaganda both pedagogical and agitational, addressing the issues confronting them.... We also want to maintain the flexibility to publish, in special supplements where appropriate, agitational articles when things get hot.” We look forward to reestablishing an organizationally independent youth press on a firmer footing when feasible. Meanwhile, coverage of Spartacist youth work on the campuses, educational articles formerly featured in *YSp* and material specifically directed to the social/political questions concerning youth will be found in *WV* and *Women and Revolution*. Our readers are urged also to read *Spartacist*, the journal of our international tendency.

Young Spartacus
Editorial Board

Protest Racist Witchhunter Meese!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Spartacus Youth League at Harvard University on May 19.

On Tuesday, Harvard's Kennedy School of Government plans to honor Attorney General Edwin Meese III for "distinguished public service." The K-School—named for the U.S. president who brought you the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the dirty colonial war against the Vietnamese people—is paying tribute to one of its own. While Reagan and his War Secretary Weinberger drive toward war against the Soviet Union abroad, Meese polices the home front. Last May, Philadelphia cops bombed the black MOVE commune, murdering eleven people including five babies, without the fig leaf of "legality." The C-4 explosive used in the Philly massacre was supplied by the FBI, an agency under the jurisdiction of Meese's "Justice" Department. And Meese praised the bombing of MOVE to a California cop convention as a "good example" to emulate.

The state-supported terrorism in black Philadelphia may seem far away from Cambridge, but Meese got his start in the repression business on the campuses. In the 1960s, Meese spearheaded then-California governor Reagan's hard line against student protesters. During the People's Park protests, Meese unleashed a brutal police operation on the streets of Berkeley. Hundreds were rounded up, thousands tear-gassed. A 25-year-old man named James Rector had been watching the cop rampage from a roof; he was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff. Said Meese, "James Rector deserved to die."

The all-purpose top cop, Meese also oversaw the murderous police raids against the Black Panther Party during his tenure as Governor Reagan's top aide for "law enforcement." Now the "Justice" Department prosecutes black voter rights activists in the South and seeks to roll back busing and school integration to the days of Jim Crow. Meese's immigration officials have sent thousands of Central American refugees back to certain death squad "democracy." Black Haitians were, if they survived the flight from Duvalier's terror, herded into squalid concentration camps to await deportation.

You don't have to be a dissenting student or black to get into the sights of Meese's guns: he wants to regulate every aspect of life in this country. His anti-"pornography" witchhunt is one example: Meese hired a former songwriter for *Captain Kangaroo* to conduct an official Justice Department "content

analysis" of *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. This "expert" declared that Hugh M. Hefner is "every bit as dangerous as Hitler"! Ed Meese—with his "thought crimes" anti-porn campaign and his drug testing in the workplace—is the dirty picture. For Meese, the "enemy" to be ruthlessly exterminated is a Berkeley student living with a



Reagan's top cop Meese started by terrorizing students; his FBI helped plan firebombing of Philly MOVE, May 1985.

black lover, writing his application to the Communist Party while smoking a joint and enjoying the latest *Playboy*. He's like General Jack D. Ripper in *Dr. Strangelove*, obsessed with those precious bodily fluids. Will "Justice" Department officials be on hand Tuesday night to administer urine tests to the K-School audience in order to insure the sobriety of the gathering?

The Kennedy School's awards ceremony is one filthy fete. War Secretary Weinberger was also given a "distinguished public service" medal, right after the terror bombing of Libya and the U.S.' brazen invasion of Soviet waters in the Crimea. Fearing a repeat of the rousing "welcome" he received from the SYL and other anti-imperialist students on his last visit to Harvard, Weinberger declined to attend and had his medal shipped to the Pentagon. John Kennedy's loser brother Ted is also to receive an award. Where's Baby Doc? Will Kurt "I forgot I was a Nazi" Waldheim swap his iron cross for a "veritas" medal? Will Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos serenade the guests via satellite?

Meese's kudos from the K-School have raised the hackles of the more liberal-minded among Harvard's rich and famous. There's no question that the man is so dumb he wouldn't get a job with the tsarist empire. But by focusing

on the "sleaze factor"—Meese's financial chicanery and lack of public accountability—the effete Harvard elite cover up Meese's real crimes. Some Law School faculty and students oppose Meese because of his utter contempt for supposedly constitutionally-protected democratic rights. His "philosophy" was neatly summed up when he was



questioned on the Miranda ruling, which gives suspects the right to have a lawyer present before police questioning: "But, the thing is, you don't have many suspects who are innocent of a crime. If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect."

This racist witchhunter is not about to let constitutional niceties stand in the way of "order." A Pentagon think tank for global counterrevolutionary terror, the K-School has every reason to honor the sinister Meese. For Dean Graham Allison, himself a paid consultant to Weinberger and dubbed "an intellectual strategic reserve" by the Pentagon, the awards ceremony is his way of thanking Washington for letting the intellectual prostitutes at Harvard feed at the government trough.

