

Reagan's Dogs of War Shot Down

Two caskets deposited by Sandinista police at the gate of the United States embassy in Managua: the first American casualties of the U.S.' criminal war on Nicaragua, shot down October 5 near the Costa Rican border while running guns to the CIA's murderous "contra" terrorists. Even more dramatic was the picture splashed across the nation's newspapers: Eugene Hasenfus, the third American on that contra supply flight, being led off by Sandinista soldiers. The photo vividly recalled that of another U.S. airman in the custody of a Vietnamese militiaman after his plane was downed during a bombing raid in that dirty colonial war. It is the memory of their humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese people which Ronald Reagan and his fellow imperialist warmakers seek to erase in their drive to reestablish U.S. hegemony and "roll back Communism," from Nicaragua to the Soviet Union.

Coming just as the U.S. Congress was finishing up voting for the \$100 million "contra aid" bill, a virtual
continued on page 8

Nicaragua, Vietnam: U.S. Lies and Wars



Sandinista fighter leads off downed CIA operative Hasenfus (left). Vietnamese militiaman with captured U.S. airman (right).
Dematteis/Reuters Phan Thuan

Soviet Bureaucracy at Iceland Summit: Limits to Betrayal?

From the moment Ronald Reagan walked out of the non-summit summit in Reykjavik, Iceland cursing at Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the media has been filled with morning-after speculations about the disarmament mega-deal that almost was. Democratic liberals who believe in the "arms control process" as the road to "peace" were upset that Reagan insisted on testing (and ultimately deploying) his trillion-dollar "Star Wars" space weapons scheme, instead of using it as a "bargaining chip." Former war secretary James Schlesinger fretted that the "opportunity of a generation" had been missed. The cynics in the Oval Office, meanwhile, claimed to have almost sealed a pact with the Russians to cut strategic nuclear arms by half within five years and eliminate all "offensive" ballistic missiles in ten. Reykjavik awakened widespread hopes, but anyone who thinks peace was almost at hand must believe in the tooth fairy.

Unfortunately, it appears that Gorbachev was one of those expecting to miraculously find a peace gift under his pillow. In order to achieve a "historic"

pact, he was evidently ready to mortgage the proverbial store for a piece of paper signed by the world's leading imperialist. Even the viciously anti-Soviet *New York Times* (15 October) felt compelled to editorialize that many of the "sweeping agreements" in the proposed deal were made "largely on the basis of Soviet concessions." Among the significant concessions:

- The Soviets would eliminate all their medium-range missiles in Europe if the U.S. did the same, while allowing Washington's British and French allies to keep theirs in place.

- The Soviets would cut back, by perhaps several hundred, the number of shorter-range missiles in Europe.

- After unilaterally imposing on themselves for the past year a moratorium on nuclear testing in the hopes that the U.S. would do the same, the Soviets capitulated to Reagan's insistence on letting U.S. nuclear tests continue. Instead there would be a vague commitment to phase out the tests "over time."

- Bombers and cruise missiles, where the Americans have the advantage, would not be eliminated under the pro-

posed ten-year deal, while ballistic missiles (the Soviet strong suit) would go.

- Sea-launched cruise missiles, which the U.S. constantly flaunts against the Soviet Union in endless provocative Navy "exercises," are exempted entirely from the deal.

- All this comes on top of the already agreed-to deal in which Gorbachev gave NATO the "right" to call "snap inspections" of Soviet conventional force maneuvers in Europe to "ease tensions."

"Things look much brighter than they did before," bragged Kenneth Adelman, the rocket-rattling head of Reagan's "arms control" agency after the summit. Massachusetts Democrat Ed Markey said it was "the best deal the Russians have offered us since they sold us Alaska." The Reaganites think they can get what they want by slamming the Russians against the wall. And now the U.S. has announced the expulsion of another 55 Soviet diplomats. The Soviets are well aware of the U.S. strategy of nuclear blackmail. In his post-summit speech Gorbachev said:

"The West thinks or hopes that perhaps the Soviet Union will, in the final

analysis, be unable to bear the arms race, economically will break and will therefore come and bow to the West."
—*New York Times*, 15 October

Unfortunately, the Kremlin is all too willing to accommodate, driven by the illusion that an expensive arms race can be avoided by a paper deal. Indeed, already there are hints being dropped by the Soviet Union that they might capitulate to Reagan's "Star Wars" demands, allowing "some research and testing... outside the laboratory" (*New York Times*, 19 October). The Soviet Union, homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, is in grave danger. But even Joseph Stalin discovered that there were limits to his betrayals to imperialism, when three million German soldiers poured across the Soviet border in June 1941, compelling him to fight or face the destruction of the foundations on which the bureaucracy rests.

Underlying the whole "arms control process" is the pacifist myth that wars are caused by weapons, and therefore war can be prevented or at least

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**Defend the Soviet Union!
Workers Revolution Must Disarm the Imperialists!**

Neandertal Man: Friends We'd Like to Have

Workers Vanguard

Dear comrades,

In our article "Apartheid Capitalism Murders Black Miners" (WV No. 412, 26 September) we refer, quite rightly, to the barbaric and philistine character of Reagan and his gang. However, when we write of the "neanderthal political representatives in the White House," we are insulting one of our most interesting and attractive forebears.

Our Ice Age ancestor has been depicted as an ape-like, shambling brute ever since the first fossil remains were found in a cave in the Neander Valley near Düsseldorf in 1856. He got a bad name because nobody at the time wanted to admit that such a specimen

could be the predecessor of the "racially superior" European Victorians, or in fact that any human could have been older than 4004 B.C. It took a mass of fossil evidence and the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* to get even the scientists of the middle 19th century to acknowledge that the origins of man predated the Biblical creation.

Neandertal man walked quite as well as we do, cared for his sick and old, buried his dead. To the extent he was anatomically different from modern man, it was to a purpose—although exactly what purpose is still a hotly debated question. His heavier bone structure made it possible to kill huge animals with only handheld spears; the giant brow ridge and protruding jaw

probably facilitated the use of a more robust chewing apparatus and may have also been an adaption to the cold climate; the longer and thinner pelvic structure widened the birth canal, perhaps allowing the females to carry for eleven months rather than nine. In any case, all agree that Neandertal man was ideally suited for life in Europe in the last glaciation, a claim that cannot be made for any other hominid. As the eminent Finnish paleontologist Björn Kurtén noted in his collection of essays *How To Deep-Freeze a Mammoth*:

"Neandertal man is thus a very complicated being. On the one hand a fierce carnivore, on the other a being filled with love for his own and wonder about the mysteries of his world. In any case, something different from, and much

more, than the savage cave man of popular literature."

Present day creationists of Reagan's ilk would no doubt prefer we keep Neandertal man in his Alley Oop comic cave-man closet. But one must think, while evolution has rendered a different verdict, that if we had Neandertal man around today, we'd like them as friends. In any event, if we're looking for a prehistoric analogy for the current arrogant, backward and crazed servants of the American ruling class, perhaps we could call them something closer to the truth: degenerated and depraved Cro-Magnons.

Comradely,
Women and Revolution
Editorial Board

WV Helped Foil Pope Plot

Kurralta Park
Australia
22nd July 1986

1986, in which appeared the article, "Pope Plot Frame-Up Flops" on page four.

This article was read in Australia with the same intense interest with which we read earlier articles in WV on the Antonov case. Americans have a facility for crisp, penetrating composition and ingeniously alliterative head-lines, which many Australians find both

admirable and often amusing. With Antonov now free, we can afford to smile a little, can't we?

On behalf of the Australian Committee for the Defence of Antonov, I would like to express the sincere thanks of many thousands of Australian working people to WORKERS VANGUARD for the cogent and compelling articles which this American workers' newspaper published in defence of a Bulgarian citizen wrongly imprisoned for some

three years or so on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. The steadfastness of American working people in support of Antonov was a splendid instance of international solidarity.

We are all very grateful for your support.

Yours sincerely
Rex Mathews
Secretary
Australian Committee for
the Defence of Antonov

Editorial Board
WORKERS VANGUARD
New York USA

Many thanks for your letter, dated 25 April 1986, which arrived here safely today and enclosed copies of WORKERS VANGUARD No. 402, 25 April



TROTSKY

Workers Revolution To Disarm Imperialism

During World War I, the Bolsheviks counterposed to every pacifist illusion the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war," and carried this out in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Today, the defense of the social gains of that revolution are inextricably linked to the realization of that slogan worldwide, a task which



LENIN

Lenin highlighted in his speech commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Russian October.

The millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace... which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists, the generals and the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists and the philistines, the pious Christians and the knights of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals vent their fury against that revolution. No torrents of abuse, calumnies and lies can enable them to conceal the historic fact that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have replied to a war between slave-owners by openly proclaiming the slogan: "Convert this war between slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations."

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

—V.I. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" (October 1921)

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No. 414

24 October 1986

Mozambique President Killed in South Africa

Samora Machel, president of Mozambique, was killed October 19, along with at least 28 other passengers including four government officials, when his presidential jetliner crashed just a half-mile inside the South African border. The Soviet pilot who survived the crash declared the plane was shot down, leading one to see the hand in this of the racist regime in Pretoria or its hired mercenaries left over from the Portuguese colonial army, the "Mozambique National Resistance."

Escalating military threats from South Africa and the savage ten-year campaign of terror and economic sabotage by the "MNR" compelled Mozambique on October 11 to place its armed forces on full alert. The apartheid bloodsuckers are threatening to expel the 61,000 Mozambique workers who toil in the hellholes of South Africa's mines and whose remittances are a major source of foreign exchange for this desperately

impoverished black country. Only last week the Mozambique press speculated about an assassination attempt on Machel's life coming from Pretoria or its hirelings.

Machel's plane went down just 30 miles south of the South African border town where the 1984 Nkomati accords were signed. With black "front line states" living under economic vassalage to the apartheid regime, in 1984 Pretoria black-mailed Mozambique into expelling hundreds of African National Congress anti-apartheid fighters. South Africa was supposed to end its support for the MNR; instead that support has escalated. In desperation, Machel went hat-in-hand to Reagan in September, to no avail.

The CIA assassinated Congolese independence leader Lumumba in January 1961. A few months later, in the same area, UN head Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash; the circumstances were never clarified.

Spartacist/PDC Legal Brief on "Creationism" vs. Evolution

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No. 85-1513
In The
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
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ERWIN W. EMBERT, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. COTTE, Jr., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS G. CLAVIER, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana, Appellants,
DON ACCELLANO, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORLEANS PARISH SCHOOL BOARD et al., Appellees,
ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT
BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

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On the Hormel Boycott

Austin, MN
3 October 1986

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Dear Jan Norden,

Thank you for your timely coverage of the longshore strike and calling to attention the many black eyes inflicted on labor in recent years, however I must assure you personally that your statement declaring a defeat for Hormel strikers is premature. Have you heard that 1700 workers at FDL, a Hormel subsidiary, are on strike in Dubuque, Iowa and Rochelle, Illinois? That is 2600 workers in three locations fighting the Hormel company. It would seem your sources of information must be the six o'clock newscast or perhaps joint statements from Hormel and the UFCW. Please come see with your own eyes and listen with your own ears.

Our "useless consumer boycott" has Chuck Nyberg, Hormel chief counsel, saying there are no jobs because they don't need the product and UFCW trustee, Joe Hanson, begging trusted officers to call off the boycott. To keep up sales figures the last two quarters, Hormel has cut prices as never before, expended \$60 million in unprecedented advertising campaigns, all of which (even in only quarterly reports) have shown losses in net profits. Just this week in Austin, eleven management personnel were terminated. Housecleaning, I hardly think so.

