



Daugherty/AP

If the administration wants to get Iran/Contragate "behind them," why don't they just get Nixon to give Reagan a presidential pardon? "It is not going to be another Watergate," says Tricky Dick, "as long as you stay ahead of the curve." But the White House spin doctors have lost control of this one. A planned TV special 76th birthday salute called "Reagan's Way" was canceled last week because all the

## While Democrats Wave the Flag White House Stonewalls

national advertisers had backed out. Johnny Carson jokes about how the White House Christmas gift of choice this year is a "Mr. Shredder." And America's rulers worry that this could be worse than Watergate, combining a domestic scandal with an international crisis.

It's simultaneously sinister and absurd. The president's ratings have gone through the floor, with much of the

American public convinced the man's either lying through his teeth or a total incompetent (both true). The Great Communicator retreated to his bunker, lashing out at the press in vintage Nixon fashion. "I've never seen the sharks circling like they now are with blood in the water," Reagan raged to *Time* magazine (8 December), claiming it was all only a "Beltway blood-letting." The White House Goeb-



Rutz/Washington Times

bels, communications director Patrick Buchanan, predictably blasted "the liberal media" but also that "tribe of pygmies on Capitol Hill," and complained of the Republican Party establishment that "the whole damn pack has headed for the tall grass."

While Reagan pledged "full cooperation" with Congressional probes, the president's men were stonewalling.

*continued on page 10*

## Mitterrand/Chirac's Racist Cops Murder Student French Student Revolt

For the past three weeks, France has been engulfed in an explosive student struggle. On December 10, hundreds of thousands marched through Paris in a demonstration of mourning for a student of Algerian parents who was beaten to death by the cops. The march was also a sharp repudiation of the right-wing regime of Premier Jacques Chirac, which governs under "Socialist" president François Mitterrand. Two days earlier, the mere threat of workers strike action supporting the demands of a nationwide student strike forced Chirac to back down, withdrawing elitist university and high school "reform" bills. As momentum continued to build, Chirac tabled the whole legislative program of his conservative cabinet, including a racist, anti-immigrant "nationalities" bill. It was the most dramatic reversal by a French government since 1968.

As 200,000 students demonstrated in front of the National Assembly, as a million youth filled the streets of the capital November 27, everyone asked: could there be a new edition of the May '68 student revolt which sparked a workers general strike, creating a pre-revolutionary situation? At first, the student movement declared itself militantly anti-political. A youth remarked: "When I hear talk of May '68, I see clashes in the street, very violent, between students and the CRS [paramilitary riot police]" (*Libération*, 4 December). That night the CRS thugs let loose in an orgy of repression... and there was no more talk of "apoliticism." As the old American Wobbly slogan goes, there's more education at the end of a cop's billy club than in four years of college.

Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, intervened actively



Cochin/Keystone

December 4: One million students march through Paris (above); later that night demonstrators are savagely attacked by riot police.

Cristofoli/Reuters

in the recent struggles. The LTF called for a general strike against the government attacks. They put out several leaflets at Nanterre, birthplace of the 1968 student revolt. The following article is based on the 8 December special supplement to the LTF's *Le Bolchévique*, of which 20,000 copies have been distributed.

**For a General Strike Against the Anti-Worker, Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Youth Attacks by the Mitterrand-Chirac Government!**

PARIS, December 8—The government has taken a body blow. This morning, Prime Minister Chirac announced that

Minister of Higher Education Devaquet's draft educational reform law would be withdrawn, as would Education Minister Monory's secondary school bill. In order to wrest this initial victory from the government, a million university and high school students went into the streets. And they paid a heavy price: two wounded and Malik Oussekinne beaten to death on the night of December 5-6 by the special squads of motorcycle cops which have been terrorizing the Latin Quarter.

Why did the government back down? On December 4, confronted with a gigantic student demonstration, the government told the students to "go to hell" and sent the CRS riot squads after demonstrators who were peacefully gathered on the esplanade in front of the Invalides [Napoleon's tomb]. Since then, the government has drastically increased police provocations. (French television showed CRS officers allowing provocateurs to cross police lines and cops standing by while provocateurs heaved paving stones attempting to provoke further violence.) But this reactionary government is quite unstable. It was openly terrified by the unions' call for a strike and mass demonstration.

The government is afraid of the working class. While the cops were openly encouraging provocateurs, the cabinet of Chirac and Pasqua [minister of justice] launched a racist and anti-communist witchhunt against "foreign agitators." The campaign blew up in their face! So Devaquet is gone, but there will be other laws to reinforce social and racial segregation at all levels of the educational system, whether under governments of the right or "left." Witness the Spanish and Italian

*continued on page 11*



# Apologists for Wapping Sellout

Norco, CA  
November 10, 1986

Jan Norden, Editor  
Workers Vanguard

Comrades,

Recent issues of the *Picket* (produced by rank and file printers on the Wapping picket line) have branded the Spartacist League as "scab of the week" for printing a picture in *Workers Hammer* from the *London Sunday Times*. Since credit was given for the photo, it is assumed that the SL must have even purchased the *Times*.

An accompanying article reportedly claimed that the striking printers at Wapping "are not picket lines," thereby making a slanderous allusion to "real" pickets, the miners. The writers of *Picket* allege that the SL has seldom been out to Wapping and has "never" been on the front lines.

Would *Workers Vanguard* care to respond to these charges against its sister publication and the SL?

Somewhat dumbfounded,  
Leonard F. Tate

*WV replies:* We think you've been fed a snow job. *Picket* is no product of political novices. Its guru-publisher is one Arnie Mintz, who after 15 years as first a Canadian Pabloite and then a Spartacist, deserted revolutionary politics in the face of the Reagan/Thatcher years. His pathetically workist rag, with its endlessly trivial accounts of "picket lines" that everyone crosses, its

disdain for "left wing paper salesmen" and political struggle, ends up by apologizing for Labourite scabherders and their sellout consumer boycott line.

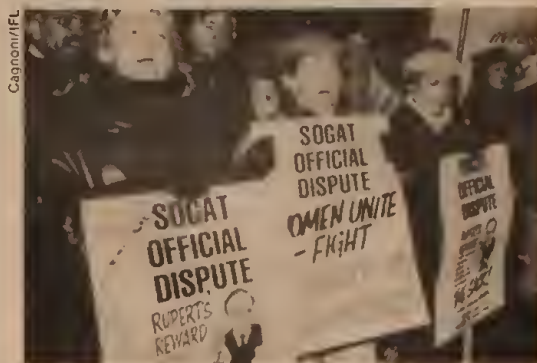
At the time of the U.S. air traffic controllers strike, sundry trade-union bureaucrats asserted that "flying is scabbing." Their line was stay away from the airports—unless you work there. While Machinists union head William Winpisinger was ostentatiously tooling around the country in a rented car, he was ordering his members to cross PATCO picket lines. Addressing this hypocrisy we wrote: "Any union president worth his salt would have taken the first plane home to pull his union out the day the strike began" ("Bureaucrats and Boycotts," *WV* No. 288, 11 September 1981).

The News International print strike in Britain was defeated because of the vile treachery of the pro-Kinnock union leaders. The centerpiece of their strategy was an impotent consumer boycott, the same losing tactic that paved the way for defeats at PATCO and Hormel in this country. (In the particular instance of the London printers, what is the sense in calling on the *Times*' mainly middle- and upper-class readers to boycott the paper?) Any decent trade unionist should understand that strikes are won or lost on the picket line: a newspaper strike that in ten months never causes the boss to miss an issue spells defeat.

The misleaders of the British printing unions (SOGAT and NGA) refused to call for shutting down Murdoch's plant at Wapping. Instead they demanded

adherence to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) "guidelines" of six pickets per gate. Union officials actually distributed warnings to pickets *not* to try to stop scab trucks. SOGAT withdrew its half-hearted call on its drivers and distribution workers to "black" (hot cargo) Murdoch papers, rather than challenge Thatcher's laws. Some "picket lines"—when your union leaders invite the scabs in and then order union

London print  
strikers were  
betrayed by  
Labour Party  
and union tops.



members to make sure the scab product is distributed!

Several times angry print workers tried to turn the weekly "rallies" at Wapping into real picket lines. For example, on March 15 militants tore down the fence, creating an opportunity to seize and shut down the plant; SOGAT stewards rushed in to form a human fence to protect the scabs. In early June the workers overwhelmingly rejected a sellout deal cooked up by Murdoch and the union tops, but the fake opposition dissipated the opportunity by calling for more of the dead-end strategy of reliance on consumer boycotts, pressuring the traitorous TUC and dragging the union through the bosses' courts.

At the SOGAT conference a week later union leader Brenda Dean whipped the "opposition" into line by railing, "We must not allow anything to come in the way"....of electing a Kinnock government. Yes, Wapping was a real "Neil Kinnock strike." Kinnock, who worked overtime to break the miners strike, praised the print union leaders for advocating "persuasion" rather than "violence." The answer of the Labourite bureaucracy is "no militancy, put Kinnock in office." Sensing their chance to be Her Majesty's next government, the Labour Party chieftains—backed by their cohorts in the trade-union bureaucracy—strangled the printers strike in order to demonstrate to their capitalist masters that they are "responsible" guardians of

the bourgeois order.

Kinnock and his cohorts would like to simply disappear the miners strike, a mighty class battle which defied the bourgeois state, evoked industrial solidarity from rail workers, dockers and seamen, won the support of the black and Asian minorities, and threatened not only to topple the Thatcher regime but to tear apart British social democracy. Defeated after 12 months by the treachery of the Labour Party/trade-union tops, the miners strike underscored one crucial point: sheer militancy, no matter how heroic, is not enough.

What is necessary is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist-Trotskyist party forged by splitting the working class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist tops.

As even a cursory examination of *Workers Hammer* over a several month period would show, the Spartacist League/Britain intervened programmatically when it counted, exposing the bureaucracy's phony consumer boycott line, and calling for "mass militant pickets to shut down Wapping, for effective solidarity action by other unions, particularly miners and transport workers, through blacking and picketing." In particular they wrote: "And as it became only too clear that the Wapping printers struggle had been strangled in the service of strikebreaker Kinnock's electoral ambitions, we told the truth" (*Workers Hammer*, October 1986). This is what really gored the ox of the wretchedly Labourite fake left in Britain, just as our exposure of the false policies of the American trade-union bureaucrats rubs the nerves of their social-democratic apologists here.

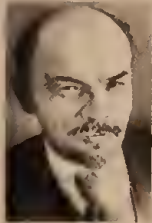
P.S. You may have noticed that the front-page article of a recent *WV* (No. 416, 21 November), "Zionist Madmen Target Russia," cites evidence from the *London Sunday Times* documenting Israel's massive nuclear arsenal. For exposing this, Mordechai Vanunu now faces the death penalty in Israel. Should this information, of importance to working-class readers, be the monopoly of scab publisher Rupert Murdoch? ■



TROTSKY

## 40 Years as a Professional Revolutionary

At the celebration of his 60th birthday and 40th anniversary as a socialist, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon measured his life against the ideals of his youth, "the age of wisdom, when our ideals seem to be, as they really are in fact, more important than anything else in the world."



LENIN

When we were 40 we [Cannon and Rose Karsner, his companion and comrade] took stock of the situation at that time. That was when we had been expelled from the Communist Party for defending the program of Trotsky, and had to start all over again. We were 40—that's older than 20—a little tired. We realized that revolution is rather a young people's occupation, like athletics. But we had to recognize that the movement depended upon us more than ever then, and that we had to make an exception of ourselves. So we said: Well, we'll give 10 more years to the party; after that perhaps they won't need us so much.

Those 10 years passed so quickly, we didn't have a chance to count them. Then we were 50. That was the time of the biggest fight for the existence of the party, in 1940, the fight with the petty-bourgeois opposition.... There was nothing for us to do but agree to give 10 more years.

Those 10 years went by, busy, active years. We didn't have much time to think about getting old. We were always on the go, both of us, and before we knew what had happened, we reached 60. So here we are, and where do we go from here?...

All right, we'll give the party another 10 years. And then we'll see.

—James P. Cannon, "Sixtieth Birthday Speech" (March 1950)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 418

19 December 1986

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## Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

HOLIDAY APPEAL FOR CLASS-RAID PRISONERS

DECEMBER 1986

Following the tradition of the International Labor Defense (ILD), the PDC is collecting a holiday fund appeal for today's class-war prisoners as a message that they are not forgotten, in the 1980s, under the banner of that traitorous James P. Cannon, who conducted a Christmas fund drive for imprisoned workers in 1935 and the 1940s.

David Ross, 60, imprisoned and kept in solitary confinement since a decade of Christmas and New Year's Eve with these notes posted to contribute to our holiday appeal. Send money, cards, postcards, send contributions to help us to forward to class war prisoners.

WE STAND IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

Partisan Defense Committee

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Partisan Defense Committee

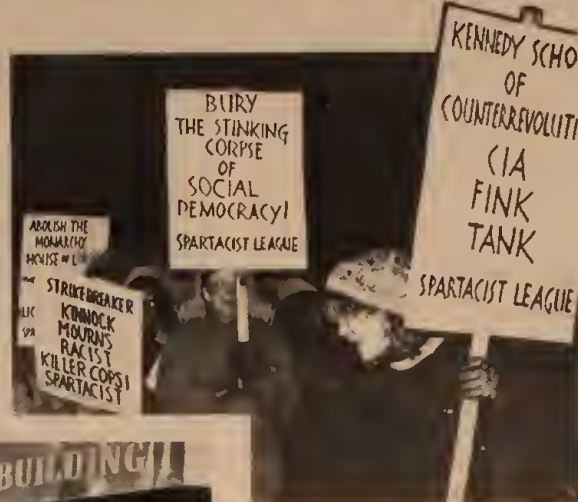
Partisan Defense Committee

Partisan Defense Committee

Partisan Defense Committee



# U.S. Trotskyists Protest: Class Traitor Kinnock!



Spartacist League pickets in Boston (top right) and Washington, D.C. protest British Labour Party sellout leader Neil Kinnock (top center).