And the government doesn't want any trouble-making students, striking workers or militant blacks getting in the way of its war machine this time around. On campuses across the country, the cops have been given free rein to beat, choke, club and brutalize student protesters. Particularly at Berkeley, where Reagan/Meese have a personal vendetta going back to the days of the Free Speech Movement, police violence has been used on a massive scale. Anti-apartheid protesters have had their skulls cracked, their kneecaps broken and have been "banned" from campus. Meese & Co. figure if they can smash

opposition to government policy at Berkeley, they can do it anywhere.

It's particularly revolting that here at Harvard there's a student "protest" that even Meese would love. Divestment liberals in the Democratic Socialists of America and Southern Africa Solidarity Committee have made common cause with the most reactionary anti-

communist scum on the campus. Just days after the bombing of Libya (which these "progressives" refused to condemn), Harvard's Conservative Club erected an anti-Soviet "gulag" next to the divestment crowd's symbolic shantytown. This obscenity should have been dismantled with dispatch—perhaps with a Cuban flag flying over the rubble in honor of the heroic Cuban troops which have for over a decade defended black Angola against the South African army. But the divestment liberals offered the Conservative Club tools to build more "gulags" and joined them in calling for "divestment" from the USSR. The Russian workers have long since taken care of the problem of capitalist private property in their country—by the workers' seizure of state power in the October 1917 Revolution. It is precisely these gains of the Russian Revolution—the planned economy and collectivized property—that we in the SYL unconditionally defend.

Edwin Meese should be met by mass, militant protest Tuesday night. Meese is being honored at Harvard for his crimes against students, blacks and workers: take a side—join us in protesting the obscene attorney general! Filth like Meese makes students like us glad to be communists. We in the SYL look forward to the day when a workers revolution will sweep away the world's Edwin Meeses. ■

S.F. State...

(continued from page 7)

nervously denied having anything to do with "White History Week." But given the racist material that they put out, it is not surprising that fascists have sought to join their cause.

Fascists Are No Joke!

According to the *Phoenix* (24 April), members of the so-called "Residents Liberation Army," a group of white punks some of whom were thrown out of the dorms for obscene phone calls and other "pranks," say some of their gang are responsible for the race-hate sheets. These creeps say "White History Week" was taken from an album by well-known comedian and satirist Martin Mull. The *Phoenix* quotes "RLAer"

Steve Pratt: "When Martin Mull did it millions of people laughed." Their threat against the AS meeting was no kind of "satire," nor was their vicious defense of the Concord lynchers. Pratt and his buddies must think Hitler's gas chambers were pretty funny, too. But there are a lot of past and prospective Klan targets who would like to wipe the smirk off their faces....

It is an outrage for the *Phoenix* to try to whitewash this crew as presumably harmless "pranksters." The lynching of Timothy Lee was no joke; neither were the stabbings of blacks in Concord by robed and hooded Klansmen. The *Phoenix* is objectively covering for the campus fascists with the same bullshit used by the racist Concord PD, who lied that Lee killed himself and that the Klan robes were just "Halloween costumes." And the line that the Klan and Nazis are isolated weirdos who should be ignored

is extremely stupid and dangerous....

The surfacing of outright fascists at State is linked to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, have created the reactionary climate "at home" in which these vermin breed. SF mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein flew the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror in the Civic Center until we tore it down. She stands four-square behind the terror bombing of Libya. Like Reagan, the Democrats hate Qaddafi because they see him linked to Russia. Sandinista Nicaragua is next in the cross hairs in the U.S. capitalists' drive to smash the gains of the great October Revolution of 1917. Defend Libya! Defend, Complete. Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Defend the Soviet Union!

Some of those who applauded our comrades at the AS meeting were only

last year helping witchhunt the SYL on campus, at the behest of pro-Democratic Party anti-communists. This witchhunt stirred up the right wing, who baited our black comrades with Klan-like "go back to Africa" epithets. The Red Avengers, born in the fight against the witchhunt, warned: "In their crusade against communism, the Rainbow Coalition, from Malveaux to Workers World Party, has now unleashed this racist filth" (Red Avenger Communiqué No. 4, 16 November 1984). SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez is still fighting legal persecution for the "crime" of distributing Marxist literature at SF State....

Drop the Charges Against Guillermo Bermúdez! Smash the Racist Mobilization at SFSU—Drive the Klan/Nazi Scum Off Campus! Finish the Civil War—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! ■

Don't Let Ma Bell Divide and Rule!

CWA Tops Push Scab Set-Up

Facing a May 31 contract expiration at AT&T, over 600,000 union members at both AT&T and the splitoff "local operating companies" are being set up for defeat by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) bureaucracy. After two years of divestiture, 10 percent of the workforce—53,000 union members—have lost their jobs. And now the CWA tops, slavishly loyal to Ma Bell and the Democratic Party, are setting up CWAers to scab on each other. We print below excerpts of a 12 May leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus in San Francisco, a class-struggle opposition in the union.

Smash "Two-Gate" Union-Busting!