The membership of P-9 strikers have and continue to carry their fight to all workers, for all workers. We continue to enjoy widespread support from workers worldwide. I am saddened that, because you evidently disagree with our democratic process of the direction our fight has taken us, you might not support our struggle. I hope such is not the case. I am sure we understand that labor must not pull against each other, but pull toward each other in these, some of the worst of times for workers everywhere. We can ill afford any differences or cracks as gifts to enemies who will surely drive deep the wedges of division. I thank you for your efforts on our behalf.

United we Stand
Cecil Cain

P.S. Might I point out that Hormel has business contracts with the Renown company and the Hai Tai company of South Africa.

WV replies: Who needs "socialists" that tell you you're winning when you're losing? The Spartacist League went flat out, distributing over a quarter million *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the recent ILA strike in just three days, because here was one of the heavy battalions of the labor movement swinging into action. We told the hard truth about why so many recent working-class battles have gone down to defeat—PATCO air controllers, Arizona copper miners, Watsonville cannery workers, TWA flight attendants, and Hormel—and we put forward a program for victory. The central lesson is: union misleaders are playing by the bosses' rules, and that's a losing game. "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," proclaimed an earlier *WV* supplement (2 March 1984), widely distributed to striking workers, which became a banner of struggle on picket lines across the country—including at Hormel during the crucial months of the strike. We must forge a class-struggle leadership that can mobilize the power of the working class at the head of all the oppressed.

You say the Hormel strike continues through a consumer boycott of Hormel products, and any other view must come



WV Photo

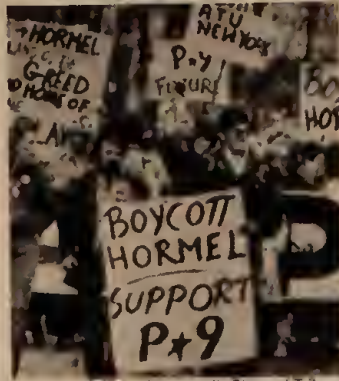
Labor's gotta play hardball to win: Key to victory was stopping scabs from entering Austin plant (left). "Cram your Spam" consumer boycott (right), recipe for defeat.

from the capitalist media or the scabherders in the UFCW International. Wrong. Strikes are won or lost on the picket line, not at the supermarket checkout counter or with the vague sympathy of "public opinion." The bottom line is: you're on the street and the scabs have your jobs. The Hormel strike lost when the P-9 leadership failed to stop the 1,000-plus "replacement workers" who have been in the Austin plant for the past eight months. The key moment was last January-February when the scabberding began. Hundreds of strike supporters came down from the Twin Cities and the membership was ready to fight. But all the "tactics" of Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign, Inc. amounted to *not* challenging the state when the crunch came.

Calls for a consumer boycott have always been a retreat from labor struggle. When did they ever work? Cesar Chavez' Farm Workers pushed a grape boycott for years, without results, because they *abandoned* the Delano strike. At the time of the 1981 PATCO air controllers strike, AFL-CIO tops covered their asses with their "don't fly" boycott, whereas any self-respecting Machinists or Teamsters leader should have called out the membership to *shut down the airports*. At Hormel, we warned against the consumer boycott diversion when it was first put forward by the P-9 leadership in January. The SL called instead to "hot-cargo" Hormel shipments, a *labor* boycott by truckers, rail workers, longshoremen which would have been an effective act of solidarity with the P-9 strikers.

You don't mention the other side of the Guyette/Rogers strategy: treacherous appeals to the government, suing the UFCW in federal court and eventually petitioning Reagan's NLRB to decertify the union. The state is not neutral here, as your own experience with the Democratic governor, the courts, cops and Guardsmen should demonstrate: they're the bosses' armed fist. The hard fight necessary was to mobilize Midwest labor against National Guard strikebreaking at the Austin plant. It's no accident that the capitalist government outlawed "secondary" labor boycotts under the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts, while not bothering about consumer boycotts. Labor militants better learn that when the bureaucracy puts you on the boycott list, your strike has been sentenced to death.

The Hormel strike inspired millions of workers around the country when you took on the labor traitors in the UFCW International. Finally, they said, someone is trying to stand up to the murderous givebacks! But the P-9 leadership did not have a program to take on the companies, the state and the pro-capitalist union misleaders. They were stymied, and in desperation and defeat they crossed the class line,



Schluter/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

appealing to the class enemy against the union movement. The greatest danger for striking FDL workers and the many others who looked to P-9 would be to ignore the reasons for the defeat of the Hormel strike.

Either you fought for class-struggle

action in Austin, mobilizing the ranks of Midwest labor against the company, the state and the sellout union leadership, or the strike would be broken: that was the choice. Calling on housewives to "Cram Your Spam," appealing to the capitalist courts and labor boards is a program for defeat. The road to victory for labor, from East Coast longshoremen to Midwest meatpackers, lies in the battle to oust the bosses' agents in the unions, breaking with the racist, capitalist Democratic Party and forging a workers party.

On the back of the SL party card is a quote from the Transitional Program, written by Leon Trotsky in 1938: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International." These are the rules of the Spartacist League. ■

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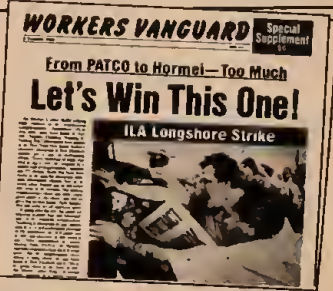
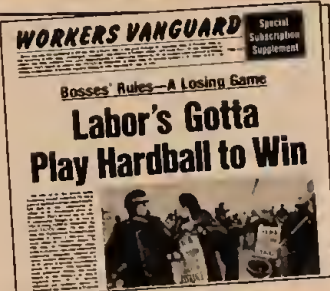


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Week Five Totals

| Local | Quota (in points) | Week Five | % |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----|
| Atlanta | 125 | 241½ | 193 |
| Boston | 250 | 274 | 110 |
| Chicago | 350 | 431½ | 123 |
| Cleveland | 200 | 278 | 139 |
| Los Angeles | 125 | 148 | 118 |
| New York | 900 | 877 | 97 |
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1953: ILA Against Government Union-Busting

When East Coast longshoremen walked out October 1, it was different from most recent strikes in the U.S. For a brief period the union-busters were on the run. Pitted against the bosses and their government was the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), a union that has waged a number of hard picket line battles over past decades. Demanding "no concessions," mass pickets shut down New York's containerized facilities tight and meted out rough justice to would-be scabs. Third-generation longshoremen picketing the docks vowed they would not return to the condition their fathers and grandfathers faced when there was little or no union protection. With a big confrontation brewing, ILA officials cooled out the strike, for now, by extending the contracts for 45 days.

The capitalist press sneers at the ILA as a collection of "mobsters" and "racketeers." But heavy-handed government policing of this union over the years owes little to any desire to "clean up corruption," and a lot to the desire to break a hard-nosed union with considerable social weight. Once among the most miserably paid workers, the black, Irish, Italian and other immigrant longshoremen have forged a strong union that exercises job control on the waterfront. The current battle on the waterfront has been shaped by this decades-long collision between the ILA and the capitalist state. Always claiming a "national emergency," the federal government has imposed strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions on the ILA nine times. And if a strike is resumed now, the Reagan administration would surely attack it as a threat to "national security." To beat the bosses, longshoremen need to draw a political balance sheet of past battles.

Postwar Strikes

As World War II drew to a close, East and Gulf Coast longshoremen had long been under the dictatorial rule of ILA leader Joseph "King" Ryan, who assumed office in 1927 and later had himself named president-for-life. The CIO labor explosion of the '30s changed little for these dock workers: Ryan's contribution was an unsuccessful attempt to sabotage the powerful strike of West Coast dockers that culminated in the San Francisco general strike in 1934. But in 1945 New York longshoremen finally exploded. A wildcat erupted against a sellout contract agreed to by Ryan and the shipping bosses. Militant ILA Local 791, centered on the Chelsea docks in Manhattan, took the lead. Despite appeals by federal mediators to return to work, the strikers continued their wildcat for 18 days. An arbitrator eventually awarded a pay increase more than twice the original offer.

In 1947 the Chelsea Local again walked out briefly. The following year ILA bureaucrats submitted two contract proposals: the ranks voted both down. Once again 791 hit the bricks, sparking a port-wide shutdown over overtime pay which spread to Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. After

How Longshoremen Stopped the Finks



October 1953: NYC harbor shut down by ILA strike. Striking longshoremen mass at Philadelphia pier.

dragging their feet for several days, ILA officials finally declared the union's first official strike in 28 years. Not trusting Ryan & Co., militants called a mass meeting at Manhattan Center. Ryan and other AFL leaders claimed the meeting had been called by the Communist Party to take over the ILA and to disrupt the Marshall Plan. (Under the guise of shipping food to the starving poor in Europe, Truman's Marshall Plan aided pro-American regimes while waging economic warfare against the Soviet Union.) But 800 strikers defied the bureaucrats and attended the meeting. Evening rates were maintained which the bosses are still trying to take away.

In 1951 New York longshoremen again wildcatted. Although ILA officials alleged that the contract had been voted up, militant Local 791 led a walkout that quickly spread to other locals which had voted "no." "King Joe" blustered, "I wouldn't lower the dignity of the International to open up negotiations" (Vernon Jensen, *Strife on the Waterfront*). "Tough Tony" Anastasia, then a foreman on the docks and later Brooklyn ILA leader, tried to break the strike by sending in scabs to work the Army base, but this ploy failed. Seafarers (SIU) leader Paul Hall prominently supported a back-to-work

movement. The strike ended after union leaders futilely appealed to Truman to intervene and guarantee impartial balloting procedures.

Showdown on the Waterfront

1953 began ominously for the Ryan bureaucracy and the maritime bosses. In February, ILA-affiliated New York tugboat workers waged a successful ten-day strike; militant longshoremen shut down the port in solidarity with them. Up to 1,000 angry dock workers rallied at Ryan's headquarters with signs that included "Resign Meat Head Ryan" and "Bradley the Scab—Remember 1951." This was a reference to ILA tugboat leader William Bradley, who later succeeded Ryan as ILA International president: in 1951, Bradley took out full-page ads in the NYC press denouncing striking longshoremen as communists while Governor Dewey issued a directive establishing a waterfront Crime Commission targeting the ILA. Previously the bosses and politicians hadn't raised a peep about the notorious ennditions on the waterfront. But when Ryan could no longer discipline his membership, suddenly he became a crook.

A campaign was unleashed by AFL bigwigs accusing the ILA of "corruption." The Joseph P. Ryan Association held an annual banquet to which every prominent politician in New York and New Jersey trooped, from Tammany Hall hacks to Mayor LaGuardia to FDR when he was governor of New York. Ryan regularly received "Christmas gifts" and liberal donations by the stevedoring companies to his "anti-communist fund"; after all, they were the prime beneficiaries of the kickbacks and sweetheart deals. But now Ryan was accused of siphoning off money earmarked for "fighting communism" to acquire silk shirts and underwear, a Cadillac and insurance policies. Meanwhile, the Crime Commission prepared to issue its report on waterfront graft.

This investigation of the ILA kicked off 35 years of government hounding of the union which has continued up to the present day.