During the recent American tour by British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, the Spartacist League/U.S. mounted spirited pickets at Harvard's Kennedy School and at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., protesting the man called "Judas" for his role in breaking the historic British coal miners strike of 1984-85. Kinnock came here to show the U.S. ruling class that his "no nuke" schemes are no threat to NATO and American imperialism (true enough!), and was probably surprised to discover some real American communists who don't stomach class traitors. Our protests were widely covered by the British press. BBC and ITV television both showed footage of the December 2 Harvard demonstration, focusing on the Spartacist placards, "Kinnock Stabbed British Miners—Salutes Anti-Soviet Warmongers!" "Kinnock is Bloody Thatcher's Poodle—Remember the *Belgrano*!" and "Bury the Stinking Corpse of Social Democracy!"

Kinnock's trip was a flop: the American bourgeoisie wasn't buying. Democrats no less than Reagan's Republicans rejected his calls for a

"nuclear-free" Britain. Senator Moynihan canceled an appointment with him, and his Atlanta host Mayor Andrew Young reportedly "nodded off" while Kinnock droned on. So when he returned to London to unveil the Labour Party "defense" policy statement, Kinnock vowed a Labour government would accept NATO strategy, according to the *Guardian* (11 December) "including...potential first use of nuclear weapons." The statement tried to outdo Margaret Thatcher in Union

Jack chauvinism, deploring "a serious decline in the strength of all our armed forces. Had the invasion of the Falklands by the Argentine junta come even six months later than it did, it is doubtful that we could have regained the islands."

Kinnock's few American enthusiasts, like Mike Harrington's Democratic (Party) Socialists of America and some "liberal" CIA types, were no doubt miffed by the SL protests. Kennedy School dean Allison, dubbed by the

Pentagon an "intellectual strategic reserve," referred to us as "soul brothers" of Ted Grant's groveling Labourite "Militant Tendency" in Britain. Not a chance—Grant will be out campaigning for Kinnock, not picketing him! But most of the British media were able to tell the difference between real reds and parlor pink social democrats. They were intrigued by our placard calling for abolition of the monarchy, House of Lords, established church and licensing hours: Labour as well as Tories are opposed to these elementary democratic demands. In Washington, the "Rt Hon Neil Kinnock PC MP" (as he bills himself) declared that one expenditure he wouldn't cut is the millions lavished on the queen.

Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain rushed out a special *Workers Hammer* supplement covering the protests against Kinnock's tour and the explosive student struggles in France. The international Spartacist tendency fights tooth and nail to expose social-democratic betrayal on both sides of the Atlantic. Not Harrington, Kinnock or Noske, but Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky! ■

## Liberals' worry over Labour nuclear policy

**THE INDEPENDENT**  
4 December 1986

**The Daily Telegraph**  
3 December 1986

### Empty seats greet Neil's eloquence

Meanwhile, a seemingly mad-cap group of Kinnock-haters, the Spartacus League, based in New York, has denounced him as "a certified enemy of socialism."

"Maggie Thatcher may be Reagan's poodle, but Neil Kinnock wants to show he's housebroken, too," they say.

Quoting from Jack London, a woman with an initially charming manner, who rang me to ask if I wanted to know more about the League, said: "Kinnock has a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain and a backbone of glue." Then she hung up.

tionship and Nato which would set in rain some very serious tensions."

As Mr Kinnock spoke, the cries of protesters could be heard chanting slogans, some too bizarre even for Hollywood: "Honour Kim Philby — Hate Neil Kinnock"; "Strike Breaker, Castrater, Down with Judas Kinnock"; and "Self-Determination for the Celtic fringe."

Leaflets which they handed out in the rain warned Mr Kinnock they would be demonstrating against him in Washington. The Spartacist League declared: "Genuine Trotskyists — as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy 'Militant' group in England — say no support to Labor traitor Kinnock."

The demonstrators may have made Mr Kinnock feel as if he was back home at

## THE GUARDIAN

4 December 1986

liberal audience asked sympathetic questions. But two ex-Washington insiders temporarily exiled in academe were on hand to pick holes for the cameras. "How likely is it really that a Labour government would spend more on conventional defence?" asked Richard Haas, late of the Reagan State Department. Outside, the Trotskyite Spartacist League was denouncing Mr Kinnock as a "strike breaker" and CIA stooge. It is a very narrow ledge he sits on: pro-Nato, anti-nuclear.

For Left-wingers like

## THE GUARDIAN

1 December 1986

**Daily Mail**  
2 December 1986

### Kinnock's roadshow snubbed all way



'Viewed from outside you look kinda spineless!'

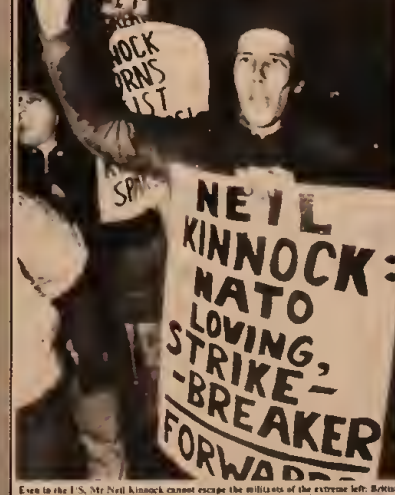
## THE TIMES

4 December 1986

### Kinnock warns US bid to block anti-nuclear policy could backfire

Even Robin Cook, Political Editor, Washington

Mr Paul Kinnock, the Labour leader, said today that the United States should not be seen to be blocking anti-nuclear policy, which he said was a mistake.



Even in the U.S. Mr Neil Kinnock cannot escape the militants of the extreme left: British members of the Spartacist League were protesting against him at Harvard yesterday.



## 15 Months of "Preventive Detention"

# Stop Frame-Up of Puerto Rican Independence Fighters!

Puerto Rican pro-independence activists, held without bail for the last 15 months, recently won a partial victory against the draconian "preventive detention" statutes in Reagan's America. On November 20, a U.S. appeals court ordered federal district court judge T. Emmet Clarie to set "reasonable conditions of release" for three *independentistas*. They are among 16 militants labeled "terrorists" and charged in connection with a 1983 Wells Fargo holdup in West Hartford, Connecticut. That action was claimed by the militant pro-independence group Los Macheteros, or Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party. The court ruling cleared the way for setting bail for six other Puerto Rican activists also in custody. But the government is still trying to keep three of them—Filiberto Ojeda, Juan Segarra and Luis Colón Osorio—behind bars.

The appeals court decision that there were some limits beyond which continued refusal to grant bail is unconstitutional is a qualified victory for the left and all defenders of civil liberties. Over 1,100 people are now being held under



Thousands march in San Juan, Puerto Rico August 30 to demand freedom for *independentistas* arrested one year earlier.

dollar bails; all face felony charges in the frame-up trial scheduled for March 3, the result of a giant FBI COINTELPRO-style operation.

The government's attacks on the independence movement in U.S. imperialism's Caribbean island colony are part of its worldwide anti-communist crusade. Puerto Rico was the jumping-off point for Reagan's rape of Grenada and is key to the warmakers' plans for counterrevolutionary war in Central America. Part of the government rationale for attacking the pro-independence movement is to squelch any opposition to the use of Puerto Rico as a forward base for U.S. military adventures in the region. The Macheteros have landed effective blows at military targets on the island, including a 1981 attack on Muñoz air base which destroyed the bulk of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard fleet. And last October, the day after word leaked of Pentagon plans to train Nicaraguan contra mercenaries on the island, the Macheteros planted bombs at ten military sites.

Attorney General Edwin Meese and FBI Director William Webster hailed the terror raids which led to the arrests as part of their "anti-terrorist" campaign, and pointed to Cuba as the "source." In branding political opposition as "terrorist" and using massive federal surveillance and dragnets, they are testing techniques for use against the left on the mainland as well. The FBI task force director for the operation was Richard Held, who played a leading role in the Nixon government's war on the Black Panther Party. As head of L.A.

COINTELPRO he was responsible for sending L.A. Panther leader Geronimo Pratt to jail, where he remains today, 16 years later. Thus the defense of the Puerto Rican pro-independence activists is an important task for all opponents of imperialism and defenders of democratic rights at home.

On 30 August 1985, eleven *independentistas* were arrested in a series of Gestapo-like dawn raids in San Juan, and two others were seized on the mainland. More than 200 FBI stormtroopers wielding shotguns and automatic rifles invaded more than 30 homes, breaking down doors and windows. Families were held at gunpoint while the "suspects" were chained hand and foot. Arrest warrants did not arrive until hours later; meanwhile federal agents ransacked the homes for "evidence," carting off truckloads of books, papers and other personal belongings, even toys. Using the Wells Fargo case as a pretext, the FBI dragnet went after militant *independentistas*. Six months later, three other pro-independence militants were arrested in similar style.

The August 30 raids were the culmination of a multi-million-dollar federal surveillance operation in which the FBI tested its latest equipment. The feds admit to having 1,500 hours of tapes of conversations between the defendants and other pro-independence activists. They planted microphones, spied on activists with binoculars and followed them on their daily routines. With the collaboration of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company they bugged the public telephones of entire neighborhoods, taping tens of thousands of calls. They tested their "pen register" system for tracking the phone numbers of callers (*Pensamiento Crítico*, July-August 1986). The imperialist political police trampled with abandon upon the constitutional rights of the citizens of this so-called "free associated state" to update its internal spying capacity.

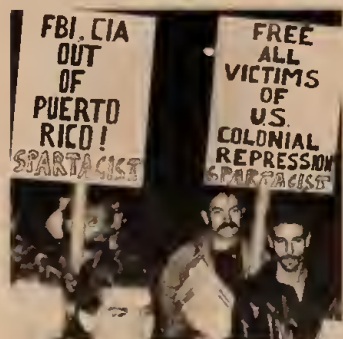
The nine well-known Puerto Rican activists had been jailed for over a year at the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) in New York as "high security risk" prisoners, held in "administrative segregation" from the rest of the prison population, presumably to keep them from "infecting" others with their politics. The Puerto Ricans were kept in individual locked cells for 23 hours a day, denied recreation periods or permission to step into the sun. Harassment has been continuous: from

restricting religious observance to prohibiting photos of loved ones on the prison walls to a beating by prison guards when one prisoner wore a Puerto Rican flag on his uniform.

The *independentistas* are facing 16 felony counts in connection with the \$7 million heist from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut. Seven were earlier given outrageous bails of up to \$1 million, but Judge Clarie repeatedly denied defense motions for release of the other nine. Clarie was acting under provisions of the Bail Reform Act of 1984, approved by a nearly unanimous Senate vote, which allows for "preventive detention" based on hearsay evidence and puts the burden of proof on the accused to prove that he is not "dangerous." This law is the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive as the state prepares the machinery to repress political dissent and secure the home front for war.

On May 2 the same federal appeals court ruled that denial of bail on grounds of "danger to the community" was unconstitutional, one judge calling it a "police state approach." This opened the way for bail for two of the Hartford defendants who were only being held as "dangerous," but Judge Clarie denied bail again after admitting "new evidence." The government did not appeal the May decision, opting instead to take the case of mob boss Anthony Salerno to the Supreme Court to uphold their preventive detention law. The November court ruling did not strike down "risk of flight" as grounds for detention, but held that at some point it "exceeds the limitations of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment."

The defendants have protested the site of the trial, in Hartford, 1,700 miles from Puerto Rico, before a jury which neither speaks Spanish nor has experienced colonial rule. But Judge Clarie turned down the request for a change of venue because it would "delay" the trial. That was last June! Defense lawyers have also challenged government handling of the mountains of taped conversations intercepted by the FBI. Fifteen months after the arrests the defense still has not seen much of the evidence used against their clients. Other tapes have been held illegally by the feds, during



New York City, 27 October 1985: Spartacist League joins protest in solidarity with jailed Puerto Rican activists.

"preventive detention" provisions that were part of the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control law, passed with overwhelming Democratic and Republican support. Such repressive measures are the hallmark of police states from Nazi Germany to South Africa, and have not been used in this country on a large scale since the racist concentration camp internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. But the vicious persecution of the *independentistas* continues. Several were given million-



Puerto Rican demonstrators proclaim: "FBI, the Real Terrorists."

which time they may have been tampered with. A suppression of evidence hearing is scheduled for January 13.

Support for the August 30 defendants has been strong in Puerto Rico, where the 1978 Cerro Maravilla cop murders of two *independentistas* are still vividly remembered. Two days after the arrests, hundreds turned out in San Juan for the extradition hearings—held on a Sunday at 7 a.m.—to protest the government attacks. Thousands marched this year on the anniversary of the raids. The Spartacist League calls for defense of these class-war prisoners, and demands: Free the Puerto Rican independence fighters and all victims of colonial repression! FBI, CIA, U.S. bases out of Puerto Rico! Immediate, unconditional independence for Puerto Rico! ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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# KKK Terror at The Citadel

Dressed in KKK-style white hoods and sheets, five white cadets hurt into the room of a first-year black cadet, Kevin Nesmith, after midnight on October 23. Acting fully in the Confederate tradition of The Citadel, located in Charleston, South Carolina, one of two remaining state-supported antebellum military institutes in the South, the nightriders awakened the terrified black cadet by shouting racist obscenities and burning a paper cross. After a scuffle with Nesmith's roommate, who is a Filipino American, the five racist scum escaped into the darkness, leaving the hated symbol of KKK terror behind.