Ma Bell is implementing the notorious "two-gate" system of strikebreaking and union-busting. Preparing for a strike by AT&T workers at the end of this month, the company has been "establishing separate entrances" for AT&T and Pac Bell employees, and posting guards to make workers use the "designated" entrance.

We must bust this union-busting scheme. Otherwise we may be left with no union at all. They want to set worker against worker. They want Pac Bell workers to scab on AT&T workers in

June, and AT&T workers to scab on Pac Bell workers in August. It is the elementary duty of all phone workers to respect each other's picket lines. We say: No scabbing! Picket lines mean don't cross! A picket line at any phone building means it is a struck building. A struck building means stay the hell out.

And we should take a good look at the effective strike action Canadian phone workers took a few years back: they occupied central offices in Vancouver, locking scabs and bosses out. Holding the company's multimillion-dollar high-tech equipment, they grabbed 'em where it hurt and squeezed. That's power!

Phone workers know the CWA "leaders" are little more than company stooges. These misleaders set up this "two-gate" union-busting in the first place when they pushed through splitting our contract expiration (something our local officers all stand behind). Now all they're doing is lecturing us on the companies' "legal right" to do it. Well, guess what? Union-busting is perfectly "legal" in capitalist America. Slavery used to be legal too. The bosses own the game, so they make the rules. Play by their rules and you lose. Mass, militant class struggle can turn the bosses' injunctions into worthless scraps of paper. That's how the unions were built in this country. Labor has to play hardball to win!

There is a reason why the CWA/AFL-CIO bureaucrats work hand-in-

glove with the companies. They long ago enlisted as labor lieutenants of the bosses' government and the bosses' political parties. CWA tops co-founded the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the CIA's Murder Inc. in the Latin American labor movement. AIFLD busts real unions in the service of rightist dictators backed by Washington; it also helps organize coups against governments Washington doesn't like (Chile, Brazil,

hipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. This war drive abroad means union-busting and racist murder—like the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia—at home.

Class collaboration means defeat. As we wrote three years ago in "Lessons of the Strike": "THE PARTNERSHIP OF LABOR AND CAPITAL IS A LIE.... When union leaders cooperate in partnership with the company, the bosses get richer and the workers get



August 1983: CWA pickets confront scab in San Leandro, California during national phone strike.

etc.). AIFLD is so slavishly a tool of the CIA and its butchers that in El Salvador unions they originally had set up have revolted and broken from their AIFLD godfathers.

It is obscene that AIFLD's bloody business is carried out in the name of our union, but it is hardly surprising. CWA/AFL-CIO officials are fanatical anti-communists who willingly sacrifice the most basic rights and needs of the working class on the altar of the

screwed. It's like the partnership of parasite and host. We need capitalists like we need bloodsuckers.... A union is supposed to fight *against* the company and *for* the workers."

Today the company's "two-gate" union-busting throws down a direct challenge to each and every decent union man and woman. Don't let them get away with it! Smash "two-gate" union-busting! On strike means shut it down! ■

Waldheim...

(continued from page 5)

with all the attendant negative consequences, there evolved a negative attitude also towards the extradition and punishment of war criminals. In the given situation, the U.N. Commission of War Crimes was abolished. Subsequently, the Yugoslav State Commission for War Crimes also ceased to function." A *Washington Post* (1 May) article, "Belgrade Kept Silence on Waldheim War Charges," cites Tito's 1948 break with Stalin and Belgrade's subsequent "overriding priority of

maintaining good relations with Austria, a major trading partner and neutral buffer amid nonaligned Yugoslavia's three Soviet Bloc and two NATO neighbors."

Perhaps diplomatic considerations influenced Belgrade to drop the issue. However, this is small potatoes compared to the more than 40-year coverup of Nazi war criminals run by the United States government. In mountains of files in the National Archives, military archives, CIA/FBI dustbins, etc., there are the records of literally *thousands* of Nazi war criminals who were smuggled out of Europe along the nefarious OSS "rat line" to safe harbor in Paraguay and

Argentina, or who were imported wholesale into this country by "Operation Paper Clip" to service new masters in the "war against Bolshevism." Andrija Artukovic, the former police boss of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, who was last week sentenced to death by a Zagreb court, was harbored for decades by the U.S. because the notorious Ustasha "Butcher of the Balkans" might face "persecution" in a Communist state!

Now Attorney General Edwin Meese is to decide if Waldheim's name should be placed on an INS list of those excluded from entry into the U.S. The man whose hand was behind the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia has no more right to pass judgment on mass murder than the fire-bombers of Dresden did in the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal! Moreover, we have to ask why it took the initiative of the World Jewish Congress to finally investigate the damning documents in the U.S. National Archives. According to a former Austrian official and OSS agent in World War II, when Waldheim was hired as personal secretary to the foreign minister in 1946, it was with the explicit support of American intelligence. Robert Herzstein notes:

"One question that comes to mind is whether Mr. Waldheim, an important figure in Germany Army intelligence... went to work in a higher capacity for the West after the war. He was a multilingual intellectual who had expertise in the evaluation of intelligence from Communists.... Did he now put his skills to work for the West, with the understanding that the war crimes allegation would be allowed to drift into oblivion?"