With the October 1, 1953 contract deadline a week away, the AFL expelled the International Longshoremen's Association. George Meany & Co. attempted to set up a new union, the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen (IBL), putting Teamster head Dave Beck and SIU leader Paul Hall in charge. Most dock workers were well aware that neither Beck nor Hall were nature's noblemen. Beck immediately attempted to raid the "public loaders"—ILA workers who loaded trucks on the piers. Meanwhile, Ryan was desperately trying to settle the contract in order to shore up his position. He scaled down the union's wage demand from 50 cents to 10 cents an hour, but the bosses weren't making concessions. Ryan ended a brief strike October 7 when a Taft-Hartley injunction was issued at President Eisenhower's demand.

In November, after Ryan's indictment for "misusing" union funds, a special ILA convention forced him to resign. But when a representation election was held in December, workers favored the ILA over the Hall/Beck/AFL "union." The National Labor Relations Board voided the results. In March some 24,000 New York ILA members struck in protest against the hiring of AFL members on some docks. Dewey promised that the government would "use every weapon at its command" to break the strike, which he labeled a "criminal conspiracy." Liberal do-gooders like John Corridan (the prototype for the "waterfront priest" in Hollywood's pro-fink *On the Waterfront*) urged longshoremen to desert the ILA. The army threatened to hire scabs, and strikers were pulled out of picket lines and interrogated before federal grand juries. The NLRB issued an anti-strike injunction and later fined the union \$50,000.

Following a 29-day strike, the longest in the port's history, dock workers returned to work when the NLRB threatened to rule the ILA off the ballot in a collective bargaining election. Once again the ILA won a majority, this time by an even greater margin, and was eventually certified by the NLRB. The union-busting attempt was defeated by the militancy and determination of the longshoremen. Local 791, which had spearheaded many strike struggles, defied its business agent and voted by a margin of several hundred to 21 to stick with the ILA. Militant longshoremen hated Ryan and the ILA tops, but they correctly understood that the issue was defense of their union against government attack. The victory forged the ILA into a union that the bosses hated and were forced to respect, and fueled the militancy of the ranks over the next two decades.

Battle Over the Hiring Halls

Longshoremen were particularly enraged about Hall/Beck's endorsement of a scheme to place hiring under government control. The old shape-up system was notoriously corrupt: company bosses would hand-pick work gangs from among dockers gathered at the piers. In order to get jobs, ILAers frequently had to pay off the straw boss; they stuck varying numbers of toothpicks in their hatbands indicating how much they were willing to shell out. Non-union members, including many off-duty cops, were hired in preference to ILAers. Black workers were systematically discriminated against. In Brooklyn, as well as the Southern ports, there were segregated locals. The primary gain of the victorious 1934 San Francisco strike which produced the International Longshoremen's and



Bay Area dock workers, powerhouse of San Francisco 1934 general strike.

Peter Woolston for Local 6 Exec Board

ILWU Militant Says No to Union "Narcs"

OAKLAND—The West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) bureaucrats have made the easy transition from policing labor militancy for the bosses to being union "narcs" for Reagan/Meese's drug witchhunt. Last winter ILWU tops supported the employer program for compulsory drug and alcohol "screening" for new hires. But warehousemen in East Bay ILWU Local 6 aren't going along with President Al Lannon's attempt to enlist them in the "war on drugs."

At the August 26 General Executive Board (GEB) meeting, Lannon introduced a draft policy statement, "The 'War on Drugs'—A Union Approach," endorsing drug testing when there's "a good reason." Lannon, a favorite of the pro-Democratic Party popular front "left" in the Bay Area, asserted the bureaucracy's "right" to regiment the membership on behalf of the bosses:

"As union members, as a vital part of society, we have the right to have standards. Just as a contract sets the rules for both workers and management, so too we can 'set the rules' on drugs and alcohol in the workplace, and let it be known that the days of 'anything goes' are over." [emphasis added]

But Lannon's "labor Meeseism" was rejected by a vote of 15 to 14 at the executive board, and the September 18 Local 6 meeting voted to accept the GEB minutes, thereby upholding the rejection of Lannon's policy.

At both meetings, members of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the ILWU, successfully fought this witchhunt. Supporters of the reformist Communist Party, although mealy-mouthed in their opposition to Lannon's policy, had the decency to



Peter Woolston (left) fought for union action against South African blood ship Nedlloyd Kimberley, November 1984.

vote against it. On the other side of the Bay, a small-time rat on the waterfront named Howard Keylor has enlisted in the Reagan-inspired, anti-labor drug hysteria. Keylor, guru of the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency," a dubious clot of quitters devoted to provocations against the Spartacist League, calls for the union to run its own anti-drug campaign. The line-up against the ILWU membership runs from Reagan to the Democrats to the union tops, with aspiring "union narcs" like Keylor trailing along.

Militant Caucus spokesman Pete Woolston, a warehouseman for 13 years, is a candidate for the General Executive Board in the upcoming Local 6 elections. The Militant Caucus calls for labor/black action to smash racist terror, for a workers party and a workers government. Woolston was among the militants who tore down the Confederate flag of slavery at the San Francisco Civic Center in 1984. We reprint below his statement at the local's

candidates night October 16, denouncing the bureaucrats' support to the drug witchhunt, a domestic reflection of the capitalist anti-Soviet war drive.

From Arizona copper miners to cannery workers in Watsonville, workers have shown a determined willingness to strike. The main obstacle to victory has been the pro-capitalist union leadership, which is committed to playing by the bosses' rules. For example, Hormel strikers lost because the local leadership bowed to court injunctions that outlawed mass picketing, and they relied on a useless consumer boycott.

No decisive gain of labor was ever won in the courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket line or in plant occupations.

Union misleaders would have us believe that this government, owned by the bosses, can be pressured into doing

nice things. Supposedly all we have to do is to elect the right Democrat and life will be sweet. But it was a Democrat who bombed black babies in the Philadelphia MOVE massacre. It was a Democratic governor who sent the National Guard against Hormel strikers and Arizona copper miners. The Democratic-controlled House passed the \$100 million for the drug-running contras.

Reagan's war drive, supported by the Democrats, means support to South Africa, the contras and the Afghan mullahs. At home the government is trying to regiment our lives, from what we read and what movies we watch to what we do in our bedrooms. When Lannon tried to get the union behind "drug testing for cause," he was simply falling in line with the Democrats who are trying to out-Reagan Reagan on the so-called drug problem.

We don't need union narcs—that's falling for the lie that since the government and the companies say there's a drug problem, then there must be one. The anti-drug hysteria is a part of the Reagan administration's attempt to regiment society, and this always occurs when the government is gearing up for war.

Reagan and the companies want to frame everyone on charges of terrorism and drugs, but it's U.S. spy agencies, working with Afghan mullahs and the contras, who are up to their necks in drugs-for-guns trafficking. The U.S. supports Bolivia and Colombia, two of the largest suppliers of cocaine.

Drug tests will simply be used to intimidate and terrorize workers, frame union activists and put the liability for accidents on workers and not the companies. ■

Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) was elimination of this system and its replacement by a union hiring hall with jobs dispatched on a rotary basis. But in New York the bosses' scheme was to replace the shape-up with a government-run hall.

In June 1953, a 5,000-strong demonstration of NYC longshoremen marched outside the Bar Association building against Dewey's hearings. When the Crime Commission finally issued its report, it vowed to exclude from employment "any person whose presence on the waterfront will endanger the public peace, safety and welfare." All longshoremen were to be licensed, registered and fingerprinted. To implement this procedure, a Waterfront Commission was established for the New York-New Jersey harbor. Enabling legislation for this was passed by both state legislatures and the U.S. Congress, and signed into law by Eisenhower.

When the new hiring regulations went into effect in 1955, longshoremen bitterly resisted. Mass protest meetings were called and a work stoppage was launched on the Manhattan docks. The Waterfront Commission got an injunction against the strike. And when the ILA defied the injunction, International president William Bradley was sentenced to 15 days in jail. The state-controlled hiring halls were to become the basis for a blacklist of militants and anyone with a "bad record" or criminal conviction. Some 5,000 men were initially screened off the docks by the Waterfront Commission. The union has fought many bitter battles in an effort to oust the government-run hiring halls.

Dewey's New York Crime Commission directed at the ILA became the model for a massive campaign by the

federal government to use the issues of "corruption" and "racketeering" to spearhead attacks on the unions. A Senate select committee was set up on a resolution by anti-Communist witchhunter Joe McCarthy. Under chairman John McClellan and staff counsel Robert Kennedy, this committee targeted the Teamsters. They set up the conviction of Jimmy Hoffa, whose first-ever master freight contract raised the spectre of a nationwide truck strike. The hearings also led to passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959.

This legislation was the basis under which Brooklyn ILA leader Tony Scotto was convicted two decades later. Ostensibly directed against racketeers, Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin further restricted union weapons like hot-cargoing and barred communists from holding union office. More recently, the Reagan administration has heavily used RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) "conspiracy" laws to target labor organizations under the pretext of eliminating "racketeering."

"The Only Illegal Strike is One That Loses"

Pointing a finger at the Teamsters, ILA and other unions with alleged mob connections has always been a convenient way for mainstream labor fakers to channel heat from the ranks away from the rotten fruits of class collaboration. The liberal left similarly divides the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy into two camps: hardened business unionists like the ILA's Teddy Gleason, and slicker-talking "progressives" supposedly more deserving of support. This is fundamentally a false distinction. The heavily bureaucratic, anti-Communist ILA leadership has been better than their



ILA pickets on New Orleans waterfront, October 1986.

Stalinist counterparts in the ILWU on many "bread and butter" issues. It was Bridges' ILWU that first gave waterfront employers the right to slash gang sizes. These "modernization" deals were so notorious that Gleason had to promise his membership in the '60s not to "sell out jobs like Bridges." It was not until several years after Bridges agreed to the decimation of his workforce that the ILA leaders ended their partial resistance.

Or take the Reutherite bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers (UAW), which continually boasts of its "clean unionism." The UAW tops may not take mob money; they "merely" traded hundreds of thousands of jobs and billions in givebacks for a seat on Chrysler's board of directors and an ambassadorship to China. All above-board and "legal"—and a criminal betrayal of the working class. The labor

bureaucracy's prostration before capitalist law has crippled the unions: being in the hip pocket of the capitalist state is a form of corruption just as venal as taking kickbacks under the table.

During the air traffic controllers strike, as PATCO leaders were being led away to jail in chains, labor fakers like Machinists' chief William Winpisinger justified their scabberding by claiming that the strike was "illegal." But as militant British miners say, "The only illegal strike is one that loses."

The ILA waged bitter strikes in 1959, 1962, 1964, 1968 and 1971 as automation and job cuts became central issues on the docks. In every instance the government imposed Taft-Hartley injunctions—and every time the ILA tops "respected" the bosses' laws. The ILA bureaucracy won't buy off Reagan by boycotting Soviet grain shipments and working military cargo during strikes. Just as it was during the days of "King" Ryan, anti-Communism is the weapon of those who break strikes, not those who win them.

Genuine union democracy can only be achieved through hard class struggle, which necessarily counterposes the unions to the capitalist state. Such a program is poison to all wings of the labor bureaucracy, from hardened business unionists to social-democratic fake-progressives. The bitter battles waged three decades ago by longshoremen underscore this fact: in defending their union against the bosses and government they found themselves up against their own conservative misleaders and the AFL and CIO tops. The American workers movement urgently needs a new, class-struggle leadership built in irreconcilable opposition to the union bureaucracy and their capitalist masters. ■

Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!