The Citadel's Dixie-loving brass and cadets initially tried to excuse this racist attack as nothing more than "hazing" (the brutal "initiation" rights imposed on first-year cadets) gone awry. But black Charleston took to the streets in anger to protest this act of Klan-inspired terror. Black community leaders together with Nesmith's mother Amelia and brother Larry led a march of some 500 to the gates of this fortress which revels in the racist heritage of the Confederacy. The marchers were demanding the immediate expulsion of Nesmith's



Spears/NY Times



UPI

**Citadel students wave racist Confederate flag of slavery at football game. Kevin Nesmith (right), target of Klan-inspired terror.**

assailants and the resignation of Citadel president, Major General Grimsley. Although The Citadel's own rule book prescribes expulsion for this kind of conduct, Grimsley literally let the racists walk—"punishing" them with 195 hikes around the school's courtyard! When black members of the school band objected to playing "Dixie" (the vile Confederate anthem which is the school's fight song), and other black cadets planned a symbolic protest against the attack on Kevin Nesmith, they were threatened with discipline by the school administration.

Kevin Nesmith resigned in disgust, saying "I feel that I have been made the victim while the villains remain." His older brother, one of the first black graduates of The Citadel, described the incident as "an act of terrorism" and resigned from the school's governing board. Kevin Nesmith now plans to file a civil rights lawsuit against this racist snakepit. As the executive director of the South Carolina NAACP noted, "If a group of five black students, wearing the berets of the Black Panthers and shouting 'honky' and 'cracker' had

invaded the room of a white student, they would be doing the I-26 shuffle the next day, heading home" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 November).

The Citadel is not just any military academy—its purpose is to train an elite cadre of officers to fight for the kind of society we'd have if the South had won the Civil War. Here the Confederate flag of chattel slavery is prominently flown and cadets wear the same Confederate gray uniforms worn by their predecessors. In 1861, as Citadel bigots brag to this day, cadets from the college fired the first "hostile shots" of the Civil War, aiming at a Navy vessel sent to reinforce the Northern troops at Fort Sumter. Some 200 Citadel alumni became ranking officers in the slaveholders' Confederate army. But in 1865, those "Dixie"-whistling racists were sent packing when Union troops headed by the 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment entered Charleston singing "John Brown's Body" and shut down The Citadel! Its very existence today, reopened in 1883 following the defeat of Radical Reconstruction, is testimony to the urgent need to *finish the Civil War*.

The post-Reconstruction Citadel was exclusively for the training of white cadets in the racist traditions of the slavocracy. By the turn of the century, this legacy melded with the need to train officers for the Jim Crow forces of American imperialism. As General Grimsley put it, The Citadel gives a cadet the "inner strength to go out and take charge of his little piece of turf, wherever it is in the world" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 3 November 1985). Once the training ground of slaveholders' sons, The Citadel today gears up its cadets to be bloodthirsty defenders of capitalist slavery.

The stench of the slave masters' legacy imbuces The Citadel's history—from Tullifinny Creek in 1864 to Grenada in 1983, and these contemporary "sons of the Confederacy" are proud of it. Every Friday afternoon, the American flag is lowered on the parade ground and both black and white cadets are forced to march to "Dixie." Referring to this disgusting racist pageant and the omnipresent Confederate flags, one black cadet remarked, "God, I hate them both. Hate. Despise. Loathe." (*New York Times*, 23 November).

The Citadel's method of training the future Lt. Calleys whose racist bloodlust targets blacks and all of the oppressed was captured in the movie and book, *Lords of Discipline*, by Citadel graduate Pat Conroy. Conroy describes a white fraternity at his alma mater which, like a Klan klavern, brutally tortures the first black cadet to enter the academy. Kevin Nesmith is the real life victim of The Citadel's racist terror—the likes of which has become increasingly frequent in this country, North as well as South.

At a recent school game, numerous Citadel alumni and cadets brandished brand new Confederate flags while blacks countered by raising a large American flag (*People* magazine, 15 December). However, the present-day "stars and stripes" is not the flag of a liberating Union army, but of bloody racist imperialism. It will take the red flag of proletarian revolution to smash the legacy of slavery and Klan terror which is perpetuated at The Citadel. Honor the glorious Massachusetts 54th! Shut down The Citadel for good! Finish the Civil War! ■



UPI

**Charleston demonstration against racist attacks on black cadets.**

## Girl Won't Fink

Not all teenagers in Reagan's America have been brainwashed by the Moral McCarthyites. The *New York Times* (5 December) reports that a 15-year-old Connecticut girl courageously refused to rat on a boyfriend, charged with "statutory rape," because she was in love with him. But for defending 28-year-old Gregory McGee and her own personal privacy, she's being viciously persecuted. When her father pressed charges and the young woman refused to talk, Superior Court Judge Francis M. McDonald ordered her jailed to "reconsider." When she again refused, the judge held her in contempt of court, sentenced her to a suspended six-month jail term and placed her on probation for two years, during which time she is forbidden to see McGee. The charges against McGee have been dismissed for lack of evidence, but he was fired from his job as a school bus driver.

This atrocity is part of an offensive against teenage sexuality in the Reaganite crusade to enforce "traditional family values." "Statutory rape," after all, is a law to jail people when there is no rape. Its purpose is to make sex involving young people a crime. This man and this young woman clearly had a consensual relationship, and the cops and courts have no business interfering. They are both victims of the state's anti-

sex witchhunting. We salute the young woman's heroic act in standing up to this vicious vendetta.

The anti-sex witchhunters really get off on this kind of thing. Government snoops are everywhere, you've got to have your vial of drug-free urine, while the Meese Police throw owners of video stores in jail for renting X-rated tapes. Children fink on their parents for enjoying marijuana or cocaine in the privacy of their own homes. Nancy Reagan said nasty Orange County teen Deanna Young must have really loved her parents a lot to turn them in.

The "Moral Majority" bigots want to create a Reagan Youth of moral fascists. What's next? Turning kids into peeping toms, looking through keyholes into mom and dad's bedroom for evidence of violation of the sodomy statutes recently upheld by the Reagan Supreme Court? In their crusade to restore the social climate of McCarthyism they want to teach the "moral values" that *not* squealing is positively Un-American.

While ranting about "babies having babies," the government is doing everything to make sure young people can't get birth control (Reagan's answer: "Just say no." Well, maybe that method works for Nancy—we'll stick with the pill, thank you.) First they tried to

enforce a "squeal rule" on teenagers at birth control clinics. Then they declared war on sex education programs in the high schools. And all along, giving the green light to abortion clinic terror bombers.

This administration, which screams bloody murder about so-called "Soviet totalitarianism" and got elected on the program of "getting the government off our backs," is imposing wholesale social totalitarianism in its drive for the "moral rearmament" of American imperialism. The new Joe McCarthys of Cold War II are out witchhunting "deviants," and in the process they've targeted everybody. But it's not going down.

The *Times*' exposé of the Danbury "statutory rape" case was unusual for

this "old gray lady" of bourgeois journalism that regularly covers up the news it considers unfit to print. Meanwhile, despite all the Reaganite hype, Reagan's orders for random drug testing of employees are being overturned in the courts, while the "magic of the marketplace" has spawned mass production of drug-free horse piss. As for the Army's "drug wars" in Bolivia, the only effect has been to drive up the price of cocaine.

Spies in the bushes, snoops in the bedrooms—the sex witchhunters have been riding high in Reagan's America. But they may be knocked off their horses. Abolish "statutory rape" and all "victimless crime" laws! Free birth control and free abortion on demand! Government out of the bedroom! ■

## Anti-Abortion Terror Bombers Strike at Sanger Clinic

A bomb so powerful it would have blown away the Margaret Sanger Clinic in midtown Manhattan, and the entire front of the 10-story building in which it is housed, misfired and was defused at the last moment on Sunday, December 14. The bomb at the Planned Parenthood clinic was the third terrorist attack on abortion centers in New York in the past six weeks. No one has been charged in the bombings.

Nationwide, during the first six months of 1986 alone, Planned Parenthood reports more than 100 incidents of terror at its centers. Yet the FBI and the Reagan "Justice Department" continue to say they see "no conspiracy." These murderous "Right to Life" bombers strike with a wink and a nod from the White House. This is "state-supported Terrorism, USA." Defend the abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand!



We print below an abridged version of a talk by Workers Vanguard editor and Spartacist League Central Committee member Jan Norden, given in New York City on November 22 under the title "U.S. Workers: Smash the War on Nicaragua!" The forum included a slide show by WV correspondent Tom Janota, and the discussion following the talk was enriched by the remarks of a number of comrades who had been to Nicaragua to express solidarity. One, who was in the town of Esteli during a contra attack, recounted that "the last thing my family in Nicaragua told me, before I left, was that I should go home and struggle. That was what they wanted me to get out of what I saw down there. So I hope that everyone here will join us in that struggle."

**W**e tried to decorate the room here with some photos to give you an idea of what Nicaragua today is like, and also with the slide show. Up front here, I'm sure you're familiar with what's become a very famous photo, of CIA mercenary Hasenfus being led away by the 19-year-old Sandinista Army soldier who shot him down with a shoulder-held Soviet SAM missile. His name is José Canales, and that's José over there again as well, above our appeal for the "Nicabucks" collection. Just remember, every dollar helps. It may not buy a SAM, because in fact all the Nicaraguans' military hardware is supplied free of charge by the Soviet Union. But there's always spare parts. And, of course, the reason we started the campaign: namely Reagan's economic sanctions, which is an attempt to strangle the country, a standard American imperialist tactic.

Over there on the wall, you'll see a composite photograph of the celebration on July 19, 1985, where 500,000 came out to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the Revolution. On the right is what we call "Hail Red Thunder!" During this demonstration about 15 Soviet helicopters came over, which, as you can imagine, caused a tremendous cheer among the crowd. In this country, Soviet armament is decried by the government, which wants to make this a basis for war. In Nicaragua, Soviet arms are the difference between life and death. Without them, no doubt there would already have been massive U.S. attacks. So this afternoon I want to talk mainly about the situation and struggle in this country, the role of the United States, and the duties and challenges for American workers and American revolutionaries concerning Central America. But I'd like to run over a little bit about Nicaragua, to get oriented.

Nicaragua was the first popular revolution in the Americas since the Cuban Revolution in 1959. That is, it was not just some left-leaning bourgeois government, like Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile. Rather, there was a mass insurrection throughout the country that not only sent the tyrant Somoza packing, it also destroyed the backbone of the capitalist state, namely the National Guard. In fact, at the time of the insurrection, both the northern and

## Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home

# Defend Nicaragua!

# Smash U.S. War Drive!



Nicaraguan military display in Managua. Sandinista Army has CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries on the run. Soberania

southern columns of the Sandinista Front were pinned down or else moving very slowly. But in the streets of Managua, in León, in Esteli, Masaya, Chinandega there were tens of thousands of fighters, although many only had the paving stones they dug up or Molotov cocktails. Clearly, the Sandinistas played the leading role in the insurrection, but other leftist forces were active as well, and mass organizations: Civil Defense Committees, the women's organization, various left-led unions, and so on. It actually took a day after Somoza and the Guard fled before the first guerrilla units showed up in the capital.

So the *Triunfo*, the victory, belongs to the Nicaraguan masses, and that explains something about that demonstration of half a million on July 19 last year. It's *their* revolution, they paid for it with the blood of their compañeros, their parents, their children. Fifty thousand died fighting Somoza, out of a popula-

tion of less than three million—that's the equivalent of four to five million dead in the United States. And the liberation was very real. The Guard was a mercenary gang of cutthroats. Literally, they killed pregnant women, then used their bayonets to dig the fetus out of their wombs in order to make sure the fetus was dead too. They would kill young men, cut off their genitals and stuff them in their mouths. These are psychopathic killers. This National Guard dive-bombed every single Nicaraguan city. And these are the same people who are the leaders and military command of the contras today. These are what Ronald Reagan calls "freedom fighters."

This was in principle a *political* revolution, not a social revolution at the beginning. And a sizable section of the Nicaraguan capitalist class is still there, as are the American companies—Pepsi-Cola, Exxon, Coca-Cola—which play a key role in the economy. Something over half of all industrial and commercial activity and agricultural goods that are sold are from the private sector. But the Somoza dynasty ran the country like it was their fiefdom: Anastasio, who was the first Somoza, was called "the last Marine," because he was put in there by the Marines when they ended the U.S. occupation in 1934. He used to say "*Nicaragua es mi finca*" (Nicaragua is my farm). And he and his sons milked it dry.

After the 1972 earthquake, they and his top National Guard commanders monopolized the relief aid, they just stole it. The capital of Managua was never rebuilt—even today the downtown is a huge expanse of rubble and empty fields. But, they figured, who needs a capital, when *your* capital is in Miami or in Swiss banks. They owned the national airlines, the shipping

company, the brewery; they owned the factory that produced those paving stones the kids dug up to throw at the National Guard too. They owned about 20 percent of all the land. People called it *Somozalandia*, Somozaland. And when you have a political revolution in a one-family state, guess what, it has some overtones of a social revolution. Just by expropriating the Somozaists' property a state sector was created with about a quarter of the economy. This has grown slightly since then, but not qualitatively.

In other words, the previous capitalist state was destroyed, but the economy is still capitalist. And that brings us to the nature of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which has tried from the beginning to freeze the revolution at this intermediate stage. The Sandinistas have a trinity: namely nonalignment, political pluralism and the mixed economy. Which is to say, that politically they are seeking to avoid taking that fateful step to a social revolution, they want to avoid expropriating the bourgeoisie, economically. At a ceremony last year, Jaime Wheelock, who was giving out land titles to peasants, said, "What do you mean we're against private property? We are creating thousands of private property owners." Which is true.