—*New York Times*, 8 April

There is also the stance taken by Simon Wiesenthal, who claims there is "no evidence" that Waldheim committed crimes—in spite of the Yugoslav and American documentation. It is perhaps relevant that Wiesenthal is a well-known supporter of the same right-wing

Austrian People's Party (the ÖVP) of which Waldheim is the presidential candidate. More importantly, in an interview in the *New York Daily News* (16 May), Wiesenthal accuses the World Jewish Congress of creating a Bitburg for Austria. This implicit apology for Reagan is no surprise coming from a man who has joined the campaign for CIA funds to the Nicaraguan contras, and who in 1984 gave an award to Jeane Kirkpatrick as a "Humanitarian Laureate." And the Israelis seem none too happy with the WJC's revelations.

The World Jewish Congress has done a real service in exposing Waldheim's past as a Nazi war criminal. But these Zionists cannot resist equating Waldheim's supporters with the entire Austrian people. WJC executive director Elan Steinberg told the Austrian magazine *Profil* in a March interview that if Waldheim was elected, "Everybody with an Austrian passport will have this cloud of uncertainty travel with him" (*New York Times*, 17 May).

Reagan's salute to the SS Nazi graves in Bitburg last year showed where the American bourgeoisie stands. German imperialism and its Austrian lackey at the time were defeated mainly due to the heroic struggle of the Soviet Union, at the cost of 20 million lives. The U.S. emerged as the dominant imperialist force from the war which ushered in the "American century," lasting all of 25 years until its defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam. Even before Germany surrendered, the American ruling class began recruiting "former" Nazis—from V-2 rocket expert Wernher von Braun and the anti-Soviet Gehlen spy apparatus to Gestapo butchers like Klaus Barbie—and pressing them into service in its drive to reconquer the states torn from the grip of capitalist exploitation, first and foremost the homeland of the October Revolution. It will take world socialist revolution to bring *all* the imperialist war criminals to justice. And in this struggle, the main enemy is at home! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

demolish another illusion, shared by many Western radicals and Third World nationalists: that the ANC's guerrilla actions, supported by the front line black African states, can do serious military damage to the apartheid state. These desperately backward and impoverished neocolonial regimes cannot stand up to the powerful apartheid state. Thus it's no accident that, as the Reagan State Department accurately points out: "The governments of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have made serious efforts to limit cross-border violence directed at South Africa." This, of course, has not prevented cross-border South African violence directed at them!

Zambia's Kaunda declared the attack on the three black African states "will be avenged somehow, somewhere, sometime." That is true. The avenger will come from the very heart of South Africa, the six-million-strong proletariat on whom apartheid capitalism rests. The power and combativity of the black proletariat was dramatically demonstrated this May Day with the biggest general strike in South Africa's history. Once broken from petty-bourgeois

nationalism and under the leadership of a communist vanguard party, including white revolutionaries as well, the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian working people of South Africa can sweep away the apartheid terror state and free all black Africa from the chains of neocolonial subjugation and imperialist exploitation. ■



Funeral near East London: Workers revolution will avenge martyrs of apartheid repression.

Bloody Cop Attacks on Picket Lines Victory to the Colt Strikers!

HARTFORD, May 13—Nearly four months into a bitter walkout against Colt Firearms, 600 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 376 picketed and rallied outside the company's aged factory here today. The pickets, many of them black, Hispanic and female, chanted "We want the scabs!" but a massive police presence, as well as riot-equipped rent-a-cops, escorted the scabs past the picket lines. The Colt strike is in grave danger.

The rank and file of Local 376 is determined to win, but they're shackled by the policies of their union leaders. Today, representatives of the Teamsters, Machinists, IBEW, 1199, ATU and other unions, as well as officials from various labor councils and the Connecticut AFL-CIO, arranged to take "symbolic" arrests in front of the plant. Earlier, the Local 376 ranks had been instructed not to interfere with the scabs in any way because this would distract the media from the bureaucrats' civil disobedience gimmick. But the strikers don't need "moral witness" from a bunch of labor fakers—Local 376 needs the massive mobilization of the ranks of those unions to shut down Colt!

Meanwhile, the cops are running wild. There have been more than 80 arrests since the strike began, not counting those today. Local president Phil Wheeler, arrested on March 11, is facing charges of inciting a riot and assaulting and interfering with a police

officer. The most brutal cop attack came April 1 when 18 were arrested as a crowd of 1,000 strikers and supporters rallied outside the plant. Wheeler told *WV*: "The police started shoving and pushing people and they pushed an elderly lady, knocked her over. A couple of police stepped on her and that really got it going. Some people went over to pick her up and they arrested them, punched a few people, hitting them with sticks, punching them with their fists."