When even Reagan's people charge a "public figure" with "invidious sectarianism," you know you're dealing with a hard-core swine. Secretary of Education William Bennett denounced evangelical would-be theocrat Pat Robertson for stating that "Christians feel more strongly about love of country, love of God and support for the traditional family than do non-Christians" (*New York Times*, 19 September). To the long list of dangerous things Pat Robertson embodies, add outright anti-Semitism.

As the social system which breeds them descends further into its death agony, the "messengers of god" get progressively worse. The separation of church and state and individual freedom of conscience was a hallmark and driving force of bourgeois-democratic revolution. It is testimony to the utter degeneracy of the present-day bourgeois order that a professional religious bigot like Pat Robertson is a would-be contender for president of the United States, the most powerful country in the world.

Revolutions and counterrevolutions find their decisive expression in the armies which fight for them, how these armies are organized and the principles which motivate them. As Leon Trotsky, founding leader of the Red Army,

observed: "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme."

In the English Puritan Revolution, Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army of yeoman farmers and artisans fought under the banner of freedom of conscience and against the established Church of England, which sanctified the absolutist monarchy. For Puritan revolutionaries, the separation of church and state was a religious principle. Significantly, the Cromwellian Commonwealth abolished the centuries-old law barring Jews from England, and Cromwell as Lord Protector personally encouraged Jews to emigrate to his realm.

Many, if not most, of the leaders of the American War of Independence (e.g., Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams) were not Christians and indeed condemned Christianity as superstition and bigotry. Adams, for example, wrote to Jefferson: "This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there was no religion in it." The American historian Henry Steele Commager noted a few years ago: "We tend to forget that separation of church

and state and rejection of religious establishments were, in the 18th century, the most revolutionary experiment on which the new United States embarked."

The Great French Revolution was inspired by the rational idealism of the Enlightenment, which Pat Robertson and his ilk denounce as "secular humanism." One of the first acts of the revolutionary government, for example, was to grant full civil rights to the Jews of France. Influenced by the experience of the revolution, the early 19th century French socialist Charles Fourier stated that the role of women stood as the decisive index of social progress in general. From the march on Versailles in October 1789, which broke the power of the monarchy, through the Jacobin regime, the poor women of Paris served as shock troops in this great test of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. Even in its degeneration under Napoleon Bonaparte, the impact of the French Revolution across Europe was incalculably progressive. Thus when they entered German cities Napoleon's armies blew up the gates of the Jewish ghettos to symbolize the destruction of medieval superstition.

If destroying the gates of the Jewish ghettos symbolized the victorious

bourgeois-democratic revolution in Europe, then Hitler's Holocaust—the extermination of six million Jews—signified the victorious bourgeois counterrevolution in Europe. Today, even within the kaleidoscopic Scottish nationalist movement, fascistic, white supremacist elements have reared their heads raving about "racial purity." What about a black Robertson? We bitterly recall the murder of four young black girls who were at Baptist Sunday school in Birmingham in 1963. Their church was bombed by the Klan and one of the young martyrs was named Carole Robertson. Their deaths at the hands of the cross-burning KKK will be avenged by the victorious American workers revolution.

It was the Soviet Red Army—product of the first proletarian revolution—which liberated most of Europe from the barbaric nightmare of Nazism. The rabid racism, anti-Semitism and religious bigotry of a Pat Robertson is part of a decaying capitalist order which also encourages the growth of American fascism. Today it is we communists who fight for the liberating principles which once inspired Cromwell's New Model Army, the French revolutionary armies, and the American soldiers at Valley Forge and in Sherman's Union army.

Pat Robertson: Sinister Bigot

There's nothing too far out or reactionary for American politics these days, it seems: the right-wing lunatic fringe is in the mainstream, and they've got Ronald Reagan pounding the bully pulpit from the White House. "Born again" Democrat Jimmy Carter brought the religious right to the fore in Washington, and a 1980 "Washington for Jesus" march set the stage for Reagan's presidency with a 200,000-strong pray-in for prayer in the schools and smashing women's right to abortion. Since then, Protestant fundamentalist hucksters like Moral Majority ayatollah Jerry Falwell have only grown in influence. And now one of the major disciples of Armageddon, Marion G. "Pat" Robertson, says he received a sign from god to make a bid for the Republican presidential nomination.

Behind the slick media image of this most successful of the "televangelists" is a bid for political power by the religious right in the Republican Party. And school prayer is just the beginning: these "men of god" are linked to the abortion clinic bombers and book-burners, the shock troops for moral regimentation of the American population. They are the ideological voice of the Meese police who are targeting sex, pornography, drugs as "crimes" to be stamped out. Behind this crusade for bible-thumping bigotry is a mad drive for imperialist

war by the "Christian Kingdom" of the USA in a nuclear Armageddon against the "Evil Empire" of the USSR.

Known as the "Teflon Telepreacher" for his nice guy manner and chipmunk smile, Pat Robertson is a dangerous bigot who preaches that Darwinism has destroyed the schools and god will unleash nuclear war as a punishment for sin. In Hitlerite fashion he declares abortion "racial suicide," while saying South Africa's not ready for democracy. To push his agenda he has built a media empire worth over \$200 million, centering on the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), the largest noncommercial cable TV network in the world, broadcasting to 65 countries via satellite (and with the aid of the Armed Forces Network).

He has aggressively embraced U.S. imperialism's dirty band of Central American dictators in their campaigns of terror and grisly murder against the workers and peasants. When a 1982 coup brought Guatemalan general Rios Montt to power, Pat Robertson was at his side within a week. He urged his TV audience to donate to Montt, and later to lobby the U.S. Congress for aid to El Salvador. He calls Salvadoran death squad kingpin Roberto D'Aubuisson a "very nice fellow." Lately he's been touting the murderous Nicaraguan contras, by the end of 1985 his CBN

had supplied at least \$7 million in aid to these and other right-wing Central American butchers (*Guardian*, 17 September).

In his daily talk show, the "700 Club," with an estimated 28 million regular viewers, Robertson sings the praises of his favorite reactionary causes, while sponsoring guests such as anti-ERA activist Phyllis Schlafly and racist ultrarightist Senator Jesse Helms. High on his domestic agenda is smashing "secular humanism" and the teaching of evolution in the schools: educators have "taken the Holy Bible from our young and replaced it with the thoughts of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud and John Dewey," he laments (*Time*, 29 September).

He whips up hysteria about sex, threatening hellfire and damnation by nuclear annihilation because incest, adultery, abortion, gay sex and bestiality are making "God mad at the people of America." "That's why we call for repentance, not because we're bluenoses that say, 'well, we don't like you to have fun,' but I don't want you or me to be incinerated!" (quoted in Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror* [1984]). And in a grotesque smear of black people, Pat Robertson claimed sexual promiscuity leads to "the flotsam and jetsam of the ghetto where young people don't know who their parents are" (Allen Hunter, "In the Wings: New Right Ideology and Organization," *Radical America*, Spring 1981).

Preaching the gospel of greenbacks from his lavish Virginia Beach mansion, he has numerous tax-exempt fronts to funnel the sums he milks from his TV audience into his political causes. "Operation Blessing" channels millions to the terrorist squads in Central America, while the "National Legal Foundation" pays the legal fees for the 600 evangelical parents suing to remove "secular humanist" textbooks from the Alabama classrooms. The "Freedom Council" is Robertson's campaign front, while the "Committee for Freedom" is his regular political action committee (PAC). In giving the high sign from on high to "go for it,"



Pat Robertson

Bruce Hoertel

Robertson says the lord made his presidential bid conditional on \$300 million in pledges from the faithful.

The Making of a Bigot

Pat Robertson, scion of a prominent Virginia family, is the son of A. Willis Robertson, a relatively innocuous conservative Democrat who occupied a seat as United States Senator for some 20 years, serving as chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. The younger Robertson attended Yale Law School, where he studied constitutional law without ever reading the U.S. Constitution (so he says). After flunking the New York bar exam, he worked for W.R. Grace, the New York company run by Peter Grace, notorious for sneaking Nazi war criminals into the U.S. (Today, Robertson's CBN works with Grace as head of the Knights of Malta in channeling "private sector" aid to the Nicaraguan contras.)

From 1950 to 1952 Robertson served in the Marines—and has claimed he saw "combat duty" in Korea, which he touts as evidence of his experience fighting Communism. Lately this tidbit has disappeared from his CBN

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April 1980 "Washington for Jesus" rally. Evangelical preachers whip up Protestant fundamentalist racist reaction.

Martyred in Birmingham Church Bombing

WE REMEMBER

CAROLE ROBERTSON

On the morning of 15 September 1963, Carole Robertson, Cynthia Wesley, Addie Mae Collins, all age 14, and Denise McNair, age 11, were attending Sunday school at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, when 15 sticks of dynamite exploded. The four young black girls were killed and 19 others injured by the blast, the murderous work of the Ku Klux Klan. The historic 16th Street church had been the headquarters of Dr. Martin Luther King's mass protests which brought hundreds into the streets in the struggle for integration. For months the Birmingham black community had marched against segregationist governor George Wallace, facing the firehoses and snarling dogs of local police chief Eugene "Bull" Connor. The church bombing came only weeks after the August 1963 March on Washington, and as Malcolm X said, "it wasn't a dream, this was a nightmare."

Birmingham 1963 was where black people in the South put away King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism. After the bomb exploded, the black community rose up in outrage and self-defense. The forces of racist "law and order" moved in their 16-wheeled "riot tank" and the cops opened up with shotgun blasts. A black teenager, Johnny Robinson, was hit in the back by buckshot and died for allegedly being "among a group that had hurled stones at white youths driving through the area in cars flying Confederate battle flags" (*New York Times*, 16 September 1963). Another black youth, 13-year-old Virgil Wade, was mysteriously shot and killed while riding his bicycle. But blacks would not take it lying down; armed street patrols and observation posts sprang up in the

ghetto. It was the spectre of armed black self-defense which motivated President Kennedy to deploy troops in Birmingham... in the black areas.

Carole Robertson, born in 1949, was the daughter of Alvin and Alpha Robertson, both public school teachers—her father taught music, her mother literature. Carole was good friends with Cynthia Wesley, another victim, who was the only child of Claude Wesley, principal of an elementary school, and his wife Gertrude, a teacher. The third victim, Addie Mae Collins, was one of five children of Alice Collins, a poor black woman separated from her husband; another one of Mrs. Collins' daughters, Sarah, suffered eye injuries from the blast. In an article, "Death of an Innocent" (*Look*, 24 March 1964) William Bradford Huie wrote of the youngest victim, Denise McNair:

"Denise didn't like the state's schoolbooks. She didn't want to learn to read only about white children. She created a story in which white and colored children play together. Isn't that Communist-inspired? Denise's murderer would think so; so does the Governor."

Twenty years later, Denise's father Chris complained bitterly, "People want you to forget that 16th Street happened. Why do you want to sweep it under the rug? Damn it, it happened, and only one person has been convicted of it" (*New York Times Magazine*, 24 July 1983).