### Capitalist Fifth Column

Contrary to all Ronald Reagan's talk about "Sandino-Communism," the FSLN is not socialist, they wouldn't be what we would call part of the workers movement. It's a petty-bourgeois, radical-nationalist force. And many of its leaders have close family and political ties to sectors of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. The FSLN came to power by making alliances with sectors of the opposition bourgeoisie, and that's



Nicaraguan soldier who shot down CIA plane leads away mercenary Hasenfus.



what they are trying to maintain today. Today, the Sandinistas continue to hold that there is such a thing as a "patriotic bourgeoisie." They say they are making use of the bourgeoisie's managerial skills, because supposedly the workers are not yet ready to run industry.

A side point on this: You saw the picture of the one factory with the Lenin photo, that's the Fanatex factory, it's the largest in the country. Believe me, the workers can run that factory. That factory has been there since the mid-1950s, when it was imported lock, stock and barrel from the Alabama State Prison. Which gives you a sense also of the kind of equipment that they have to work with. In fact, today, the key thing is how to make spare parts. And the working class, as has been the historical experience in all revolutions, is showing a great deal of ingenuity in trying to deal with that difficult situation.

The Sandinista policy leaves the capitalists in key positions to strangle the economy when the crunch comes. And these people are necessarily enemies of social revolution, because as history teaches us, no ruling class voluntarily commits suicide. We say that as Marxists, but all you have to do is look at the evidence in Nicaragua as well: for more than half a decade now there has been zero investment by the Nicaraguan capitalists. What investments in plant and equipment there have been in the private sector have been paid for by dollar subsidies from the government. Any profits the capitalists get, they manage to smuggle out of the country. *This is the contras' fifth column, and they are being financed by the Sandinista government.* So when we talk about completing the revolution, we're talking about a contradiction that must be resolved. It's going to be resolved, one way or the other. This in-between stage can't last.

Meanwhile, the workers are really hurting. As of last summer, it was estimated that a family needs about 80,000 córdobas to minimally survive—that's about \$125 in equivalent purchasing power—yet the minimum wage for industrial workers is only 10,000 córdobas. It's obviously impossible—you're talking about a family living on \$15/month, that cannot be done. So what's happening is that most of the working class is moonlighting by selling odds and ends. This is the balance sheet on the "mixed economy": bankruptcy. You have a huge black market, which is a weapon in the hands of counterrevolution, and it includes the bulk of the working class. It's an extremely dangerous situation, and to overcome this it's necessary to break from the Sandinista trinity and undertake the road of socialist revolution. That's why we say, "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!"

The mass of the people are certainly tired after five years now of the contra war, which has caused somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000 additional casualties. But they're going to defend their revolution—those *heasts* are not coming back if they have anything to say about it. So what does it take? First of all, you need a communist party, a revolutionary workers party, a Trotskyist party that *defends* the gains of the



New York Spartacist League forum, November 22.

revolution with proletarian means, constructing workers militias to protect the factories against the contras, imposing workers control to defeat the "decapitalization" by the bosses who are milking these factories and these enterprises of their funds; a party that mobilizes the working masses to complete the revolution, with a workers and peasants government that expropriates the exploiters, seizing all the *La Prensas*!

A party that fights to extend the revolution, crucially to unite with the international working class, beginning with the Salvadoran workers courageously fighting the death squad "democracy" of American puppet president Joe Napoleon [Duarte]. The Trotskyists stand for military victory to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents and warn against the trap of Contadora, or as we call it, "Contra" dora—that is, the attempt by the regional bourgeoisies to impose a so-called "peaceful solution" that leaves the old social order intact. They basically would like to achieve through negotiations what Reagan has been unable to achieve with guns.

We want to set the entire isthmus aflame with workers revolution, extending to the Mexican proletariat—which is many millions strong, there are twice as many industrial workers in Mexico than there are people in Nicaragua, which is a predominantly peasant country—and to the imperialist heartland itself. Because you *can't* build socialism in one dirt-poor banana republic, or even this impoverished region, much less than Stalin and his successors could do it in Russia. Socialism is an international system, and it takes workers revolution in the most advanced capitalist countries, in this case the United States. The fight to smash the imperialist war drive will fundamentally be fought *right here*. The Nicaraguan masses are going to do what they can, but they are not alone, *if we do our job*.

#### Nicaragua and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

The situation inside Nicaragua is basically stalemated, but there are two

things that have changed lately. One is that the contras have been very heavily beaten back and defeated militarily and are in a very desperate situation right now, waiting for their \$100 million to come through. The second thing, fundamentally, is the situation in the United States, where a bipartisan "consensus" has been achieved in Congress in support of the Reagan administration's war plans in Central America and beyond. We have insisted that the differences between the Democrats and Republicans and liberals and conservatives were at most tactical, over how best to pursue the war drive, the Reaganites more gung-ho about Third World adventures, perhaps, the Democrats focusing more on the strategic arms buildup, etc.

There are two war parties in Congress. But they have now reached operational "unity" on what has been called the "Reagan Doctrine," namely backing counterrevolutionary armies to overthrow so-called "Soviet surrogates" around the globe. (This is not a new policy; they called it "rollback," in the 1950s, when John Foster Dulles used to play around with it.) This was symbolized by the House vote in June 1985 for \$30 million in so-called "humanitarian" funds to the contras, followed by repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting support for South African puppet Savimbi in Angola, and then the public vote to fund the Afghan Islamic guerrillas. This year we've seen the drawn-out vote for the \$100 million contra military activity, which was finally signed by Reagan last month. What that means is that Congress is now on record supporting military action to overthrow the Sandinista government. They've got the

We've been insisting for years that the anti-Soviet war drive is key, from Central America to the Near East and wherever—it's the predominant feature of the current period. This is where we have clashed most sharply with the entire so-called anti-intervention movement. From the May 3rd march on the Pentagon in 1981 on, we carried a banner saying "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" And every reformist and rad-lib—you name it, CISPES, PAM, SWP, *Guardian*—they would scream "provocation." They set up goon squads to keep the SL with our red flags and revolutionary politics out of what they considered "their" demonstration. And when that didn't work, because we wouldn't allow ourselves to be sealed off and we took down their anti-democratic daisy chain, then they called in the capitalist cops.

So why all the heat over this slogan in particular? As we put it, if during the Vietnam antiwar movement the reformists wanted to keep it "clean for Gene" McCarthy, here they wanted to be "ready for Teddy" Kennedy. In other words, they wanted to hitch their cart to the Democratic Party donkey, so the Soviet Union was taboo. That question must not be mentioned, because if it is, then it's all off with the Democrats.

It's no secret, after all, that Reagan & Co. have put Sandinista Nicaragua tops on the hit list of the anti-Soviet war drive. This is not just a "regional conflict," it's at the heart of American imperialism's attempt to restore its hegemony. Last year Reagan appealed for contra aid with the argument that otherwise there will be "a Communist Central America" and "100 million people from Panama to our southern



Boston, February 1982: Trotskyists at El Salvador demonstration.

"legal" cover for their Central American war, just as the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was the Congressional authorization for the Vietnam War.

This reflects the agreement of the Democrats and Republicans that you see around the globe. So that when Reagan orders the Navy and Air Force to attack Libya, on the most transparent pretext, the Democrats all applaud, including liberals like Tip O'Neill. And it's solid enough so that when a CIA supply plane gets shot down over Nicaragua, and Hasenfus spills the beans—they continue voting the \$100 million, and basically the war is on. What's changed here in the last period, then, is that the contra war has come to an end and the American war is beginning.

border could come under the control of pro-Soviet regimes." And last spring when they really pulled out all the stops for the contra aid, Reagan showed on TV this red tide spreading all over Central America all the way up to Harlingen, Texas. Then a couple months later red tide comes to Galveston. Makes you wonder if the Reaganauts actually planned that.

Obviously, Reagan's view that there would be no "hot spots" in the world if there wasn't any so-called "Soviet-sponsored subversion" is false. In fact, the Kremlin bureaucracy is deeply conservative, and as far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned they generally feel that they have their hands full

*continued on page 8*



Managua, 19 July 1985: Mass rally of 500,000 on sixth anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution.



# Nicaragua...

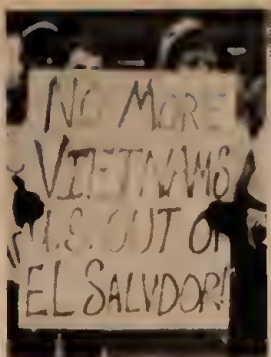
(continued from page 7)

defending Cuba. However, at the same time, the Soviet bureaucracy does sit atop the collectivized property that is a remaining gain from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. That creates certain contradictions for them. They also see that they are in fact the target of this drive. So one thing that is notable about the last several years has been the tremendous increase in Soviet military aid to Nicaragua, which we're all for.

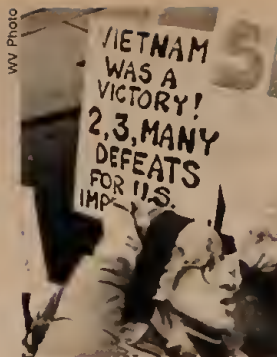
So what does the so-called left do? They scream that any mention of Russia is just a red herring. But if the U.S. government declares that Central America is part of the Cold War and that it's on the front lines of the anti-Soviet war drive, then it is. What's happening is not that the Soviets have some kind of "domino strategy," but the Americans have their own domino strategy, in reverse, to begin with ousting the Sandinistas and drowning the Salvadoran insurgents in a sea of blood, and end up, they hope, with "rolling back" the gains of the Russian October Revolution. They think it's going to happen by some kind of "limited nuclear exchange" in which they put the Kremlin up against the wall, and it's going to "cry uncle," and no white middle-class American is going to get hurt, right? It's crazy, but those are the people that are running the country.

Why is Central America on the front lines of the second Cold War today? Because Washington is looking for an easy win, in order to reverse the so-called "Vietnam syndrome." They figured some tiny little countries—Nicaragua is only the size of Michigan—in the U.S.' own "backyard" would be someplace where they could easily whip up a red scare at home and then when they've got the public properly motivated, they can crown it with a military walkover. And then—presto!—Vietnam would all be forgotten, and Washington could get back into the business of being the policeman of the world like in the good old days, when the U.S. were the only ones who had The Bomb and they could rule through nuclear blackmail. But the "American century" didn't last very long—not much longer than Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich" in fact.

Already by the early 1950s, the Soviets had atomic weapons. And in the '60s, the U.S. became mired down in the swamps of Indochina. By 1973 the U.S. essentially had to cut and run from Vietnam, leading a couple years later to the victory of that revolution over the corrupt Saigon regime, which was a humiliating defeat for the American government, the first time in a visible way that the American government had lost a war. That gave rise to the "Vietnam syndrome," which remains an overriding fact about U.S. foreign



U.S. Imperialism's defeat in Vietnam: Reformists mourn it, revolutionaries hail it.



policy to this day. The American population does not want to get hogged down in another, losing Third World military adventure against a popular revolution.

And that does not change, whatever Reagan says or does. He denounces Ortega as a terrorist, a drug pusher, a "looney tunes dictator in designer glasses"; they discover MIGs on their way to Managua; they hype up border incidents with Honduras; Reagan gets overwhelmingly re-elected over Mondale; the Democrats cave in to his policy; Congress votes \$100 million in contra aid. No matter, every poll for the last five years shows at least two-thirds of the population against U.S. intervention in Central America, whatever form it takes. They basically don't want anything that sounds like another Vietnam.

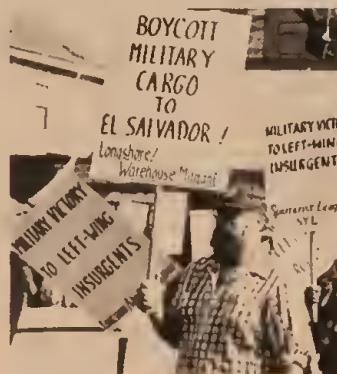
This opinion is shared by key sectors of the bourgeoisie, including a lot of people at the highest levels of the Pentagon, which is less than enthusiastic about some of the Reaganites' nuttier schemes. Particularly, they're not crazy about going into Nicaragua. (Which doesn't mean that it isn't going to happen.) They love Reagan's "standing tall" rhetoric and all the flag-waving at the Olympics. The Grenada invasion was fine, although it took a week for 7,000 U.S. troops to take over this tiny Caribbean island against 700 middle-aged Cuban construction workers, what with the U.S. shooting down its own helicopters and all. And even Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya was okay with the Pentagon, although they missed Qaddafi. But anywhere there's serious fighting, they get squeamish because they're afraid of a backlash at home—and they're right about that.

This brings me to a curious united front. For some years now, the Central American "solidarity" groups have been pushing the slogan, "No More Vietnams." Ronald Reagan says that, of course, while he considers Vietnam a "noble cause," he, too, doesn't want another Vietnam. Richard Nixon titles a volume of his memoirs, *No More Vietnams*. These various forces all raise the same slogan because they are reflecting the bourgeois defeatism that

grew out of the U.S. defeat. The Spartacist League has a different program. We say, "Vietnam was a victory!" And echoing the call of Che Guevara, we call for "Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" We stand for the interests of the international working class and all the oppressed. There, in a nutshell, you have the difference between the SL and all the rad-lib and reformist outfits. They want to deny the anti-Soviet war drive, they want to say "no more Vietnams," because fundamentally what they stand on is the supposed "national interest" of American imperialism.