Colt, which makes the new A2 version of the M-16 automatic rifle for the Army and the Marines, as well as commercial handguns, provoked the strike and now is clearly out to bust the union. In February 1985 Colt made its one and only "offer," which included a wage freeze in the first year of the contract, cutbacks in health benefits and elimination of the cost-of-living allowance. For ten months the local worked without a contract. Finally, on January 24 of this year, the local leadership walked into the plant at 11 a.m. and told everyone to leave. Ten minutes later there were 1,100 strikers on the street.

Colt immediately informed the strikers that within five days the company would start hiring permanent replacements. Currently, under heavy cop protection, hundreds of hourly and salaried scabs are entering the facility here and one in East Hartford daily. Wheeler admitted that the scabs are turning out 800 M-16s a week but he



Cops protect scabs from angry UAW strikers at Colt Firearms, Hartford, May 13.

said that this is only a fraction of pre-strike production. This must be stopped! Hormel started with a trickle of scabs and no production and now, thanks to the sabotage of the union tops, the heroic seven-month meatpackers strike in Austin, Minnesota has been defeated.

Wheeler also stated that if necessary the AFL-CIO tops would appeal to

police "unions" to boycott Colt! AFL-CIO consumer boycotts have been the tombstones of strikes from PATCO to Hormel—and this time the bureaucrats are talking about enlisting the "aid" of the professional strikebreakers who are brutally attacking them on the picket lines! The predominantly white Colt strikers have in fact gotten a good dose of the treatment usually reserved for the black population. And while the bosses have sought to pit black against white by advertising for scabs in Hartford's impoverished ghettos, minority workers have been a mainstay on the picket lines. Integrated class struggle—not appeals to the bourgeois state—is the road to victory.

In order to win, Local 376 must fight Colt *politically*. The strikers must link their fight to the struggles of all the oppressed. For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all! No more givebacks and cuts in social services! The union should be in the front line in response to attacks on blacks and Hispanics by the racist Hartford cops. And when the Pentagon starts demanding resumed production in the name of "national defense," Local 376 militants should answer, "To hell with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive!"

Today the mayor sent a letter supporting a "just contract settlement" and regretting the "friction" between strikers and police. Those cops work for the mayor! But that's what you get from the "friend of labor" politicians: the bosses' contract wrapped around a policeman's nightstick. Enough of this crap! What hard-pressed Local 376 needs is some old-fashioned labor solidarity action to bring Colt to its knees. Victory to the Colt strikers! ■

James Grimes...

(continued from page 3)

mugging: "Token booth clerks are required to transfer receipts with an escort, but when the attack took place, no escort was on the scene." Saying not one word about the right of self-defense or about defending Grimes, the *Bulletin* thus upholds the Local 100 bureaucrats' line that more TA cops are the answer. This is consistent with WL's prior support for arming NYC welfare guards

(presumably to shoot angered black welfare mothers), its support to the racist 1971 NYC cop strike and its demand for the inclusion of racist killer prison guards in the union movement. Such an organization is certainly not going to defend a black worker who defends himself with a gun. The WL waited for Sonny Hall's seal of approval to even mention Grimes, because for them Hall is the TWU. But tell that to the scores of unionists who have stood by James Grimes for months!

Long after the Local 100 bureaucrats had departed from the May 7 demonstration, determined union brothers greeted James Grimes and his family as

they emerged from the courthouse with chants of "D.A., TA, Drop the Charges Now!" The crowd, swollen by dozens of cheering youth who poured out of an adjacent high school, accompanied Grimes to his attorney's car two blocks away. Fifty unionists then marched through downtown Brooklyn and demonstrated in front of TA headquarters on Jay Street. The rally concluded with the following remarks by David Brewer of the Committee for a Fighting TWU:

"All right. We understand that if brother Willie Turks [beaten to death by a racist mob in 1982] at Coney Island had been packing that night in Gravesend, he would be here today with us. We understand that if brother James Grimes had not been, he might not be here today. So the working people of this city see James Grimes as a hero for his act of armed self-defense but he is treated as a criminal by the criminal 'justice for the rich' system. And when I say 'criminal,' I'm talking about the criminals, the crooks and the killers who run this city from Tammany Hall to City

Hall to the stun-gun precinct. You know what I'm talking about. You know what they've been doing. Their list of victims is long. It's Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart...

"Every terminal and every depot in this system should have had a freedom train. Should have had a freedom bus to bring our troops down to this courthouse. If there had been a massive union mobilization to protest the murder of Willie Turks, this type of thing would not be happening today. We're saying that this union has got to get organized, it's got to have elected shop stewards to go out and represent the membership, to collect the dues, to know what the members want, to know what harassment the members are under. And in a case like this to mobilize the members to make an offer the corporate power structure in this city and their high politicians *cannot refuse*! Either you get your hands off our brothers, either you drop all the charges against brother Grimes, TA and D.A. charges, or we strike the trains and buses in this city." ■

Winpisinger Shafts Another Strike

TWA Flight Attendants Busted

On May 18, officials of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) abandoned the ten-week strike against TWA. IFFA's doublespeak statement talked about "continuing" the battle, but the strike is over and the company has said the strikers don't have jobs. The courageous flight attendants have been left high and dry—no union, and no jobs! The responsibility for this defeat lies with the Machinists' William Winpisinger and other airline union bureaucrats. In ordering their members to cross the picket lines of the flight attendants, they handed IFFA's head on a platter to TWA boss Carl Icahn.