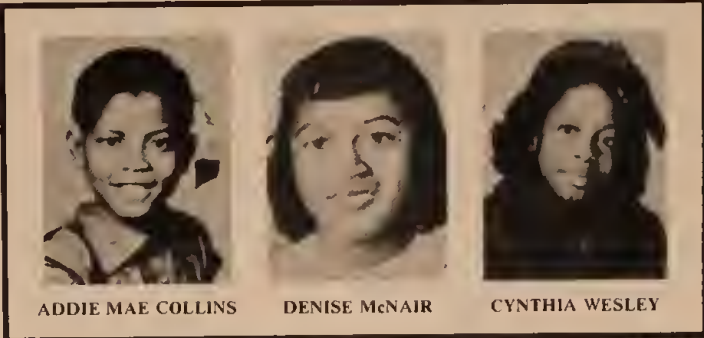
That person was Klansman Robert Chambliss, and he wasn't convicted until 14 years later. He didn't act alone, nor did his "Klavern"—they had the cover of federal, local and state police authorities. While liberals (and the rightward-moving Socialist Workers Party) were calling for federal troops to

VICTIMS OF KKK BOMBING, 15 SEPTEMBER 1963.



CAROLE ROBERTSON

Ebony



ADDIE MAE COLLINS

DENISE McNAIR

CYNTHIA WESLEY

Ebony Photos

Alabama in the wake of the Birmingham bombing, in fact, the FBI's paid "informant," Gary Thomas Rowe, was a key leader in the Eastview Klavern from which the bombers operated. Eight years ago, the *New York Times* (17 July 1978) documented that Rowe was involved in "most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the bureau's payroll." Rowe aided Chambliss in the church bombing, and also participated in the murder of white civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, cut down on the Selma-Montgomery highway in 1965. And as documented in Patsy Sims' 1978 book *The Klan*, "J.B. Stoner was the man behind the bombings," according to one Alabama lawman. The notorious KKK terrorist Stoner finally began serving time in 1983 for the bombing of Birmingham's Bethel Baptist Church 25 years earlier.

The Birmingham church bombing was coldly calculated murder, aimed at terrorizing blacks into submission with the most heinous crime imaginable. As Malcolm X correctly asserted at the time, "The guilt is upon the United States government for the murder of those four little girls who died in that bombing. The guilt is upon the United States government for those little boys who were shot down right afterward." Asked about the "legal" impediments to federal action, Malcolm replied, "They didn't have to worry about a legal procedure when they wanted to send troops into South Vietnam. They didn't worry about legal procedures when they wanted to send their troops into Cuba and tell the Cubans what to do. Uncle

Sam has never worried about legality whenever he wanted to send his troops wherever his interests were threatened. But when it comes to protecting the lives of 22 million Afro-Americans, then all of a sudden Uncle Sam becomes very conscious of legality." Malcolm went on:

"As long as the Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama, were being nonviolent and were turning the other cheek, then there was nothing the government in Washington could do.... But on that night, when the Negroes exploded, that Saturday night, and begin to react against the whites who had been brutalizing them, then the government in Washington, D.C. sent troops in. And they didn't send troops in to protect the Negroes. Because Negroes had been the victims of brutality for several weeks. They sent troops into Birmingham, Alabama, only when the lives and the property of the white racists and segregationists in Alabama were being threatened."

—"Malcolm X Speaks Again," recorded in April 1964

In 1963 the KKK carried out its racist terror with the cover of the capitalist authorities, from arch-segregationists Chief Connor and Governor Wallace to the liberal Kennedys in Washington. Last year the Philadelphia police, with the go-ahead of black Democratic "mayor of murder" Goode and the praise and logistical support of the Reagan regime, firebombed the black MOVE commune, murdering eleven black people including five babies. The martyrs of Birmingham and Philly MOVE will be avenged, and the struggle for black freedom will be victorious through the American proletarian revolution. ■



FBI Informer Gary Rowe (below) aided Klan in bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church, headquarters of Martin Luther King-led civil rights movement.

UPI Photos



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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
Editor

Reagan's Dogs of War...

(continued from page 1)

declaration of war against Nicaragua, the shootdown of that American cargo plane by a 19-year-old Sandinista soldier with a shoulder-launched Soviet SAM rocket was a major embarrassment for the Reagan administration's war plans. And documents found in the plane map nut the contra supply operation in great detail. Not only are Ronald Reagan's "freedom fighters" kill-crazy mercenaries, led by former National Guardsmen left over from dictator Somoza's private army, but their arms supply (to no one's surprise) is coordinated straight from the White House basement. Liberals talked of violations of Congressional restrictions, the Neutrality Act, international law, etc. And to top it off, Hasenfus, his luck run out, began to spill the beans.

Langley issued its ritual implausible denial, saying "The guy doesn't work for us, and CIA is not involved." But a Nicaraguan foreign ministry spokesman stated the obvious: "None of these operations could take place behind the back of the U.S. government." As details of the plane and its crew emerged, they had "The Company" written all over them. The Vietnam-era camouflaged C-123 was owned by Corporate Air Services, a paper company with the same officers and address as Southern Air Transport at Miami International Airport. Southern Air was a CIA "proprietary" outfit during the Vietnam War, and continues to work as the Agency's preferred carrier. The same crew had also flown scores of missions ferrying guns and ammo to the South African-backed UNITA in Angola. The dead pilot, William Cooper, had flown with Hasenfus for the CIA's Air America in Vietnam.

Hasenfus supplied more details: this was his tenth flight in a supply operation run out of Ilopango military air base in El Salvador, where he worked with 25 other "Company" men. He and the other two Americans bore Salvadoran air force ID cards identifying them as U.S. military advisers. One of his controllers was identified as Luis Posada Carriles, a Cuban gusano CIA operative who last year escaped from a Venezuelan prison where he had been jailed for the 1976 bombing of a Cubana airliner, killing all 73 passengers and crew. The big boss at Ilopango, said Hasenfus, was Max Gómez, nicknamed "The Condor," a pal of Vice President (and former CIA director) Bush. Gómez is a professional killer whose bloody trail runs from the Bay of Pigs to the murder of Che Guevara. (He claims to wear Guevara's wristwatch and boasts of interrogating the legendary guerrilla leader shortly before he was killed.)



Sandinista soldiers deliver coffins of American invaders to U.S. Embassy.

On October 19, just as Hasenfus was about to go on trial for war crimes before an Anti-Somozaist People's Tribunal in Managua, CBS reporter Mike Wallace interviewed him for "60 Minutes." The prisoner said "it was all a job" and said he was working for the CIA. Asked "what would you like to say to President Reagan, to Bill Casey, the head of the CIA?" Hasenfus replied, "I'd like me to have him sittin' where I'm at and see what he'd say." Asked if Hasenfus could be home with his family by Christmas, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega replied: "We wish he weren't in jail in Nicaragua."

This case is having a major impact in the U.S. Two days later, after being formally charged with terrorism in the Managua court, Hasenfus spoke with NBC-TV, saying: "I am guilty. Everything they've charged, it's there. How can I say I wasn't there, I was not carrying small arms and munitions to their resistance? Am I supposed to take that airplane and myself and hide it?" He feels abandoned by the U.S. government, and says he's being well treated. "It probably would have been better... if I wouldn't have made it out of that plane," Hasenfus added, saying: "Dead people don't talk." It was one thing doing this back when he was single and working for the CIA in Vietnam, he says, but now he thinks of his family. Washington is thinking only of how to shut him up.

As the trial unfolds, more of the CIA's bloodstained linen will be hung out as prosecutors refer to the extensive flight records, personal phone books, business cards, etc. recovered from the crash. The sheer quantity of documentation found on the men is revealing about the mentality of Reagan's "dogs of war." Worried that their bosses may let them hang, they fly around with extensive proof of their CIA connections so the agency can't disown them. In El Salva-

dor, meanwhile, officials were so incensed at President Duarte being forced to take a fall over the contra supply operation that they leaked the telephone records of the CIA's safe houses to the press! So much for honor among thieves. Meanwhile, the Congressional "oversight" committees (so-called because their job is to overlook every CIA dirty trick they can close their eyes to) are getting antsy, like they did alter the mining of the Nicaraguan ports.

Especially coming on the heels of the flap over a U.S. disinformation campaign against Libya, administration stonewalling over the downed CIA plane in Nicaragua is opening up a "credibility gap" reminiscent of the Vietnam War. While Secretary of State Shultz was quoting Winston Churchill about masking the truth behind a "bodyguard of lies," Bernard Kalb, a former CBS and NBC journalist, resigned as State Department spokesman saying, "Faith in the word of America is the pulsebeat of our democracy." In that case, it must be comatose—repeated polls show that from the time of Vietnam and Watergate on, a strong majority of Americans think the government lies to them all the time. In this case, even the exposés are cover-ups, as government officials tried to pretend the deception over Libya was talk of U.S. military action against Qaddafi (after Air Force and Navy guns have attacked Libya twice this year so far!) rather than the bogus claims of Libyan terror missions.

CIA disinformation over Nicaragua is hardly new. According to former contra leader Edgar Chamorro, it began with the contras' very first press conference, when Agency operatives censored out references to restoring private property to the owners, in order to mask their Somozaist origins. The CIA murder manual, *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla War*, lists spreading inflammatory rumors as one of the prime "psy ops." Alexander Haig denounced Sandinista atrocities against Miskitos using as "evidence" photos of Somoza's bombing of the town of Esteli. And inside Nicaragua, the U.S. was financing the "voice of the internal contras," *La Prensa*, to the tune of \$100,000 in 1985 until the Sandinistas finally shut down this enemy propaganda outlet. According to Ralph McGehee, a 25-year CIA veteran, "What this means is that the 'Ministry of Truth'—the propaganda ministry in George Orwell's 1984—has become a reality."

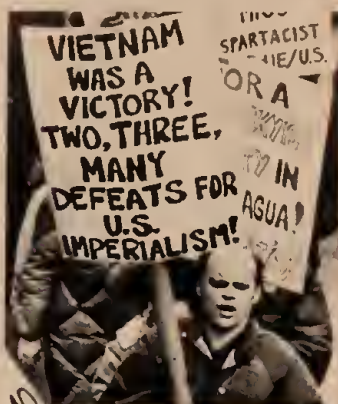
The liberals see truth as "the first casualty of war," and indeed monstrous lies have certainly been the handmaiden of imperialist war, from the Allied claim that the Lusitania was just an innocent passenger ship, whose sinking in 1915 brought the U.S. into World War I (and which, 60 years later, was proved to be carrying munitions to the British) to Hitler's dressing up of some prisoners in Polish uniforms and shooting them, in order to claim a Polish attack on Danzig, the pretext for the start of World War II. In Vietnam, every major escalation of U.S. involvement was predicated on another Big Lie, from the State Department's 1961 "White Paper" alleging *North Viet-Nam's Effort to Conquer South Viet-Nam* to the non-existent Gulf of Tonkin incident, which produced the Congressional resolution that "legalized" the whole bloody U.S. war.

Reagan has now got his Gulf of Tonkin resolution for the Nicaragua war with the \$100 million contra aid vote. Nicaragua "could be a rerun of Vietnam," said liberal California Senator Alan Cranston. "First American money, then American advisers, then American control of the war, then American troops." It's now escalated beyond the contra war, and the first American coffins are being flown back. From the liberals (and their rad-lib tails) to former president Nixon everyone is proclaiming, "No More Vietnams!" These people are united in defending the

interests of American imperialism, and want no more ignominious defeats in Third World adventures. The Spartacists, however, who stood with the peasants and workers of Indochina and take a side today with our class brothers and sisters facing Yankee guns in Central America, proclaim: "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

The Spartacist League has called on American labor to hot cargo arms shipments to Central America, and joined militant ILWU longshoremen in calling for a 48-hour West Coast port shutdown in 1983 in response to Reagan's escalation of the anti-Soviet war drive targeting Sandinista Nicaragua and leftist rebels in El Salvador. *Young Spartacus* has spearheaded a campaign that has raised over \$25,000 to defend Nicaragua against the imperialist attack, both military and economic. The reformist left, however, who tail after the liberal Democrats and voted for Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale in 1984, refuse to take sides openly for those fighting American imperialism, and resort to thug attacks and the capitalist police to keep our red flags and communist politics out of "their" Central America demos.