## U.S. Workers Must Smash the War on Nicaragua!

So let me take a break here for a moment to play part of a song [by the Grupo Savia], which captures the strategy of what passes for a left in this country, of the so-called "anti-



ILWU militants call for "hot-cargoring" military cargo to Salvadoran death squad regime.

intervention movement." It's in Spanish and English, and in Spanish the refrain is, "No, no, no to intervention, the people want revolution. If they don't go—meaning the U.S.—they'll get it like in Vietnam." But in English the song goes: "No, no, no to draft and war, U.S. out of El Salvador. This song's for you, Uncle Sam, we don't want another Vietnam."

Now, obviously they have a different line in Spanish and English. But the point I want to make is that in a broader sense they have the same line in both versions, because what they believe is you can only appeal to the nationalist sentiment of every people. So obviously, if you're in Latin America, where half the ruling classes say that they're revolutionary—in Mexico, it's the Revolutionary Institutional Party—they can be very left-sounding and roll their "r's" when they say revolution. In the United States, it's "no more Vietnams" and appeal to bourgeois defeatism.

The Trotskyists are different, because we believe in proletarian internationalism. The Spartacist League is the U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency, which is fighting to reforge a Fourth International like in Trotsky's lifetime, as a world party of socialist revolution. We call for a class struggle against imperialist intervention, both in Central America and here. And our policy has been dramatically vindicated by the developments of the last year or so. For the last five years these various phony solidarity types have been putting Democrats like Bella Abzug or

Jesse Jackson on their platforms, lobbying the Democrats in Congress, getting the votes out for the Democrats in the '84 elections for Walter Mondale, who called for "quarantining Nicaragua." And what's the result? The Democrats join Reagan in voting for war on Nicaragua.

It's pretty dismal for the reformists' perspective, which is also why you haven't seen much of them lately. But it's quite different with the class-struggle perspective. Reagan has pursued the same strategy with labor and black people in this country as with the Soviets—namely slamming us up against the wall assuming that we'll keep taking it until we "cry uncle." PATCO, where he simply fired the entire union of 14,000 air traffic controllers—and these were white, highly skilled types, one of the few unions that endorsed Reagan. The MOVE massacre, where the Philly police, on orders from a black Democratic mayor and with consultation, supplies and approval from the Reagan administration in Washington, bombed a black commune, burning black babies to death, killing eleven people in wanton murder.

As the Nicaraguan foreign minister characterized Reagan's policy toward the Sandinistas, it's "Drop dead or I'll kill you!" And this blackmail has an effect at home. For several years, the number of strikes kept going down and down, more giveback contracts, etc. But increasingly after six years of this bullying, people are fed up and there have been a series of outbreaks of struggle. So far, they've mostly been defeated, like at Hormel, but this is not



WV Photos

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## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA



# Who Sold Out Kaiser Strike

OAKLAND—Striking Kaiser hospital workers swallowed a bitter pill and voted December 13 to end their 48-day strike and return to work. Although the workers beat back attacks on seniority provisions, the strike lost on the central issue of establishing two-tier pay rates (new hires will take a 15 percent cut). A golden opportunity was missed to win a badly needed victory against concessions and stick it to Reagan when he's down. The militant SEIU Local 250 membership lost, not because they were unwilling to fight but because their cowardly pro-capitalist union misleadership refused to play the kind of hardball needed to defeat this company offensive.

This strike could have been won. This defeat is infuriating as the Reagan government is in deep trouble over the Contragate Iranian arms deal. The Kaiser workers voted the original offer down 4-1 and when they hit the bricks on October 27, impressive numbers of non-striking unionists honored their picket lines. With 650,000 of Kaiser's 2.2 million members from union families this strike was enormously popular. Yet seven weeks later 20-30 percent of the strikers had gone back to work along with most of the nurses and maintenance workers, and the local wound up voting for essentially the same contract they had rejected twice.

Since PATCO the companies have been waging a "one-sided class war" against the labor movement and the union leadership has thrown in the towel at every juncture. From day one Kaiser strike leaders pushed their "corporate campaign" strategy which was designed to move the fight from the picket lines, where strikes are won or

lost, to a series of dead-end pressure tactics that left the hospitals open for business. It's this corporate campaign crap that led to a slow death of the Phelps-Dodge copper miners and knifed the militant Hormel strike.

The key to victory was the fight to shut Kaiser's facilities down. While strike leaders put out leaflets inviting



Oakland, December 4: Angry Kaiser workers vote down sellout deal.

patients to cross their picket lines, individual militants fought hard to keep the scabs out. On the fourth day of the strike the courts issued an injunction limiting pickets to four per delivery site. The seeds of this defeat were sown when the Local 250 leadership instructed its picket captains to respect the injunction and play by the bosses' rules.

This was the moment when the big battalions of the Bay Area labor movement should have been mobilized to back up the Kaiser picket lines. Mass picket lines, that scabs wouldn't dare cross, would have rendered the injunc-

tion worthless, shut Kaiser down tight, and quickly swept the two-tier issue off the bargaining table.

These union misleaders today don't even know how to win a strike. They are part and parcel of the post-World War II witchhunt that earned its spurs driving communists and radicals out of the labor movement and capitulating to Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor legislation designed to stifle labor traditions of secondary boycotts and picket lines that nobody crosses. Today the union bureaucracy is pushing the line that strikes are obsolete, and the strikes they do run are usually losers.

On December 4 a "new" tentative agreement was put to a membership vote and to the bureaucracy's surprise was resoundingly defeated. As one striker said, "It's the same damn contract we voted against in October" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 December). This "no" vote drove Kaiser berserk as they ran ad to recruit more security guards, threatened to hire scabs to replace the strikers and coordinated through the Oakland police department nearly 30 arrests for injunction violations.

The December 4 vote was also a signal for the top union leaders here to lend a hand in selling this strike down the river. When Kaiser complained to the press that scabs were "intimidated" and couldn't vote, Alameda Central Labor Council head Steve Martin took the same line asserting that a minority was keeping the strike going and that there's "this problem of democracy we've got" (*Oakland Tribune*, 6 December). Our hats are off to those militants who made sure that scabs never showed their faces at the polling locations.

The SEIU International promptly sent in a team to take over the strike and SF labor council secretary/treasurer Walter Johnson, long-time darling of the reformist left, brokered the final deal. So nine days after the two-tier contract offer was clearly defeated, the union bureaucracy submitted this rotten deal to another vote. After letting the Kaiser strikers turn in the wind for weeks, the union misleaders were counting on the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays to wear down the membership's resolve. Kaiser workers must never forget who screwed them.

When the Kaiser strike broke, *Workers Vanguard* was right there on the picket lines. Our call for mass picket lines to stop the scabs and win the strike was well received, and we welcome our 20 new subscribers we met on the picket lines. For the reformist left, busy court- ing divestment and Democratic Party liberals, it took a while to realize that some genuine class struggle was going on. But all they could offer the strikers was a lot of hot air that never went beyond the boundary set by the bureaucracy's corporate campaign. While nominally criticizing this no-win strategy, a 3 December leaflet issued by the Marxist-Leninist Party contains a disgusting appeal for dialogue with scabs. This dovetailed with the frenzied violence-baiting campaign being whipped up by the company, bourgeois press and union misleaders against strikers for dealing appropriately with the despised scabs.

It was *WV* that called for mass action to defy the injunctions against picketing. We were the only ones that drew a hard class line and told the strikers that the courts, cops and mayors were on the other side, with Kaiser and the scabs. This galling defeat is another lesson that it takes militant class struggle to win strikes, and that the pro-Democratic Party labor sellouts must be ousted. ■

hot-cargoing military goods to El Salvador and Central America. We put forward a program for working-class action against this war drive. And our supporters have gotten resolutions passed in West Coast longshore locals supporting this position. When the Salvadoran guerrillas were on a roll in early 1983 and the U.S. was desperately sending in shiploads of ammo from the West Coast, the Militant Caucus in the ILWU got the San Francisco local and almost two-fifths of the union delegates up and down the coast to endorse a 24-hour West Coast port shutdown to protest the war drive. And when the International union tops tried to stage a kangaroo court trial to suspend a political supporter of the Spartacist League from the SF executive board, it got shouted down by 400 predominantly black longshoremen.

The rad-libs occasionally talk about stopping arms to El Salvador, too. They had this Port Chicago project just up the river toward Stockton from the Bay Area. But their program was to lie down in the road—civil disobedience. We are looking not for moral witness, we are looking for power, and the power is in

the hands of the working class. And it can be done. We wrote in *Workers Vanguard* recently about how in 1971, when we were calling for labor strikes against the Vietnam War, we were only that far away from one. And that was after several years of bloody war in Vietnam, where at first the opinion in some sectors of the working class, particularly construction trades, was pro-war. Today, if there is a U.S. invasion of Central America, the issue of labor strikes against the war will be posed from Day One.

Let me end by giving you one example of where it *did* happen: in Seattle in 1919. In the midst of the Russian Civil War, when there were 14 imperialist armies—one of them an American expeditionary force—that were attacking Lenin's Soviet Republic and Trotsky's Red Army. So I just want to read a paragraph from an account of what happened on the Seattle docks then, from an unpublished memoir by Arne Swabeck, a former Trotskyist who died not long ago. He wrote:

"Seven months later [after the Seattle general strike] the Seattle longshoremen gave a magnificent demonstration of international working class solidarity. Fifty freight cars came to the Seattle docks with a shipment labeled 'sewing machines' to be loaded on government chartered steamer 'The Delight' for Vladivostok [in the Soviet Far East]. One longshore crew, suspicious of this shipment of sewing machines for a land locked in the throes of civil war, let a crate crash on the dock and out came stacks of guns obviously intended for Kolchak's counterrevolutionary army in Siberia. The union refused to handle the cargo, and was backed up by the Central Labor Council while the bourgeois press howled in anguish and Senators fumed in Washington. The Delight pulled out of Seattle harbor—but with other cargo."

This was 1919, the time of the Russian Revolution, isn't that old history? Well, in 1978, on the Oakland docks, class-struggle militants in the ILWU, political



1920 Soviet poster hails Communist Third International and solidarity against Imperialist invasion of Russia: "Workers stand firm! The proletariat of the West is coming to your aid!"

supporters of the Spartacist League, were campaigning to stop arms to Chile and some dock workers discovered crates of bomb fins bound for Chile. They raised a stink, and the army was forced to take them back. That struggle was ultimately sabotaged by the ILWU leadership which was politically subordinate to the Democrats, in this case Teddy Kennedy. But in fact those bomb fins were stopped—an openly political work action.

This experience and the Seattle example should make one final point—namely that real solidarity is through common struggle. We coined a slogan for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent that we built at one of those El Salvador peace crawls, that "Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home." What the Seattle longshoremen's action grew out of was a week-long Seattle general strike, which produced a general strike council with daily mass meetings, out of which grew a Workers, Soldiers

and Sailors Council. This was a long ways from a revolutionary soviet like they had in Russia—the conservative labor leaders jumped right into the middle of it, Swabeck noted—but it was certainly inspired by events in Petrograd.

Class struggle at home means the fight against the phony "friend of labor" Democrats and the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy that ties the working class to them. It means the fight to build a revolutionary workers party here, a party like Lenin and Trotsky built, like the early Communist International, that can bring down the imperialist monster from within by uniting and infusing the proletarian struggle in this country with that internationalist program. An American working-class leadership that acts as a tribune of the people, of all the oppressed. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1930s, "Americanized Bolshevism will smash and overcome American imperialism!" ■

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# White House...

(continued from page 1)

His "national hero" Oliver North pleaded the Fifth Amendment 40 times in one hearing, supposedly to avoid self-incrimination. In fact, he was protecting his boss. One wary North subordinate, Lt. Col. Robert Earl, took the Sixth Amendment (right to legal counsel of own choice): sensibly enough, he didn't want a White House lawyer who might be too ready to make him a fall guy. North was fawned over in Congress like he was there to get the Congressional Medal of Honor. A conservative "investigator" announced he'd contribute to North's defense, another recited some Kipling "white man's burden" poetry. Liberal Democratic representative Barnes praised ex-National Security Adviser John Poindexter's record

would believe that." "Following the money"—the tip "Deep Throat" gave during the Watergate affair—is a game all its own, with everybody from the contras to billionaire arms dealer Khushoggi complaining they got stiffed. One revelation was the existence of a billion-dollar Swiss bank "Reagan Doctrine Superfund," where profits from Iranian arms sales, contributions from Brunei sultans, kickbacks from Israeli merchants of death and Saudi matching funds are put together to finance the anti-Soviet wars which Congress won't buy (openly). The Afghan mullahs were the biggest recipients, to the tune of \$400-\$500 million a year.

It turns out that practically the whole world knew about the Iran scam, including Oregon lumbermen, Canadian oilmen, Philippine generals, Japanese premier Nakasone—everyone, that is, except supposedly the CIA. Director

then where will they find a fall guy? Or girl. But wait—that item last summer about Nancy Reagan's maid smuggling arms to Paraguay disappeared awfully fast, didn't it. Maybe once they all get their stories straight and their documents shredded, Meese will discover that, if not the butler, "the maid did it."

## "Contragate" and War in Central America

The first casualty of the Iran/Contragate affair has been Reagan's Nicaraguan mercenary army of counter-revolutionary terrorists. Almost as soon as the scandal broke, these intrepid "freedom fighters" were ready to throw in the towel: "we're served up and eaten," said contra leader Arturo Cruz as the *Wall Street Journal* (5 December) reported "a growing sense among Washington's Central American allies

contra attempt to seize a slice of Nicaragua in order to force the U.S.' hand "This would be the first cheap victory for the West since 1917," said this anti-communist fanatic (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 December). The military chiefs are not so sure how "cheap" it would be: a quarantine has been "costed" at \$8.7 billion for the first year, and even with a successful invasion they calculate guerrilla warfare would continue for at least five years, with considerable casualties.