A fortune in union funds was wasted on a corporate lobbying campaign to ensure that "good boss" Icahn took over TWA instead of Continental chief Frank Lorenzo. Then Icahn proceeded... to bust the flight attendants union. When IFFA

went on strike, Machinists and Teamsters initially honored their picket lines. Winpisinger then used a judge's court order as an excuse to scabberd. IFFA officials alibied this criminal backstabbing: the bureaucrats along with the fake-left pushed an impotent consumer boycott of TWA. *Workers Vanguard* told the truth: "If the Machinists and other airline unions at TWA don't honor the IFFA's picket lines, the flight attendants strike is dead" (*WV* No. 401, 11 April).

Crossing picket lines means dead strikes and dead unions, today at TWA as earlier at Continental and with PATCO air traffic controllers. Avenging these defeats requires the ouster of Winpisinger and the rest of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, and the forging of a class-struggle leadership that is prepared to stand up to the bosses, their political parties, courts and jails.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 384-9716

Madison

c/o SYL, Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 257-8625

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6
(416) 593-4138

Keep the Contras on the Run!

Remember the Bay of Pigs

"I look at Cuba, 90 miles off the coast of the United States. By 1965 or 1970 will there be other Cubas in Latin America?" This was John F. Kennedy in his final 1960 campaign debate with Richard Nixon. That morning the papers headlined a Kennedy statement calling for aid to the "fighters for freedom" who aimed at "overthrowing Castro." JFK won the election, in part because of his "tough on Communism" stance against Castro's Cuba. In fact, the preparations for the CIA-concocted invasion of Cuba were already well advanced. Yet only a few months later, on 18 April 1961, it ended in a perfect disaster for the U.S. This year we join the Cuban masses in celebrating the 25th anniversary of their stunning victory over the Yankee imperialists' mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs.

But Ronald Reagan, having forgotten nothing and learned nothing, is intent on repeating this debacle. Today Reagan asks, "Will we permit the Soviet Union to put a second Cuba...on the doorsteps of the United States?" He is putting the arm on Congress to come through with \$100 million for Nicaraguan "freedom fighters" to overthrow the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Managua. The "democratic resistance" Reagan hails as the "moral equivalent of the founding fathers" are the CIA's *contras*, vicious killers and torturers left over from the bloody Somoza dictatorship. A quarter century ago it was the *gusanos*, equally squalid remnants of the Batista dictatorship whom the CIA recruited, paid and sent off—ironically, from Somoza's Nicaragua—to meet their fate on Cuba's shores.

"The Company" had trained some 1,500 Cuban counterrevolutionaries in a Central American training camp named Happy Valley, while future Watergate



Fidel Castro (center) leads Cuban army in wiping out CIA gusanos at Playa Girón, April 1961.

bungler burglar E. Howard Hunt scraped together a "government in exile" in Miami. On 17 April 1961, "Brigade 2506" hit the beaches at Playa Girón and Playa Larga—and stayed there. Instead of a popular uprising against Castro, the invasion sparked a mass wave of support for the revolution and heroic defense of their country by the Cuban working people. While the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier and warships which had escorted them watched offshore, the *gusanos'* landing boats and their communications ship were smashed to smithereens by the tiny Cuban air force. The American air support that the CIA had promised never arrived. Within 64 hours, the invasion force was crushed.

The *contra* invasion of Nicaragua has been accurately termed a "slow-motion Bay of Pigs." Today Reagan says he is "not talking about American troops. They are not needed; they have not been

requested." Back then John F. Kennedy declared "there will not be under any conditions an intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces." But without U.S. forces, the invaders *could not* succeed. In both cases, the CIA's plans have shattered on the bedrock of popular backing for the revolution. The president of the Cuban-American Committee, Manuel Gómez, recently noted that "it was mostly the militia, not professional soldiers, that beat back the Bay of Pigs invaders" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 April). In Nicaragua, as well, it has been the militias (lately aided by special anti-guerrilla brigades) that have chewed up the *contras*, while the regular army has been held in reserve to meet a major invasion.

Nicaragua is not an island, however, so the *contras* have been able to slink back to their Honduran border sanctuaries after getting their asses kicked by the Sandinistas. In late March the Sandinista Army (EPS) moved against these sanctuaries and dealt the CIA's mercenaries a major defeat. Some 800 EPS troops, up against thousands of counterrevolutionaries, attacked bases in a border area known as the Las Vegas salient, pushing to the inside perimeter of the *contras'* main training camp, destroying it and causing 650 casualties, including 350 killed. Washington dramatically escalated the conflict by using U.S. Army helicopters with American pilots to ferry Honduran troops to the border. But it was too late.