The New Leftovers also think the U.S. working class is hopelessly bought off, and see our calls on labor to mobilize against the war drive as "utopian." They forget that as the Vietnam War escalated, sentiment against it was spreading among American workers. The SL called for labor political strikes against the war, and as the war dragged on that possibility was becoming palpable. In the 1971 dock strikes the ranks wanted to shut the ports down tight but ILA and ILWU tops bowed to Taft-Hartley injunctions and kept the military cargo moving. Today, the war drive affects every part of the U.S. economy, and the working class is increasingly restless after half a decade of union-busting "givebacks." So when key sections of labor fight back, they immediately confront the military buildup, as in the recent highly charged East Coast dock strike. What's needed is a



WV Photo
"Roach motels for the CIA—they check in and there they stay!" Demonstrators protest CIA-run contra invasion of Nicaragua, March 1983.

class-struggle vanguard to make this conscious. Stop the guns to Reagan's contras!

Today, the Reagan administration is having its problems in Central America and elsewhere. Its contra army is still holed up in Honduras, having done practically nothing militarily for more than a year. Its local puppets are getting increasingly nervous about serving as front men for a failing policy. And the Pentagon's own experts are saying that an invasion of Nicaragua would take at least 100,000 U.S. soldiers. On the home front, the American population still doesn't believe its government (with good reason) and opposes anything that looks like it will lead to another Vietnam War in Central America. The leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is urgently needed to mobilize the workers in leading a class struggle against imperialist war. ■

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Limits to Betrayal?...

(continued from page 1)

postponed by state-to-state agreements to freeze or reduce the number of arms. That's putting the cart before the horse. Weapons don't create imperialist war, the conflict arises out of the very depths of the worldwide class struggle, the struggle between the capitalists seeking to maintain their exploitative class rule, and the working class and oppressed fighting for liberation. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, noted many years ago:

"Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases.

"Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the work-



Reagan fumes over failure to disarm Russia at Iceland meeting with Gorbachev.

that it is meant to be a defense against a Soviet first strike. Reagan has a different idea, as we wrote over a year ago:

"As an umbrella against surprise attack, 'Star Wars' is truly a harebrained scheme. But as part of a first strike it makes a lot of (twisted) sense. The Union of Concerned Scientists' detailed study on *Space-Based Missile Defense* (March 1984) notes that an attacker with thousands of missiles could readily smash through any conceivable defense shield, but ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems 'might perform with some effectiveness against a poorly coordinated and weakened retaliatory strike'."

—"Reagan's First-Strike War Plans," *WV* No. 370, 11 January 1985

In short, the "Star Wars" scheme is part of a U.S. first-strike plan.

The cheapest way for the Russians to counter SDI is by adding to their inventory of long-range ballistic missiles, to ensure that enough of them will survive a U.S. first strike to deliver a devastating retaliatory blow—and thus by their existence act as a *deterrent* against attack. But the whole thrust of Reagan's push at Reykjavik was to *reduce* the inventory of Russian long-range ballistic missiles. If that were done, the Russians at a certain point would no longer have a deterrent force credible to the nuclear nuts in the White House (Reagan no doubt plans to have a reliable successor in place) who would feel they could launch a first strike with impunity. Thus the reduction of the number of Soviet weapons would actually heighten the danger of war.

The world, in short, would become a far more dangerous place if the proposed "disarmament" deal were signed. Indeed, to the extent that there hasn't been a world war since 1945, it is due to the fact that the Soviet Union developed atomic weapons and ballistic missiles, staying the hand of U.S. imperialism in particular. Anti-Soviet liberal Seymour Hersh admits as much in his book about Henry Kissinger and the Nixon years. Nixon let the word leak out to Hanoi that he was indeed crazy enough to use nuclear weapons, so the North Vietnamese would supposedly crawl to the bargaining table; it was an attempt to mimic Eisenhower's nuclear threats against China during the Korean War. "I call it the madman theory," Nixon confided to one of his close aides. But, as Hersh explains, the North Vietnamese weren't intimidated:

"There was a basic flaw in Nixon's 'madman theory.' Eisenhower's threat had been made at a time when the United States had a virtual monopoly on nuclear weapons. That situation did not exist in the late 1960s, and the credibility of Nixon's threat was reduced by the possibility that the Soviet Union, or even Communist China, would retaliate after an American first use of nuclear weapons."

—Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power* (1983)

Cuba and Vietnam would never have been allowed to consolidate their social revolutions, and the U.S. would have tried to dismember the Soviet Union and bring back private property (if not the tsar), if it weren't for the fact that Russia had the bomb, and SS-18 missiles to deliver it!

Road to Peace: World Revolution

The dangerous cringing of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the face of U.S.

belligerence has only encouraged Reaganite reactionaries to push harder. Yet Moscow continues to plead, because the Stalinists with their nationalist blinders look to the false road of collaboration with the imperialist powers. Such a "defense" of the Soviet Union leads to catastrophe. To understand the origins of this peculiar blindness one must understand the rise to power of the Stalinist political counterrevolution in the 1920s.

Lenin, the great founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party, never excluded the necessity of the Soviet state—surrounded as it was and is by hostile imperialist powers—to make deals with them and maneuver for time. But he never gave an inch to the idea that this could buy permanent "peace," only a respite for the newly-born workers state. While Churchill talked of crushing it in the cradle, the young Soviet republic was under intense economic as well as military pressure, flowing from the fact that the 1917 Revolution had taken place in a backward, largely peasant country where the urban working class was a small minority. Lenin himself made a point of this in 1921:

"A workers' state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers' state, with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly, that it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions."

—"The Party Crisis" (January 1921)

Lenin knew that the survival of the workers state "with bureaucratic distortions" depended on worldwide proletarian revolution. But this perspective was thwarted by the rise of a conservative privileged bureaucracy under Stalin, who purged and murdered the Old Bolsheviks and consolidated his rule



Don't mess with Russia! Soviet military power deters war-crazy U.S. rulers.

around the anti-internationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Gone was the call for world revolution—indeed, the outbreak of proletarian revolution in capitalist countries like Spain was regarded as a menace by Stalin—and Soviet foreign policy was transformed into the grossest class collaboration with so-called "progressive" capitalists. Trotsky summarized this betrayal as follows:

"The bureaucracy has not only broken with the past, but has deprived itself of the ability to understand the most important lessons of that past. The chief of these lessons was that the Soviet power could not have held out for twelve months without the direct help of

the international, and especially the European, proletariat, and without a revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples. The only reason the Austro-German military powers did not carry their attack upon Soviet Russia through to the end was that they felt behind their back the hot breath of the revolution. . . . "The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis the safety of the workers' state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937

Trotsky called for a proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union to restore direct workers' rule over the centralized planned economy. Now more than ever, such a revolution is needed to defend the gains of 1917.

In the U.S., the Stalinist strategy is reflected in the Communist Party's endless exhortations to vote for liberal Democratic candidates, from Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 to Walter Mondale in 1984. The thorough discrediting of the Democratic Party for its role in the imperialist rape of Vietnam in the '60s has left that bourgeois party in disarray, but today the CP continues to promote various "progressive" Democrats like New York candidate for U.S. Senate Mark Green, who just bought Reagan's Star Wars. The Democrats' program is merely to develop a more "rational" mix of weaponry to use against the Soviet Union, with a stronger emphasis on conventional warfare. It's no accident the Democrats have agreed to fund Reagan's contras, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan—they're all in the anti-Soviet war drive together.

The problem is not simply that there's an irrational man in the White House, or even the sinister "military-industrial complex" much touted by the Stalinists, but the irrational social system, capitalism, whose motor force—maximum profit—is driving us toward nuclear war. The real hope for humanity lies in the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, for the establishment of a workers government under the leadership of a revolutionary party. The Soviet bomb has bought precious time for the working class, but time is running out. Had Soviet trade unions demonstratively extended the hand of solidarity to the ILA longshoremen during their recent strike against the



Long & Associates MX missile, part of U.S. first-strike nuclear arsenal.

ing class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."

—"Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," July 1932

Reagan's First-Strike War Plans

So what was Reagan up to at Reykjavik? The centerpiece of his policy is the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as "Star Wars." This would involve deployment of high-tech weapons in space and on the ground—lasers, particle beam weapons and kinetic energy "rail" guns—to destroy Soviet missiles and warheads in flight. The Russians demanded the mildest of restraints, insisting that the U.S. adhere to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty by keeping SDI in the laboratory for ten years. (Not even the most optimistic Star Warriors think the U.S. would be ready to extensively test before then anyway.) But Reagan nixed it. Many reputable scientists regard SDI as a crackpot scheme (and a horribly expensive one) which can't possibly work. But these scientific criticisms are valid only if one buys Reagan's assertion

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Boston...

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fact that "over 18,000 of our school children have been bused to other Boston neighborhoods under the false promise of a better education" and look forward to ending what limited busing still takes place and using their cut of the \$291 million Boston school department budget for "Mandela" schools.

Fortunately, many of Boston's black residents who courageously fought to break down the barriers of racist segregation and got the buses rolling ten years ago are not about to concede defeat now by secession. Boston's black newspaper, the *Bay State Banner* quoted one black worker who said, "I would vote no. I don't think it should be a separate section of the city for black people. I don't think there should be a black township because that separates black and white."

The GRIP referendum will appear on



WV Photo

Boston, 16 October 1982: 1,500 demonstrators ran the Ku Klux Klan out. Spartacists at protest call for labor/black defense against racist terror.

the ballot in many white neighborhoods and the potential for a violent racist backlash is clear. Massive white flight to the suburbs and the opening of parochial schools for whites seeking to avoid desegregation has left the school system 73 percent minority in a city which is overwhelmingly white. It's not accidental that there is another referendum on the November 4 ballot which would abrogate the separation of church and state by altering the Massachusetts state constitution to allow public funds to support private schools. Yet another component of the onslaught against blacks and minorities in Boston is a referendum which would essentially prohibit abortion and public funding for abortions unless the woman's life was at stake.

Last May, a Ku Klux Klan motorcycle gang burned a cross in front of their clubhouse in an integrated section of Dorchester and spray-painted the walls with "No N-----s Allowed." Black and Haitian residents of Mattapan have been subjected to racist mob terror and cop shootings. And the opening of the film *Rambo* in Boston ushered in a wave of violent attacks on Asians in the city.

For many black families, the vision of equality and equal education seems increasingly an impossible dream. While the Brahmin liberals pat themselves on the back for their urban revitalization schemes, like the glitzy tourist trap at Faneuil Hall, or the yuppiefication of parts of the South End, the core of Boston's industrial base has deteriorated drastically. The closed-down Quincy shipyard and the long-abandoned textile mills are testaments to the grinding poverty in Boston's inner city, where there are white ghettos that are just as devastated as Roxbury. The mini-boom built on real estate speculation and the non-union high tech/war tech plants on Boston's outer ring along Route 128 have done little or nothing to alleviate the effects of capitalism in



Down with the Boston bantustan scheme! White racists seize on black Dems' suicidal segregationist proposal.

decay on this viciously segregated Northern city.