The biggest problem they foresee is the war on the home front. The Democrats may be neutralized (candidate Mondale called for quarantining Nicaragua). It's the American population itself that is the "weak link," all the more so since Iran/Contragate has destroyed the administration's "credibility." "They were, up to a couple weeks ago, spoiling for a fight in Nicaragua," commented ex-CIA official Victor Marchetti, "and I'm totally convinced they are planning to go in with the Marine divisions and the 82nd Airborne and anything else they can pull together" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 10 December). But to do so today would invite disaster. As retired Lt. Colonel John Buchanan remarked, "It's difficult to see a pretext in which the administration could gain the support it needs for this war." For now.

## The Main Enemy Is At Home!

Meanwhile, an ominous pattern of harassment and domestic break-ins against American citizens and organizations opposed to the U.S. war against Central America has come to light, recalling Nixon's "black bag" jobs against civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activists. According to the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, over 25 political groups who oppose Reagan on Central America have had their offices broken into over the last two years. Besides going after radicals, bourgeois politicians are on the Reaganites' "enemies list" too: in early December the offices of the International Center for Development Policy, run by former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, were broken into. And it now appears that some of the Iran arms spoils may have been diverted to pay for right-wing TV commercials aimed at defeating "anti-contra" American politicians in the '86 elections.

But for all their covert and overt actions, it looks like the "Reagan Years" may be self-destructing. A lot of people never did buy the media hype about America being "Reagan country." Black people always knew Reagan was poison. And while a lot of white unionists voted for Reagan, they were soon disabused by the hatchet job he did to break the PATCO air controllers strike. It is increasingly difficult for leading proponents of Reagan's foreign policy—from Jeane Kirkpatrick to Shultz to Weinberger—to set foot on a major campus without evoking a storm of protest. Shades of LBJ. Meanwhile, religious groups have collected \$12 million for humanitarian projects in Sandinista Nicaragua. And when Hasenfus was shot down, the governor of his home state (Wisconsin) declared the loser mere was "no hero here," and invited Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramirez to speak at the state capitol!

A popular war, or a popular foreign policy, doesn't have to be run out of the White House basement. The Democrats promise nothing but Reaganism without Reagan: more austerity and "concessions contracts" for the unions, more budget slashing of programs for the ghetto poor, more anti-Soviet hysteria and war buildup. The decaying capitalist system that spawned the nest of terrorists in the White House needs to be swept away by the working class and its allies among the oppressed. We in the Spartacist League are dedicated to building the party to lead the American revolution we so desperately need. ■



Reagan's partners in crime: Poindexter, North and McFarlane.

pleading with him to put country before self and tell all.

It was quite a spectacle coming from people like Nixon and Reagan who during Senator Joe McCarthy's witch-hunting days used to rail against "Fifth Amendment Communists." Democratic representative Pat Schroeder noted, "When he [Reagan] was president of the Screen Actors Guild, anybody who pleaded the Fifth in front of a congressional committee lost his membership." But there were no kudos from the New Right, for whom Khomeini is the Great Satan and Reagan's harebrained arms-for-hostages deal with the ayatollahs is blasphemous. They got Reagan elected by vituperating against Jimmy Carter as a wimp over Iran. And now the buzzards are coming home to roost.

So the Reagan "hands-off presidency" is in total crisis. The White House is paralyzed by paranoia, with everyone from spokesman Spokes to the president's physician bailing out. Nancy Reagan has leaked it that she expects chief of staff Don Regan to be gone by early January, and CIA chief William Casey to exit as well. And every committee in Congress seems to be holding hearings on the affair. The Reaganauts' *modus operandi* in such a pickle would be to invade another Grenada or get a KAL 007 shot down, but now even a half-hearted attempt to spark a Honduras-Nicaraguan border war fizzled. And beyond the Beltway, 87 percent of the American public thinks the president's lying.

## What Did They Know and When Did They Forget It?

Stonewalling has been the name of the game in Washington for the past two weeks, though some tidbits have slipped into the open. No one believes Meese's "modified limited hangout route" story that Ollie North is the sorcerer's apprentice who singlehandedly ran the operation. As Republican Senate leader Robert Dole said, "I don't think Ripley

of Central Intelligence Casey claimed he'd just heard a lot of "gossip," and got fooled by North into shipping arms to Iran under the pretext they were really Waring blenders or something. Ex-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, veteran of the infamous Tehran cakewalk, told Congress Reagan had approved Israeli arms shipments to Iran months before his January 17 "secret finding" that supposedly made such things legal. Secretary of State Shultz self-righteously claimed total innocence, while Vice President Bush announced he was standing by his president...and promptly went back into hiding.

Inside the Beltway there's much barely controlled gloating among Democrats sensing a new lease on life. Nonetheless, the line of thoughtful representatives of the American ruling class is that some *real* "damage control" is called for here. Reagan may be a crippled lame duck president, but the Democratic Party is worried that if they can't keep him afloat the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive begun under Jimmy Carter is in trouble. They all hailed Reagan's appointment as National Security Adviser of Frank Carlucci (the "officer in charge of Congolese political affairs" in 1960-62 when the CIA set up the murder of nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba).

What the Democrats really hate about Reagan's "cowboy" adventures in Iran and Nicaragua is that they've been exposed. The Congressmen drooling over North's Vietnam Vet medals while scrambling for a spot on the evening news pretend horror about the diversion of a paltry \$10-\$30 million to the contras. But the Democratic-controlled House just this fall voted \$100 million in military aid to these same murderous butchers. Is North to be condemned for being a "premature anti-Sandinista?" Reagan and his NSC/CIA/NSA plotters have been getting away with murder for the past six years. After the *Challenger* disaster, the "free press" rushed ... to cover up the story of White House pressure to launch. They ate up the Libya disinformation campaign leading to the U.S. bombing raid. And what about the KAL 007 spy mission?

On Iran/Contragate it looks like everybody knew something—except Ronald Reagan? He knew, and everyone knows it. In fact, the Democrats' main worry about granting immunity to North et al. is that they may talk, and

that President Reagan's war on Nicaragua is a lost cause." The Honduran vice president complained that contra chief "Calero lives better than I do"—i.e., the CIA has been stingy with the payoffs for its front men. Honduras has demanded that the contras move into Nicaragua by April. El Salvador (embarrassed over the Hasenfus shootdown) cut off contra supply flights and Costa Rica has shut down contra operations on Nicaragua's southern flank.

Republican Senate Intelligence Committee head Durenburger predicted "it will be a cold day in Washington before Congress gives any more money" to the contra war. Why? Certainly not because they are tainted with Iranian money, but because they're *losers*. Former U.S. Southern Command chief General Paul Gorman told the National War College last month, "I do not see the Nicaraguan rebels as a likely alternative to the present Sandinista regime" (*New York Times*, 15 December). Sandinista Army leaders have declared that the contras have already been dealt a "strategic defeat" militarily; evidently Congress and the Pentagon agree. But as the contras go down the tubes, the Reaganites are starkly faced with the alternative of a U.S. invasion or seeing their crusade to "roll back Communism" in Central America come to naught.

In recent weeks there have been numerous reports of U.S. invasion plans. Just as the Irangate revelations broke it was announced that the 82nd Airborne Division had held large-scale field maneuvers, involving 14,000 paratroops, to train for invading "hostile territory" in Central America. On election day the *Miami Herald* (4 November) reported, "The Reagan administration is gearing up for a new push against Nicaragua" which could involve "surgical U.S. air strikes to destroy Soviet-supplied counterinsurgency helicopters and a naval blockade to interdict fresh military supplies...." First drawn up in 1983, according to Congressional sources, "the plans are now ready." More than one account put D-Day in March-April 1987. However, the Pentagon brass was said to be resisting direct U.S. action.

From Day One, Reagan has been obsessed with ousting the Sandinistas. Poindexter was quoted last summer saying, "The president does not want to leave the problem to his successors. He wants to get rid of the Sandinistas now." And North reportedly advocated a

**NOTICE**  
Workers Vanguard  
skips a week in  
December.  
Our next issue will be  
dated January 9.



# French Students...

(continued from page 1)

students who are fighting against "socialist" governments which apply the same restrictive entrance requirements. To obtain high quality universities open to all with no tuition requires a struggle against capitalism and its administrators.

On November 30, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France warned in a leaflet: "Reaction is biding time, but it is preparing its revenge." The reactionaries' program was openly expressed by Louis Pauwels, vicious editorialist of the *Figaro Magazine*, when he spoke of "youth suffering from mental AIDS." After Malik was assassinated (with the government covering for the killer cops), only the fear of a social explosion momentarily held back the police. Le Pen, demagogic leader of the fascist National Front, continues to denounce Chirac's "capitulation." We say: *Dissolve the CRS and other paramilitary groups of the bonapartist state! Mass working-class mobilizations to sweep away the fascist scum!*

The student demonstrators received the shock treatment previously reserved for immigrants under Chirac and, before that, under Mitterrand's "left" government. It was no accident that Malik Oussekiene (a "foreigner" despite his French citizenship) was beaten to death or that Abdel Benyahia was killed by a cop in a bar on December 6. Like recent cases of criminal racist arson against immigrant families and their babies in Paris' 20th arrondissement which have claimed 35 victims in seven



Paris, December 10: Mass demonstration in memory of Malik Oussekiene, victim of racist killer cops. Special Le Bolchévique supplement produced by Ligue Trotskyiste de France.

Reagan's war drive in Europe, backing the installation of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles and unleashing an anti-Soviet hysteria in France over Poland. In alliance with the CIA, Mitterrand reasserted the traditional role of French imperialism as gendarme of Africa, sending the army into war against Qaddafi in Chad. And it is Mitterrand's virulent anti-Sovietism which has made possible "cohabitation" with Chirac.

The government's current retreat opens new perspectives for the working class and the oppressed. This reactionary government can and must be beaten! The old slogan of May '68 is more current than ever: it's only a start, the fight goes on! But rather than lead a fight, the "far left"—from Mandel/Krivine's LCR to Lambert's PCI, social democrats of the second mobilization, to the workerists of Lutte Ouvrière—not just content to tail along, have actively supported (or constituted) the "apolitical" strike leadership. As several LO members told the Ligue Trotskyiste: Yes, the strike is political, but we won't say that because it would break the unity of the movement.

While student strike leaders hid behind "anti-political" rhetoric to disguise their social-democratic (and anti-communist) program, the LTF fought to mobilize students on a class program, calling for defense of the Latin Quarter and for driving the fascists off campus. Comrade Didier, a student at Nanterre, noted in an interview:

"One morning when there was an attack by the [fascist] GUD at the Sorbonne, we proposed at the general assembly to mobilize Nanterre students to protect the Sorbonne. Well, the social democrats just wanted to send a delegation of a dozen students at the most... They absolutely wanted to avoid the students mobilizing against the fascists."

The LTF also fought, mostly with success, to keep the fascistic UNI off the

podium.

Notorious anti-communist Cohn-Bendit showed up at Nanterre where he not only called on the fascists to debate, but scandalously amalgamated the far right and the far left. "Danny the Yellow" (scab) also referred to the Western "democracies," whereupon LTF comrades rose to point out that Reagan's "democracy" meant contra attacks on Nicaragua and noted the unholy anti-Soviet alliance, from the social democrats to UNI. When Cohn-Bendit attacked us for defending Soviet troops (fighting CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries) in Afghanistan, the LTF comrades, before a very hostile audience, chanted "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

There was, however, a substantial increase in political awareness during the strike: a comrade reported that "students who had booed us at the beginning later came to see us, saying: 'Well, you were right, the strike committee is rotten, a bunch of wheeler-dealers, all they want is something very limited, and we're not interested in that.'"

## For a May '68 That Goes All the Way!

In the face of the government's plans for "rolling back" social gains, its racist terror and police attempts to beat the population into line, what's needed is a real general strike to shut down the factories, ports, airports and transportation throughout France! Such a strike must be protected against strikebreakers by workers self-defense squads. It would inevitably raise the question of state power and the need to put an end to capitalism's economic chaos with a genuine workers government.

The working class cannot stand by while broad sections of it are reduced to misery. There is only one solution to this

crisis: divide the available work among all workers and determine the length of the workweek on this basis, with no reduction in wages. That is the sliding scale of wages and hours. In opposition to capitalist criteria of profitability, we defend the very physical existence of our class. If capitalism in decay is unable to grant these demands, let it perish!

When you fight for power, you need instruments of struggle: a party, unions, ultimately soviets—workers councils. The key is revolutionary leadership—a Leninist, Trotskyist vanguard party. Today that leadership does not yet exist, but that doesn't mean that a general strike should be put off. The broader the general strike, the more completely it will reject treacherous and opportunist leaders and the more difficult for bourgeois reaction to launch a counterattack to break the workers movement. Revolutionary leadership will be forged in the course of this fight.

Organs of dual power—strike committees, factory committees, mass pickets which become workers self-defense squads and ultimately workers militias—will be the basis for a real workers government. The socialist reconstruction of France (and all Europe!) is the only realistic alternative to a new cycle of popular fronts, class-collaborationist governments which only open the door to reaction.

Is this possible? The example of May '68 shows it is. It wasn't the barricades in the Latin Quarter that were key, although they served as the spark, but ten million workers who went on strike to get rid of the Gaullist regime, creating a prerevolutionary situation. The vague anti-capitalist sentiment wasn't translated into organs of dual power, largely because of the treacherous leadership of the French Communist Party which did everything it could to sabotage the movement. There was no Bolshevik party to take the lead in this uprising; the traditional reformist leaderships were able to channel the working class toward the creation of a new popular front: the Union of the Left.