But while they have been hard-nosed militarily, the Sandinistas are politically wedded to their holy trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and non-alignment." As the Bay of Pigs attack was underway, during a funeral demon-

stration for the victims of the American air strike that preceded the landing, Fidel Castro for the first time proclaimed the "socialist" character of the Cuban Revolution. (A workers state had been consolidated, though bureaucratically deformed, in the summer and fall of 1960, as the Castro regime responded to economic sanctions by the Eisenhower administration with the expropriation of property owned by U.S. and Cuban capitalists.) In contrast, in Nicaragua today—despite the U.S.-sponsored *contra* war and Reagan's trade embargo—the Sandinista-led National Assembly is preparing a constitution which would officially guarantee capitalist private property.

The present gang in the White House has vowed to "get back" at Castro for the stinging defeat handed to the Yankees at Playa Girón. Reaganite hawk Jeane Kirkpatrick's brother Lyman was the CIA inspector general who did the post-mortem on the Bay of Pigs fiasco, and Ronald ("I'm a *contra*") Reagan has made "no more Cubas" his battle cry. For years, under Democrats and Republicans alike, the CIA tried one scheme after another to murder the Cuban leader, using everything from exploding cigars to Mafia hitmen. That they're still in the assassination business, bigger than ever, was shown by the recent murder attack on Libyan strongman Qaddafi. Speaking on the 25th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs, Castro denounced the U.S. raid on Libya as "brutal, shameful, criminal and terrorist," and declared that "Reagan is Hitler's legitimate heir," only potentially more dangerous:

"In comparison to what Reagan has, Hitler was armed with bows and arrows or spears... Even if Hitler had so desired, he couldn't have placed the world on the brink of nuclear war, he wouldn't have been able to carry out adventures that might mean the end of the human race."

—*Gramma Weekly Review*, 27 April

That is exactly what Reagan is doing. In the face of aggressive U.S. imperialism intent on "rolling back Communism," the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in Central America. Yet while providing badly needed material and military aid, Castro and the Kremlin alike have urged the Sandinistas not to make Nicaragua into "another Cuba." They want to freeze the revolution halfway, leaving the capitalist economic stronghold of the "internal *contras*" intact—a sure formula for disaster. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency call to "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" It is the special duty of revolutionaries "in the belly of the beast" to bring out the American working class against the war drive and defend the intended victims of Yankee imperialism, from Nicaragua to Cuba and the USSR. To celebrate the Bay of Pigs, keep the *contras* on the run, all the way back to Miami—and mobilize workers action to bring down *Contra* No. 1, Ronald Reagan! ■



Sandinista troops patrol near Honduran border: Give CIA *contras* the Bay of Pigs treatment!

Guillermo Wins...

(continued from page 12)

can they make that stick on the same frame-up hasis that has just disintegrated in court?"

One day after the charges against Guillermo were dropped in court, the UC administration announced campus disciplinary charges against 13 anti-apartheid protesters for "violent actions or inciting others to violence and for failing to obey university or other public officials" (*Daily Californian*, 12 May). Seventy-three additional protesters received letters from Chancellor Heyman "admonishing" them for "disobeying

regulations" and threatening them with charges if they fail to toe the administration's line. These charges stem from the bloody *police riots* on the Berkeley campus on April 1 and 3, when the cops violently smashed protesters' symbolic "shantytowns." Ironically, Heyman's action against 86 student protesters gives the lie to his McCarthyite smear of the April protests as the work of "non-student" outside agitators. Many of the anti-apartheid protesters are facing court trials on frame-up criminal charges. We demand: Drop all the charges now! Stop administration/cop attacks on campus protest!

One of the demands of the "shantytown" protest was that the suspension of Guillermo Bermúdez be rescinded and charges be dropped against campus



Guillermo Bermúdez in choke hold by campus cop, January 1985.

protesters. The defeat of the administration/D.A. attempt to jail Guillermo strengthens the hand of all those

victimized by UC's repression, and underscores the importance of militant, united-front defense against the administration's attacks. As Guillermo told IVP: "My victory is a victory for all who would protest the policies of this racist, capitalist government. It was a determined fight and we won." Bermúdez thanked the many organizations and individuals—on campus, in the Bay Area labor movement, across the country and internationally—who vigorously defended him throughout the course of the case.

Victories cost money! Send urgently needed contributions for Guillermo's defense today. Make checks payable to Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund and mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

D.A. Drops Charges Against Berkeley Spartacist, Finally

Guillermo Bermúdez Wins!

Cal Reichschancellor Heyman Pursues Vendetta

BERKELEY—In a dramatic victory against the University of California's witchhunt of leftist student protesters, the charges against Guillermo Bermúdez were dismissed May 8 by the Alameda County District Attorney's office, on grounds of "insufficient evidence." The dismissal of the case amounts to an open admission by the state that the case against Guillermo was a frame-up all along.