The answer lies in a struggle for revolutionary integrationism, not in pseudo-nationalist "community control" schemes or faith in the Democratic Party. The Spartacist League stands for massive, integrated mobilizations of the labor movement and all fighters for black equality to defend and extend busing for school desegregation. This is the perspective we fought for to turn back the racist mobs in the streets of Boston in the mid '70s. We participated in integrated demonstrations against racist terror in the black Columbia Point housing project.

We sought to mobilize labor/black defense guards to physically defend the bused children through appeals to the integrated labor movement such as teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers unions. We sought a revolutionary mobilization that could defend and massively extend busing beyond the token METCO program to the suburbs. This perspective was counterposed to

the liberal politicians such as Ted Kennedy and Tip O'Neill who knifed busing in Congress, limiting it to the poorest inner-city schools.

In the '80s, with a Klan-endorsed president in the White House, the KKK lynchers believed they had a license to carry out their racist terror everywhere, including in Northern urban centers. The Klan thought they had a real opportunity in Boston where rampaging racists had defeated busing in the streets. But these poisonous hatemongers not only target blacks, Jews, labor and communists. Catholics are also high on the hit list of the cross burners. So when "imperial wizard" Wilkinson called for a KKK racist rally in front of Boston's City Hall on 16 October 1982, blacks from Roxbury joined together with Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, unionists and leftists including Spartacists, to drive the racist killers out of town. Yet this blow against the fascists was *boycotted* by Boston's black Democratic establishment including Mel King. The anti-fascist victory demonstrated the potential for militant, integrated class struggle even in this deeply segregated and economically depressed city. And this victory contributed directly to the powerful, SL-initiated labor/black mobilization that drove the Klan out of Washington, D.C. the following month.

The possibilities for labor and black struggle for black freedom and workers power can be seen in the fight of black parents who recently forced the school superintendent to back down in his attempts to close more black schools in Boston, and in the bus drivers union's fight against the further whittling away of busing by putting 4,000 children on public transportation. The Spartacist League seeks to forge a workers party to lead such struggles against the racist capitalist system and bury Jim Crow once and for all! ■

Pat Robertson...

(continued from page 6)

biography, however, since wartime buddy and Republican ex-Congressman Pete McCloskey revealed that Robertson asked his father to pull strings to keep his son out of front line duty. In Korea, McCloskey wrote, Robertson's major duty "was apparently to fly to Japan once a week and bring back booze for the officers' mess" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 September).

While in a bout of depression, Pat Robertson says he experienced god, underwent a conversion and became a Baptist minister, opening a mission in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district. But the lord sent him on to greener pastures, he says, telling him to start a TV station and even specifying the price (\$37,000). Robertson says god insisted that they go for top-of-the-line equipment, saying "Pat, I want you to have an RCA transmitter" (*New York* magazine, 18 August). On his show Robertson regularly heals the sick of hemorrhoids and boils and leads the congregation speaking in tongues. He has written a succession of books including *The Secret Kingdom* (1982) predicting an imminent stock market crash and nuclear war, and *Beyond Reason: How Miracles Can Change Your Life* (1984) which ranks right up there with Ronald Reagan's autobiography, *Where's the Rest of Me?*

Now that he is in the race for the nomination, Robertson is trying to cover his nutty flank. He tends to concentrate on foreign policy and the world economy in his speeches these days, and to leave out his claims to have diverted Hurricane Gloria from the shores of Virginia through the power of prayer. ("If Mayor Knch and Governor

Cuomo had told everyone to...ask God to take the hurricane away, then maybe it wouldn't have come" to New York, Robertson later said.) But whether or not Robertson is a kook (which he is) is not the question. As he himself said, there "isn't a dime's worth of difference" between him and Reagan politically.

Pat Robertson Is America's Meir Kahane

Recently Robertson created a flap when he baited Norman Lear for being Jewish. Lear is president of the liberal People for the American Way, a civil liberties organization, which monitors the activities of the religious right and recently published an exposé, "Pat Robertson—Extremist with a Baby Face." Robertson's response was vicious anti-Semitism:

"I have a fairly good idea of what the American way is because it was my ancestors who helped make this country. Regrettably, Norman Lear does not have the same sense of history that somebody of my heritage has."

—New York, 18 August

In this racist land, where the Ku Klux Klan was reborn in 1915 with the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman framed up for murder in Georgia, such words smear everyone who isn't a Protestant fundamentalist as anti-American and are a call for racist terror. In fact, Norman Lear's name was on the same fascist hit list as Alan Berg, the Denver talk-show host assassinated by the Aryan Nations Nazis.

Those right-wing Jews (and Catholics as well) who support Robertson, Falwell and the rest of the religious right may think that shared messianic Zionism and anti-Communism will protect them. However, Zionist nationalists who want to be theocratic politicians would be smarter going to Israel, where they have the backing of a state power and the social weight of the dominant chauvinism. Unfortunately, not a few

do, like Meir Kahane (aka Michael King), who left his anti-Soviet, racist Jewish Defense League thugs behind so that he could found the overtly fascist Kach movement that campaigns for the expulsion of Arabs from Greater Israel. Catholic bigots could try Dublin or Sicily...but not Warsaw, since the power grab by Solidarność was spiked.

But in America, religious bigotry triumphant will be inherently, and violently, anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic. And the Protestant purists will not respect the rightist credentials of the *Commentary* crowd, for example. Those who don't recognize this show they don't know what country they're living in.

One of the main targets of Robertson's ungodly wrath is the First Amendment. Claiming that "our form of government came directly from the Bible," he denounces the separation of church and state as an "atheistic communist" idea. In fact, he told the *Conservative Digest*:

"It's amazing that the Constitution of the United States says nothing about the separation of church and state. That phrase does appear, however, in the Soviet Constitution, which says the state shall be separate from the church and the church from the school."

This only goes to show that it is communists who are the consistent defenders of this key gain of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which, despite Pat Robertson's ravings, is enshrined in the First Amendment. In calling for a constitutional amendment for prayer in the public schools, this crusader for bigotry and obscurantism is going after one of the principles fundamental to the founding of the American republic.

In defense of the separation of church and state, and to help combat the tidal wave of enforced intolerance sweeping America, last August the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amicus curiae* brief in the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of the

Louisiana Board of Education against a state law requiring the teaching of biblical "creationism" in the public schools.

Liberals like People for the American Way object to Robertson's claim that he has a direct pipeline to god and point to his kookiness in order to label him an "extremist." But they don't touch the centrality of his *politics*, mobilizing ignorant bigotry in a latter-day Moral Rearmament crusade for a white supremacist "Christian" America which will again dominate the world like in the "good old days" before Vietnam. How can liberals object to Robertson's fundraising for contra terrorists when the Democrats in Congress vote \$100 million to arm these same kill-crazy mercenaries?

The "Eastern establishment" Republicans are worried that Robertson could be a wild card in the primaries: "Mixed Blessing for GOP?" queried the *Wall Street Journal* (17 October 1985). A recent article on Robertson noted that his candidacy is an expression of "the merging of the 'Bible belt' with the increasingly prosperous 'sun belt'" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, September 1986). And all the bourgeois politicians are appealing to this racist, chauvinist constituency: both Bush and Kemp have their own evangelical advisers, and you can bet that the Democrats, who have now got Reaganite religion, will be chasing the born-again vote harder than ever.

To preserve its class rule, the American imperialists will rely on whatever dregs of society it must. If hellfire "persuasion" from the "televangelists" bolstered by the Meese police doesn't do the trick, out of this bigoted muck are also recruited the fascist thugs such as the "Aryan Nation" Nazis and the cross-burning KKK racist terrorists. It will take the working class, mobilized on a revolutionary class-struggle program, to sweep the world of such filth. ■

Drug Witchhunt...

(continued from page 12)

drug trade, U.S. military strike forces are deployed in Latin America, preparing the way for invasion of Nicaragua.

In July, 160 U.S. troops invaded Bolivia to wipe out "narco-terrorism." In September the government said the mission was being extended indefinitely because "that operation has been so successful." But after 3,000 angry residents of the town of Santa Ana chased the American DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) agents out of town October 10, shouting "Kill the Yankees—Don't let them leave!", Washington announced they'd start leaving the country in a week. Meanwhile, Meese & Co. caused a stir by letting slip plans to send the troops to Colombia, Ecuador and Peru and spread the dragnet across the Amazon Basin. (They've already got a team in the Bahamas.) Frustrated by Mexico's refusal to let the DEA agents fly 100 miles into the country, now they're talking about putting tanks along the border.

"Your Urine or Your Job"

In his executive order Reagan stated that "Federal employees who use illegal

labor cutbacks and deferred maintenance have made air travel a circus of horrors. Now airline companies and the government are spying on workers off the job and in their homes, looking to turn the screws tighter on the already massively reduced and overstrained workforce. In Palmdale, California 34 air traffic controllers were fingered for off-duty drug use. The Federal Aviation Agency ruled that 13 were guilty despite the fact that some passed their urine test, explaining that medical screening was not the sole method of inquiry, but was supplemented with information from links. The FAA admitted there was no evidence of on-the-job use or impairment of functioning, but nevertheless required the 13 submit to a "rehabilitation program" or lose their jobs. This form of blackmail is at the heart of efforts to regiment the workplace.

The methods for testing urine for drugs are notoriously unreliable. In a recent report by the federal Centers for Disease Control, 13 drug testing firms studied reported results averaging 50 percent accuracy in identifying the presence of cocaine, morphine and barbiturates (*Washington Post*, 10 September). But "false positives" serve their purpose just as well. Like the McCarthyite HUAC "investigations" in the 1950s, this is supposed to be unfair. They don't test for antihistamines (found in cold tablets) which cause drowsiness, impairing the ability to



U.S. Attorney Giuliani and NY Senator D'Amato (center and right) dressed for undercover crack escapade.

drugs, on or off duty, tend to be less productive, less reliable and prone to greater absenteeism than their fellow employees who do not use illegal drugs" (*New York Times*, 16 September). That same day the *Times* headlined an article, "Drug Tests Promote Safety, Many Say." The "many" who "say" are various employers like the owner of a chemical company who told the *Times*, "In this business, if someone does something stupid, it could kill a couple of hundred people." What hypocrisy! Just look at Bhopal, India where thousands were killed from a chemical gas leak caused by Union Carbide's criminal disdain for safety standards. Or the 177 South African miners who died in a fire at the Kinross mine last month, victims of the apartheid bosses' superexploitation of the black proletariat.

Capitalism's insane drive for profits is the greatest cause of industrial accidents. Giant American companies from Chrysler to USX are notorious for pocketing the profits and leaving plant and machinery to rot and dumping the workforce on the slag heap. As for Reagan's "concern" for safety and health of workers, his administration has done its best to emasculate the Occupational Health and Safety Act (OSHA) of its minimal protections, and has thrown thousands of disabled workers off the disability rolls. The tragic case of young black basketball star Len Bias, whose death from heart failure after apparently ingesting a small amount of cocaine was used to shift the drug witchhunt into high gear, presents a cruel irony in Reagan's America. To pay for Reagan's billion-dollar anti-drug plan, further massive cuts in social services are expected, including \$75 million from health services for the poor, and \$88 million from research on cancer and heart disease.

Airline deregulation, union-busting,

operate machinery. Or take the case of an auto worker at the Fremont plant in California who was called in because they found quinine in his urinalysis. Where'd you get it, they asked. At the Safeway, he replied, explaining to the dimwitted drughunters that he drinks orange juice-and-tonics (tonic water contains quinine).