An internationalist proletarian perspective is a burning necessity as capitalism in crisis viciously attacks the working class and its most vulnerable section—immigrant workers—seeking to line up the population as part of its preparation for war against the USSR. We need a new revolutionary leadership in opposition to the reformists of the Socialist Party and French Communist Party, who are responsible for the dirty work of the 1981-86 popular front, as for other popular fronts in the past. The Ligue Trotskyiste de France seeks to forge an authentically Bolshevik party, as part of the international party of world socialist revolution, because this time we want a May '68 that goes all the way. ■



Sipa

fires since October 1985, these deaths testify to the wave of racist terror poisoning France. Stop Mitterrand-Chirac's deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families! Union/immigrant self-defense squads against racist terror!

## The End of "Apoliticism"

Today, when the bourgeoisie shudders at the thought of a new May '68, the social democrats and their "far left" tails are seeking to profit from the students' anger against Chirac to create a new popular front. But it's not so easy for Mitterrand to be "reborn." As minister of "justice" in the government of Guy Mollet which launched the Algerian War in 1956, he will be forever stained with the blood of the militants tortured and guillotined in that dirty colonial war. He also has on his hands the blood of Eloi Machoro, assassinated leader of the independence movement in New Caledonia, and of the Greenpeace pacifist in New Zealand. The last five years of "left" government are too recent to forget their anti-working-class, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet policies.

As Mitterrand's former prime minister Fabius remarked during the election campaign last spring, "It was up to us to do the 'dirty work'." The "Socialist" government denounced North African strikers as "Islamic fanatics," and ordered mass deportations of "illegal" immigrants. It was the spearhead of



Helena Hermes

May 1968: Student struggles triggered massive general strike. Renault workers (above).



# Subject Index...

(continued from page 16)

- Sandinistas and Miskitos, #396, 31 Jan. (6, 10)
- Reagan Rabid Over Nicaragua, #399, 14 Mar. (1, 12)
- Contra Aid Reagan Wants Green Light to Invade Nicaragua, #400, 28 Mar. (1, 6)
- Contra Congress Declares War on Nicaragua, #407, 4 July (1, 8)
- Nicaragua Masses Vow to Defend Revolution, #409, 1 Aug. (12, 11)
- U.S. Workers: Smash War on Nicaragua!, #410, 29 Aug. (1, 11)
- Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. War Drive!, #418, 19 Dec. (6, 7, 8, 9)

## U.S. Antiwar Protests

- Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras! (YSp), #410, 29 Aug. (5)
- Funds for Nicaragua Urgently Needed! (YSp), #411, 12 Sept. (6)
- Take a Side! Defend Nicaragua! Donate to Nicabucks! (YSp), #413, 10 Oct. (14)\*
- Take a Side! (C), #417, 5 Dec. (2)

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY— See also Labor: General.

- 25 Years Ago: How CIA Murdered Patrice Lumumba, #405, 6 June (13)
- CIA Off-Campus (YSp), #415, 7 Nov. (4, 5)
- Boston University: Silber's Mullah "Journalism" Project (YSp), #417, 5 Dec. (12)

Ceylon—See Sri Lanka.

Chernobyl—See Soviet Union.

Chicago Politics—See Fascism; Printers.

## CHILE

- Two-Day National Strike in Chile, #408, 18 July (5, 10)
- Pinochet Almost Gets His, #411, 12 Sept. (10)

Citadel—See Fascism.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

- General—See Natural Science. See also Civil Rights; Communist Party (USA); External Tendency/Bolshevik Tendency; New York City.
- Reaganite Bigots vs. the Blind: Let Them Read Playboy!, #395, 17 Jan. (2)

- Meese's Porno Witchhunt, #396, 31 Jan. (11)
- Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!, #400, 28 Mar. (4, 9)
- Feds Frame Up Mob, #400, 28 Mar. (5, 8)
- Protest Racist Witchhunter Meese! (YSp), #404, 23 May (8)
- Let Them Read Playboy!, #405, 6 June (2)
- Reagan's Sex Witchhunt, #408, 18 July (1, 6, 7, 8)
- Drug Witchhunt, #410, 29 Aug. (1, 9, 10)
- Supreme Court Gags Students (YSp), #410, 29 Aug. (5, 10)
- Hitler's Children (L), #411, 12 Sept. (2)
- "Dear J. Edgar Hoover" (L), #411, 12 Sept. (2)
- Tennessee Book-Banners Target Goldilocks, #412, 26 Sept. (5)
- Labor: Smash Drug Witchhunt!, #414, 24 Oct. (12, 11)
- Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!, #414, 24 Oct. (6)

## Cases—See Civil Rights; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.

- Defend the Sanctuary Movement!, #400, 28 Mar. (3, 9)
- INS Tries to Deport Salvador Unionist, #407, 4 July (2)
- Defend Barbara Foley! (YSp), #410, 29 Aug. (5)
- Residency for Margaret Randall!, #411, 12 Sept. (9)
- U.S. Breaks Into Home, Robs Soviet Reporter, #416, 21 Nov. (3)
- Stop Frame-Up of Puerto Rican Independence Fighters!, #418, 19 Dec. (4)
- Girl Won't Fink, #418, 19 Dec. (5)

## Bermúdez, Guillermo

- Hung Jury Blocks Frame-Up of Guillermo Bermúdez, #398, 28 Feb. (2, 9)
- All Out to Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!, #399, 14 Mar. (3)
- Berkeley Students Rally for Guillermo, #400, 28 Mar. (2)
- Guillermo Bermúdez Wins!, #404, 23 May (12, 11)
- Drop the Charges Against Guillermo at S.F. State! (YSp), #413, 10 Oct. (14)
- Support Builds for Guillermo at S.F. State, #415, 7 Nov. (5)

## CIVIL RIGHTS—See Busing; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Philadelphia MOVE Massacre. See also Transit Workers.

- U.S. Railroads Alabama Civil Rights Workers, #394, 3 Jan. (3, 11)
- Don't Let Them Put Hurricane Carter Back in Jail!, #395, 17 Jan. (2)
- Free Geronimo Pratt, Now!, #399, 14 Mar. (5, 12)
- Drop Charges Against Michael Spraggins!, #406, 20 June (2)
- Stephen Bingham Acquitted, #408, 18 July (4, 9)
- Hands Off Michael Zinzun!, #408, 18 July (10)
- We Remember Carole Robertson, #414, 24 Oct. (7)
- S.F. Black Firefighter Victimized for Fighting Racist Attack, #416, 21 Nov. (4)

Colt Strike—See Firearms Workers.

Communications Workers of America (CWA)—  
See Phone Workers.

## COMMUNIST PARTY USA (CPUSA)

- CP Joins Meese's Anti-Sex Witchhunt, #409, 1 Aug. (3)
- CP Sabotages Defense of Soviet Union, Again, #416, 21 Nov. (3, 4)

Creationism—See Natural Science.

Defense Cases—See Civil Liberties; Civil Rights.

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—  
See Students.

Detroit—See Public Employees.

Dragunsky, General David—See Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.

## ECONOMICS

U.S. Debt Bomb, #399, 14 Mar. (1, 8, 9, 10)

Education—See Busing; Natural Science; Teachers.

## ELECTRICAL WORKERS—See Labor: History.

- Lynn GE Workers Strike Back, #399, 14 Mar. (13)
- Boston Strikers Hit Back, #400, 28 Mar. (10)

El Salvador—See Central America: El Salvador.

## EXTERNAL TENDENCY/BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY—See Sweden.

- Ed Meese Unionism, #402, 25 Apr. (3, 8)
- ET Grooves on Astronauts' Blood (L), #405, 6 June (2, 4)
- Workers Control of AIDS? (L), #409, 1 Aug. (3, 10)
- ET/BT: A Calculated Provocation, #412, 26 Sept. (2, 6)
- BT Provocation Fizzles, #417, 5 Dec. (3, 14)

## FASCISM—See Austria; Civil Rights. See also Homosexual Rights; Quote of the Week.

- "The Order": Neo-Nazi Murder, Inc., #396, 31 Jan. (5)
- Drive Fascist Punks Off S.F. State! (YSp), #404, 23 May (7, 8)
- Atlanta: Integrated Community Runs Off Ku Klux Klan, #406, 20 June (2, 9)
- KKK: Deadly Threat in Chicago, #407, 4 July (12, 11)
- Racist Firebombing in Chicago, #408, 18 July (3)
- Smash KKK/Nazi Terror Drive!, #409, 1 Aug. (1, 8, 9)
- Chicago: Labor, Blacks Must Crush Racist Terror, #410, 29 Aug. (12, 11)
- Radford, Virginia: 500 Students Rout KKK March! (YSp), #413, 10 Oct. (16, 11)
- Labor, Blacks Stopped the Klan (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (10)
- KKK Terror at The Citadel, #418, 19 Dec. (5)

## FIREARMS WORKERS

- Victory to the Colt Strikers!, #404, 23 May (10)

Firemen—See Civil Rights.

Flight Attendants—See Airline Workers.

## FRANCE

- French Elections: Mitterrand Paves Way for Rightist Reaction, #399, 14 Mar. (7, 11)
- Criminal Terror Bombings in Paris, #412, 26 Sept. (4)
- Student Strikes Rock France, #417, 5 Dec. (8)

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French Student Revolt, #418, 19 Dec. (1, 11)

## FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY

Government Hands Off FSP!, #396, 31 Jan. (6, 9)

FSP: Contra Socialists, #396, 31 Jan. (6, 9)

Still "Contra Socialists" (L), #402, 25 Apr. (2, 8)

An Un-Tied Front of Refugees from Trotskyism (L), #402, 25 Apr. (2)

Grimes, James—See **Transit Workers**.

Gross, Elliot—See **New York City**.

## HAITI

Upsurge Rocks Black Haiti, #395, 17 Jan. (1, 9)

Duvalier Flees, #397, 14 Feb. (1, 5)

Down with Haiti Junta!, #404, 23 May (1, 6)

Haitian Masses Rise Against Junta, #417, 5 Dec. (16, 15)

Harvard University—See **Students**.

Health Care—See **AIDS; Hospital Employees; New York City**.

Hispanics—See **AIDS; Civil Liberties: Cases**.

## HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS—See **AIDS**.

Racist Punks Beat Gays for Defending Blacks, #395, 17 Jan. (4)

Full Democratic Rights for Gays!, #401, 11 Apr. (9)

Hormel—See **Agricultural and Food Workers: Hormel**.

## HOSPITAL EMPLOYEES

Courts Out of 1199 Hospital Union!, #405, 6 June (6)

Kaiser Hospital Strike: Stop the Scabs!, #415, 7 Nov. (3)

Who Sold Out Kaiser Strike, #418, 19 Dec. (9)

Housing Question—See **Black Question; U.S.: General**.

## IMMIGRATION—See **AIDS; Civil Liberties: Cases**.

It Pays to Stay in the U.S.A., by Russell Baker (reprint), #398, 28 Feb. (10)

Tamil Refugees From Sri Lanka Flee Germany, #410, 29 Aug. (3)

Imperialism—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA)—See **Airline Workers**.

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—See **Longshoremen**.

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)—See **Longshoremen**.

## IRAN—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

Khomeini: Executioner for CIA, #417, 5 Dec. (5)

Israel—See **Near East**.

## KAL 007

Skeletons in the White House Basement, #394, 3 Jan. (6, 11)

The Spectre of KAL 007, #415, 7 Nov. (6, 7, 12)

Kilmer, Kim—See **Obituaries**.

Ku Klux Klan—See **Fascism**.

## LABOR—See also **Quote of the Week**.

### • General

Workers: Smash AIFLD!, #405, 6 June (7, 14)\*

Workers: Smash AIFLD! (C), #417, 5 Dec. (2)

Labor: Sock It to Reagan!, #413, 10 Oct. (1, 4, 5)

"The Scab," by Jack London (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (9)

Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!, #416, 21 Nov. (11)

### • History

How They Did It in '33, #397, 14 Feb. (11)

How They Split the Electrical Workers: Red Purge Means Union-Busting, #403, 9 May (6, 11)

How Longshoremen Stopped the Finks, #414, 24 Oct. (4, 5)

Organizing the Waterfront, #417, 5 Dec. (6, 7, 13)

Labor Black League for Social Defense—See **Spartacist League**.

Latin America—See **Central America**; specific countries.

Le Duan—See **Obituaries**.

Lenin, V.I.—See **Quote of the Week**.

## LIBYA—See **U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Longshoremen; West Germany**.

Under Reagan's Guns in Libya, #401, 11 Apr. (1, 6, 7)

Oaddafi Exposes "Nonaligned" Nonsense, #413, 10 Oct. (5)

## LONGSHOREMEN—See **Labor: History**. See also **Fascism**.

S.F. Longshore Union Condemns U.S. Terror Against Libya, #403, 9 May (12)

Paul O'Dwyer: Don't Let Them Bring Back Sweatshops, #413, 10 Oct. (6)

Let's Win This One! (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (7, 9)

Urgent Appeal to Japanese, Korean Steel Workers (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (9)

Labor Will Not Forget Jackson Taylor! (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (10)

ILWU Militant Says No to Union "Narcs", #414, 24 Oct. (5)

Magee, Ruchell—See **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

Marxism—See **Quote of the Week**.

Meat Workers—See **Agricultural and Food Workers: Hormel**.

Meese, Edwin—See **AIDS; Civil Liberties: General; Students**.