On 29 January 1985, Bermúdez, a Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League, was arrested for leading a militant protest against Marine recruiters on the University of California campus. Bermúdez was singled out and assaulted by campus police, who seized him in a choke hold, broke his arm, and then falsely charged him with assaulting a police officer and resisting arrest.

Beset by student protest, the UC administration has been on an all-out campaign to crush political dissent. As U.S. imperialism escalates its anti-Soviet war drive—preparing an invasion of Central America and now launching a murder raid on Libya—preemptive strikes against student activism are an important part of the Reagan/Meece White House war plans. That Berkeley chancellor Ira Heyman's campaign of police violence, prosecutions and disciplinary actions is part and parcel of the Reaganite offensive was underlined by UC's participation in a Washington, D.C. conference last September on stopping "campus disruption." Other prominent participants



Guillermo Bermúdez addresses April 3 rally at Sproul Plaza.

Young Spartacus

included the U.S. State Department, Mobil Oil and the South African embassy. The Cal administration hoped to make an example of Bermúdez, an avowed revolutionary Marxist, in its drive to intimidate student protesters.

But the showcase frame-up fell flat at Guillermo's trial in February. Only one juror bought the District Attorney's preposterous charge that the 5'4", 129-lb. Bermúdez, shown in a *Daily Californian* photo dangling in the air in

a choke hold applied by a 6'4", 240-lb. plainclothes policeman, had assaulted that cop. The trial ended in a hung jury. The UC administration has failed, in fact, to get a single conviction against protesters who fought the charges against them and demanded a trial. Desperate for a "win" at trial, the UC administration cohorts in the Alameda County D.A.'s office—where Edwin Meece cut his teeth witchhunting Black Panthers and antiwar activists in the

1960s—planned to retry Bermúdez. But at the beginning of the scheduled retrial they finally admitted they didn't have a case.

While the dismissal of the charges against Guillermo is a real victory, we note with bitterness that for the last year and a half this young, working-class student of Salvadoran origin was forced to undergo the ordeal of facing criminal charges, defending himself against this frame-up at great expense. Bermúdez' attorney, prominent civil rights lawyer Howard Moore, has filed a civil suit against the university and its cops for damages.

Frustrated in the courts, the UC Berkeley administration has meanwhile vindictively suspended Guillermo from school. Publicly denouncing the courts as "notoriously unreliable," the administration has appointed itself judge, jury and executioner. This arrogant high-handedness provoked an uproar even in the university's own Student Conduct Committee. Bermúdez received support as well from the student government, the *Daily Californian*, a number of student groups, unionists and 1,500 students and faculty who signed a petition demanding the frame-up charges be dropped and Guillermo's suspension rescinded. And in Nicaragua, the Sandinist Youth hailed the courageous anti-imperialist example set by comrade Guillermo.

Commenting on the dismissal of charges, Guillermo Bermúdez told *WV*, "They wanted to throw me in jail because I am a Marxist, opposed to this ruling class's war on the workers and peasants of Central America and its gearing up for bloody imperialist war against the Soviet Union. They wanted a scalp to wave to scare students away from protesting. It hasn't worked so far and we will continue to fight the suspension for next semester. But how

continued on page 11

NYC Channel 5 Backs Down

Murdoch Swastika Smear Retracted

The press release printed below was issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on May 16.

New York City's WNYW-TV Channel 5 broadcast the following statement Thursday evening, May 15, on the "10 O'Clock News" in settlement of a libel lawsuit brought against it by the Spartacist League:

"On March 31, 1986, Channel 5 reported that someone had painted swastikas on the front of the Austrian Consulate and that an anonymous caller claimed it was the work of the Spartacist League. Channel 5 has investigated the matter further and has found no evidence linking the Sparta-

cist League with the incident. The Police Department has advised Channel 5 that the Spartacist League is not a suspect in this matter."

The SL suit had charged that the original Channel 5 newscast "falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously" defamed the SL, setting up the organization as a target for police repression and right-wing violence. The SL categorically denied that it or any of its members was involved in, nor did it urge others to initiate or participate in the reported events. Channel 5 "grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism," the SL suit charged.

Channel 5 had made no effort to check with the Spartacist League about the "anonymous caller," nor to check its own files, where they would have found extensive material from the Spartacist NYC election campaign last fall, amply documenting our Marxist politics.

Both the newscast's false statements and its repeated and prominent display of images of the swastika were a lethal double whammy, the SL charged, portraying the SL as terrorist crazies and simultaneously trying to tar it with the brush of fascism, equating our Marxist organization with the hated swastika, symbol of anti-Semitic terror

and genocide. The SL press release of April 5 announcing the suit noted that it was no accident that this display of gutter journalism came just a few weeks after Channel 5 was bought by Fox Television Stations, owned by Rupert Murdoch, who also owns the *New York Post*. Murdoch, the Australian-born press baron, is a notorious union-buster currently seeking to destroy the British newspaper unions.

Attorney Jonathan Lubell, of the firm of Lubell & Lubell, and SL general counsel, attorney Rachel H. Wolkenstein, filed the successful action on behalf of the Spartacist League. ■