Fight the Dragnet and the War Drive!

The power of organized labor can send these McCarthyite nares and their specimen bottles packing. In the face of the drug frenzy, angry unionists are ready to tell the boss to take his Dixie cup and shove it. Shortly after Reagan issued his executive order, the National Treasury Employees Union, representing 120,000 federal employees, filed a lawsuit in federal court challenging the order. But the labor bureaucracy has been fighting only to get in on the drug testing. In a policy statement issued September 18, United Auto Workers Solidarity House says, "abuse of a substance by an employee must be addressed jointly within the collective bargaining agreement." And in the San Francisco Bay Area officials of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are calling for a "union approach" to the "war on drugs." Class-struggle oppositionists in the ILWU are fighting this attempt to use the union to police the workers, and the membership isn't buying it either (see page 5).

As the government whips up the legitimate fears of the riding public over safety, transportation workers across the country are priority targets in the drug witchhunt. In New York City, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 members are being forced to pass drug tests as part of back-to-work

Hitler Youth USA: turning in parents to Big Brother.



physicals following extended absences, or whenever bosses order a "routine" physical, or following an "incident" in which the Transit Authority tries to cover its ass by alleging drug use. At NYC's 207th Street transit repair shop a mechanic was threatened with a drug test unless he withdrew his name from a basic contract grievance. Last year, 12,266 NYC transit employees were forced to undergo drug tests; 60 have now been fired. Five TWU members who were subjected to discipline or denied promotion have filed suit in U.S. District Court challenging the TA's drug testing program.

No stranger to witchhunting is Local 100 president Sonny Hall who shamefully abandoned black token clerk James Grimes when he was victimized by the TA and the Brooklyn D.A. for defending himself against armed robbers. Hall rebaited Grimes' supporters in the union, and now he wants "justifiable reason to send someone for drug testing" while issuing a *pro forma* protest against the firing of 60 of his members. Well, to an arbitrator "justifiable reason" is anything the bosses want it to be—unionists protesting dangerous working conditions, wearing sunglasses, coming to work bleary-eyed, maybe from staying up with a sick child, or even having some fun in bed the night before, or looking the wrong way at the foreman. In a September 22 leaflet, Local 100 militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU raised the call, "Labor Must Smash the Drug Witch Hunt Blackmail!"

American imperialism is haunted by its defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. And the memory of the stoned-out American army that wouldn't fight and streets full of antiwar protesters has driven the U.S. ruling class into an anti-drug, anti-sex, anti-alcohol mullah-like frenzy. During the "détente" years of the mid-1970s, marijuana and cocaine use evoked little public comment. But now the country's suddenly hysterical over drugs.

What has changed is the need to assure a reasonably compliant youth and working class as cannon fodder for war. To achieve this end the schools have been turned into anti-drug boot camps and reformatories. Secretary of Education William Bennett chides Harvard for its outdated curriculum,

i.e., it doesn't feature courses on "Reefer Madness." Bennett's 78-page guide, "What Works: Schools Without Drugs," has been distributed to 16,000 school superintendents throughout the country. The report admiringly cites Eastside High School in Paterson, New Jersey, and its principal Joe Clark, who patrols the halls with a bullhorn and whose favored tactics include mass expulsions, five-day suspensions for wearing a hat in the classroom, and requiring students and teachers to carry laminated ID cards. When asked if teachers object, Clark answers, "They do what they're told." And if parents complain? "Who cares?"

The town of Hawkins, Texas, which spent four times as much money on drug tests as library books last year, requires students to pass urine tests before signing up for the band or cheerleading. This is "education" Reagan-style: god is in, science is out, local Rambos run the debating clubs, and kids are taught to turn their parents in to the cops. Meanwhile, racists and vigilantes are loose on the streets: in NYC the Guardian Angels are outside City Hall whipping up support for the Reagan-Koch "crack-down on crack," and the Moonies' CAUSA front is petitioning against crack, communism and AIDS.

As the racist cops target the ghetto, raiding black and Latin housing projects for mass drug arrests, black capitalist politicians like Jesse Jackson and Joseph Lowery roll out the red carpet. In Atlanta, an SCLC leaflet obscenely calls on blacks to "Resist the new lynch mob... Killer Crack Koke." But while Jackson leads audiences in insane chants for "hope not dope," and Lowery works with the sinister Moon cult, these misleaders have repeatedly refused to mobilize black people in self-defense against the real KKK.

Today bourgeois politicians climb on the "anti-drug" bandwagon like they come out for motherhood and apple pie. It's no surprise, then, that the labor bureaucracy and social patriots have all fallen in line behind this latest imperialist sensation that's sweeping the nation. As racist Reaganite all-purpose bigots target everything from integrated schools to abortion clinics and Playboy centerfolds in their drive for global counterrevolution, the Marxists say: Smash the drug witchhunt! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Labor: Smash Drug Witchhunt!

American workers have a monkey on their back. The anti-drug frenzy whipped up by the White House, and joined in by Democrats and Republicans alike, is turning into a real witchhunt hysteria. New Jersey troopers conduct Gestapo-style dragnets, stopping and searching cars and riders at random coming off the George Washington Bridge. And out in the land of beansprout totalitarianism, California youngsters turning in mom and pop for smoking a joint is reaching epidemic proportions. The drug inquisition—threatening jobs, breaking up families, subjecting *your* private life to government snoops and Legion of Decency vigilantes—is on the cutting edge of decaying American capitalism's attack on individual liberties in order to regiment the population for war.

The terrifying, wanton cruelty of life in Reagan's post-1984 America was captured by the case of 27-year-old Pamela Rae Stewart Monson, who faces criminal charges in San Diego after her infant son died because she hemorrhaged during childbirth at home. Under a law deeming a fetus a person, the distraught mother was jailed for child neglect (supposedly for failing to summon medical help promptly enough) after traces of amphetamines and marijuana were reported in the infant's blood. Her lawyer denounced the "prenatal police patrol," and "night-marish intrusion into this woman's life." ACLU spokesman Janet Benshoof added: "The next thing you know women will be prosecuted because they failed to leave their homes because their men were smoking and smoking isn't good for fetuses" (*New York Times*, 9 October).

While Congress debated the death penalty for pushers, the first execution in the "war against drugs" took place

Stop the Ghetto Roundups! Down with the Meese Police!



NYC cops brutalize blacks in anti-crack campaign; SL and Labor Black League protest cop rampage, Brooklyn, September 12.

in Wisconsin on September 16, when a man busted for alleged marijuana possession was shot twice pointblank in the head by the cops as he lay handcuffed in custody. But as the Meese police gear up for their giant drug bust, the "magic of the marketplace" still holds: on streetcorners of midtown Manhattan they're selling drug-free,

alcohol-free urine for \$3 a vial. Get your "all natural horse urine," the flyer says, adding that these days you need to "keep a specimen jar or two" in the fridge for emergencies.

On September 14, Big Brother Reagan with wife Nancy at his side went on TV. In classic Orwellian style, they told Americans they were living in "the freest

society mankind has ever known," and so there must be "outspoken intolerance for drug use." The following day he issued an executive order mandating drug testing for 1.1 million government employees, with automatic firings and consequent blacklisting for those who fail. The order followed passage by a near-unanimous House of Representatives of the draconian anti-drug bill on September 11, calling for the death penalty for deaths caused by drug dealers, and mandatory life sentences for those convicted a second time for selling drugs to a minor or within 1,000 feet of a school. The bill also authorizes the use of evidence obtained by unlawful search and seizure, in violation of the Fourth Amendment, and orders the construction of more prisons, use of U.S. agents in police activities outside the country, and deployment of the military to interdict drug traffic.

To ram it through Congress, the Senate was offered the bill minus the controversial call for military deployment and with-or-without the death penalty. On October 17 they passed the latter to avoid a filibuster from opponents of the death penalty. As in most witchhunts, tardiness in jumping on the anti-drug bandwagon is tantamount to treason and heresy. As Oklahoma Democratic Congressman Dave McCurdy put it, the drug bill was "out of control. But of course I'm for it" (*Newsweek*, 22 September). The anti-drug legislation is part of a package with the bipartisan Congressional vote for \$100 million in aid to Nicaragua's drug-running contras. And the anti-drug hysteria is the successor to Reagan's "terrorism" scare, which the American people haven't bought, as the newest pretext to trample democratic rights. Now under the guise of stopping the

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BOSTON

Separate Is Not Equal—For Revolutionary Integrationism!

No to Roxbury Bantustan Scheme!

Extend Busing to the Suburbs!

BOSTON—On November 4, residents of ten legislative districts will vote on a referendum for black people to secede from the city of Boston. Question Nine on the ballot calls for carving out a South African-style township from the neighborhoods where 98 percent of Boston's black residents live and incorporating the area as a separate city.

Who's behind this Jim Crow offensive? One might logically suspect Mayor Raymond Flynn or Louise Day Hicks and the racist mobs they led in attacks on busing for school desegregation ten years ago. No, though this referendum will likely be given a thumbs up by every white racist in Boston, it is in fact the cynical and suicidal brainstorm of a coterie of black politicians and ministers known as the Greater Roxbury Incorporation Project (GRIP). And to add gratuitous insult to injury, GRIP proposes to name "their" urban hantustan "Mandela"—as if the ANC leaders Nelson and Winnie Mandela have not spent their lives in struggle against

apartheid segregation.

Boston's most prominent unsuccessful black politician, Mel King, has thrown his weight behind the "Mandela" city proposal, no doubt hoping to establish a district whose mayoral seat he can finally win. King's ambitions are transparent, but no one should be fooled by the "community empowerment" rhetoric employed by GRIP. A cordoned-off black community would signal a green light to the racists to step up their smoldering campaign of terrorization to drive out black families on the "wrong" side of the line. The proposed map of "Mandela" even looks like a copy of apartheid's isolated black "homelands." White sections of South Boston and Dorchester slice right through the middle, separating Roxbury from Columbia Point. It takes no

stretch of the imagination to foresee the racist paramilitary South Boston Marshals establishing "checkpoints" at their borders and demanding "passbooks" from black residents crossing from one side of "Mandela" to the other.

Harvard, legendary leader of the Ivy League of racism, also has its dirty hands in this reactionary proposal. It was designed by a Harvard-trained architect, and GRIP's founder Andrew Jones has been fiddling with "experts" over this segregationist scheme at Friday breakfast meetings of the Harvard Faculty Club for the past two years. Last year the gentlemen of Harvard covered their heating grates to drive the homeless from their posh doorsteps in a cold Boston winter. This year they propose blacks "seize the land"—the vacant lots, gutted buildings

and rusting hulk of the soon-to-be-abandoned elevated tracks of Boston's rundown ghetto.

GRIP seeks to exploit the justified and widespread frustration of Boston's oppressed minorities over their rotting schools, housing and social services, in order to cash in on the real estate boom and gentrification of Roxbury and the South End for themselves. Organizing against them is the "One Boston Campaign," a group of liberal black clergymen serving as front men for Mayor Flynn. While Flynn puts on a "populist" veneer, and even got backing from the DSA social democrats in the last elections, GRIP supporters have dredged up his record as an outspoken supporter of the virulently racist ROAR and leader of the anti-busing forces.

The defeat of Boston busing is the background for GRIP's utopian and dangerous secession proposal. And they are explicit about finishing off the racists' dirty work. GRIP hemoans the

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