Militarism—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

## MINE WORKERS—See also **Bolivia; Britain; South Africa**.

Strikebreaking Mercenaries in the Coal Fields, #415, 7 Nov. (3)

Moonies—See **Natural Science**.

Moral Majority—See **AIDS; Civil Liberties: General; U.S.: General**.

## MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique President Killed in South Africa, #414, 24 Oct. (2)

## NATURAL SCIENCE

Spartacist Brief Against "Creationism": In Defense of Science, #410, 29 Aug. (6, 7, 8)

Amicus Briefs On Sale, #411, 12 Sept. (9)

Neandertal Man: Friends We'd Like to Have (L), #414, 24 Oct. (2)

Nazism—See **Fascism**.

## NEAR EAST

Zionist Madmen Target Russia, #416, 21 Nov. (1, 8, 9)

Was El Al Bomb a Mossad Plot?, #416, 21 Nov. (9)

## NEW YORK CITY—See **Transit Workers**. See also **Hospital Employees**.

SL Protest: "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!"—Vengeance for Michael Stewart!, #395, 17 Jan. (3)

July 4: Invading New York—Reagan's Chauvinist Circus, #406, 20 June (12, 9)

Crazed Gusano Slasher on Staten Island Ferry, #408, 18 July (3, 9)

Koch Frames the Poster Man, #411, 12 Sept. (3)

Harlem Hospital Hell, #412, 26 Sept. (16, 15)

Stop Koch's Killer Cops!, #412, 26 Sept. (3)

Racist NYC Cops Out for Blood, #417, 5 Dec. (16, 14)

Nicaragua—See **Central America: Nicaragua**.

North Sea—See **Britain**.

## OBITUARIES

Kim Kilmer 17 June 1953—24 January 1986, #396, 31 Jan. (3)

Kim Kilmer Remembered, #398, 28 Feb. (3, 4)

Le Duan: Organizer of Vietnam's Victory Over U.S. Imperialism, #408, 18 July (2)

Memorial to Molly Brover, #409, 1 Aug. (2)

## PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE—See **Civil Liberties**. See also **Natural Science**.

### • General

Build the Partisan Defense Committee (L), #397, 14 Feb. (3)

Get Your *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*!, #416, 21 Nov. (2)

Geronimo Pratt: "From the Torch of the PDC" (L), #416, 21 Nov. (2)

### • Class-Struggle Defense Notes

"Class-Struggle Defense Notes" Launched, #405, 6 June (2)

Free Ruchell Magee!, #407, 4 July (2)

Amador Betancourt Out of Jail, #409, 1 Aug. (2)

For International Class-Struggle Defense!, #411, 12 Sept. (2)

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (8)



Give General Dragunsky a Hero's Welcome, #415, 7 Nov. (2)

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, #417, 5 Dec. (2)

Philadelphia—See **Public Employees**.

**PHILADELPHIA MOVE MASSACRE**—See **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!, #396, 31 Jan. (12)

American Workers Revolution Will Avenge MOVE Martyrs!, #397, 14 Feb. (7, 8)

Ramona Africa Convicted for Surviving Philly Holocaust, #397, 14 Feb. (8)

MOVE Massacre: Wilson Goode Is Guilty, #399, 14 Mar. (4)

MOVE Survivor Ramona Africa Speaks from Prison (L), #401, 11 Apr. (2)

Free Ramona Africa!, #402, 25 Apr. (12)

Workers Revolution Will Avenge Haymarket and MOVE Martyrs!, #403, 9 May (4)

Vengeance for MOVE Martyrs!, #404, 23 May (3)

**PHILIPPINES**

Philippines Election Hoax, #394, 3 Jan. (12, 10, 11)

Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos, #398, 28 Feb. (1, 9)

U.S. Bases Out of the Philippines!, #401, 11 Apr. (10)

Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!, #415, 7 Nov. (16, 13, 14, 15)

**PHONE WORKERS**—See also **Central America: El Salvador**.

Don't Let Ma Bell Divide and Rule!, #404, 23 May (9)

Phone Workers: One Out, All Out!, #405, 6 June (3, 13)

Phone Workers: Strike Together!, #406, 20 June (3)

Bay Area Phone Strikers Stand with Salvadoran Class Brothers, #407, 4 July (4)

CWA Sellout, #407, 4 July (10)

**POLAND**

Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland, #406, 20 June (6, 7, 8)\*

Solidarność Calls (C), #408, 18 July (8)

Solidarność Blueprint for Counterrevolution, #406, 20 June (7)

Bujak: Agent of Imperialism, #406, 20 June (8)

**POLICE**—See **New York City**. See also **Workers League**.

Bloody Cop Riot at Berkeley, #401, 11 Apr. (12, 11)

Racist L.A. Cops Kill Workers, #401, 11 Apr. (4)

Pornography—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

Pratt, Geronimo—See **Civil Rights; Partisan Defense Committee**.

**PRINTERS**—See also **Britain**.

Shut Down the *Chicago Tribune*!, #395, 17 Jan. (12, 11)

Chicago Union Ranks Support *Tribune* Strikers (L), #400, 28 Mar. (2, 8)

Progressive Labor/InCAR—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; Fascism; Partisan Defense Committee**.

Protectionism—See **Economics; Labor: General; Steel Workers**.

**PUBLIC EMPLOYEES**

Victory to Philly Strikers!, #408, 18 July (9)

Labor Showdown in Motown, #409, 1 Aug. (1, 9)

Puerto Rico—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

**QUOTE OF THE WEEK**

Trotsky on Permanent Revolution (Leon Trotsky), #394, 3 Jan. (2)

Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class (James P. Cannon), #395, 17 Jan. (2)

Trotsky on the Death of a Son and Comrade (Leon Trotsky), #396, 31 Jan. (2)

The Russian Question and Black Freedom (James P. Cannon), #397, 14 Feb. (2)

The Revolutionary Party: Key to Class-Struggle Leadership (James P. Cannon), #398, 28 Feb. (2)

Trade Unions and the Fight Against Capitalism (Karl Marx), #399, 14 Mar. (2)

Defend the Unions, Defend the Soviet Union (James P. Cannon), #400, 28 Mar. (2)

Unity of World's Workers and Colonial Oppressed (James P. Cannon), #401, 11 Apr. (2)

Defend Colonial Peoples Against Imperialism (Fourth International), #402, 25 Apr. (2)

100 Years of May Day (V.I. Lenin), #403, 9 May (2)

Trotsky on Revolutionary Leadership (Leon Trotsky), #404, 23 May (2)

Trotsky on "Disarmament" (Leon Trotsky), #405, 6 June (2)

The Dual Nature of the Stalinist Bureaucracy (Leon Trotsky), #406, 20 June (2)

July 4th: Racist Hypocrisy (Frederick Douglass), #407, 4 July (2)

Lessons of the Paris Commune (Leon Trotsky), #408, 18 July (2)

Labor Must Crush Fascist Terror (Resolution on Workers' Defense Guard, SWP National Convention), #409, 1 Aug. (2)

Darwin and Marx (Leon Trotsky), #410, 29 Aug. (2)

Marxism and Culture (V.I. Lenin), #411, 12 Sept. (2)

The Road to Peace (James P. Cannon), #412, 26 Sept. (2)

Expropriate the Expropriators (Leon Trotsky), #413, 10 Oct. (2)

Strike Pickets and Class War (Leon Trotsky) (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (8)

Workers Revolution to Disarm Imperialism (V.I. Lenin), #414, 24 Oct. (2)

The Russian October and World Revolution (V.I. Lenin), #415, 7 Nov. (2)

Trotsky on Secret Diplomacy (Leon Trotsky), #416, 21 Nov. (2)

Rumor-Mongering and Petty-Bourgeois Frenzy (Leon Trotsky), #417, 5 Dec. (2)

40 Years as a Professional Revolutionary (James P. Cannon), #418, 19 Dec. (2)

Racial Discrimination—See **Black Question; Busing; Civil Rights; Fascism; Partisan Defense Committee; Philadelphia MOVE Massacre; South Africa**. See also **Quote of the Week**.

Reagan, Ronald—See **United States**.

Robertson, Pat—See **U.S.: General**.

Russia—See **Soviet Union**.

Sanctuary Movement—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

Sanitation Workers—See **Public Employees**.

**SOUTH AFRICA**—See **Auto Workers; U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Mozambique; Students**.

Bloody Christmas in South Africa, #394, 3 Jan. (1, 4)

Exchange on South African Revolution (L), #394, 3 Jan. (2, 11)

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!, #395, 17 Jan. (6, 7, 8, 9)

How Revisionists Betray the Struggle Against Apartheid, #397, 14 Feb. (6, 9)

South Africa: Workers Must Rule!, #398, 28 Feb. (1, 4)

*Move Your Shadow: The Living Hell of Apartheid South Africa* (by Alan Roux) (R), #402, 25 Apr. (6, 7)

May Day in South Africa, #403, 9 May (1, 4)

Apartheid Butchers Repeal Pass Laws, #403, 9 May (3, 4)

South Africa vs. Africa, #404, 23 May (1, 9)

Avenge Soweto! Workers to Power!, #405, 6 June (1, 12)

Smash Racist Terror from U.S. to South Africa!, #405, 6 June (11)

South Africa Attacks Soviet Bloc Ships, #406, 20 June (1, 10)

South Africa Showdown, #406, 20 June (1, 11)

Democrats' "Anti-Apartheid" Fraud, #406, 20 June (10)

Black Labor Can Break Apartheid Chains, #407, 4 July (1, 6, 7)

Black Unionists Acquitted, #407, 4 July (9)

Black Miners, Students Strike Against Apartheid Terror, #408, 18 July (12, 11)

Black Workers Must Bury Apartheid!, #409, 1 Aug. (12, 11)

Soweto Massacre 1986, #411, 12 Sept. (12, 11)

Soweto Youth Rebellion, 1976 (YSp), #411, 12 Sept. (5, 6)

Apartheid Capitalism Murders Black Miners, #412, 26 Sept. (1, 14)

South Africa: The Day They Stopped the Gold, #413, 10 Oct. (3)

South African Workers Strike for Their Jobs, #415, 7 Nov. (13)

**SOVIET UNION**—See **Communist Party USA**. See also **Civil Liberties: General; Quote of the Week; South Africa; U.S.: International Relations; Zionism**.

Spy Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!, #397, 14 Feb. (5)

Media Meltdown on Russia, #403, 9 May (1, 10, 11)

Chernobyl: Exposing U.S. Big Lies, #405, 6 June (8, 9, 14)

All Honor to Soviet Submariners, #413, 10 Oct. (2)

Limits to Betrayal?, #414, 24 Oct. (1, 9)

**SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL)**—See **Britain; External Tendency/Bolshevik Tendency; Natural Science; Workers Vanguard**. See also **Workers League**.

A Disavowal, #397, 14 Feb. (2)

Fascist Smear Job, #401, 11 Apr. (3)

Murdoch Swastika Smear Retracted, #404, 23 May (12)

Labor Black League Founded in NYC, #409, 1 Aug. (5)

Join Us in the Fight for a Socialist Future! (YSp), #415, 7 Nov. (4)



**SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE (SYL)** — See **Spartacist League**. See also **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; Civil Liberties: Bermúdez; Students**.

To Our Subscribers (YSp), #404, 23 May (7)

Sports—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

**SRI LANKA**—See **Immigration**.

Sri Lanka Army Invades Tamil North, #405, 6 June (5, 10)

Free Leftist Prisoners in Sri Lanka!, #409, 1 Aug. (6)

## STEEL WORKERS

Steel Workers: Don't Buy LTV Sellout!, #401, 11 Apr. (5)

Honor Bay Area Iron Workers' Picket Lines!, #409, 1 Aug. (10)

Steel Workers Up Against Rust Bowl Capitalism, #409, 1 Aug. (10)

Get Steel Union Off Its Knees!, #410, 29 Aug. (12, 11)

Cops Assault Steel Pickets, Labor Fakery Blame Japanese, #417, 5 Dec. (8)

**STUDENTS**—See **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; Civil Liberties: General, Bermúdez; Fascism**.

Frat Thugs Torch Anti-Apartheid Students, #405, 6 June (4)

DSA, CIA and Meese (YSp), #406, 20 June (4, 5, 10)

CIA "Socialists" vs. Reds, by Shane and Judy Mage (YSp) (reprint), #406, 20 June (5)

Big Chill at Berkeley Rad-Lib Confab, #409, 1 Aug. (4)

Harvard's Filthy Fête (YSp), #410, 29 Aug. (4)

Protests Hit Harvard's Filthy Fête (YSp), #411, 12 Sept. (5)

Keep the Butchers on the Run! (YSp), #413, 10 Oct. (12)

We're Looking for a Few Good Communists! (YSp), #413, 10 Oct. (13)

**SWEDEN**—See also **External Tendency/ Bolshevik Tendency**.

Outrage Over Olof Palme Assassination, #399, 14 Mar. (2)

Palme Assassination: Crime Against Workers Movement (L), #403, 9 May (2)

**TEACHERS**—See also **Busing; Natural Science**.

Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!, #395, 17 Jan. (4)

Oakland Teachers Win, #397, 14 Feb. (2)

## TRANSIT WORKERS

NYC Transit: All Out for James Grimes!, #395, 17 Jan. (3)

TWU Must Mobilize to Defend James Grimes!, #396, 31 Jan. (12, 11)

NYC Transit Workers Turn Out to Defend James Grimes, #397, 14 Feb. (9)

The Courts Are Killing James Grimes, #399, 14 Mar. (5)

Put Power of TWU Behind James Grimes!, #403, 9 May (5)

"TA/D.A. Hands Off James Grimes!", #404, 23 May (3, 10)

Defend NYC Subway Clerk James Grimes!, #405, 6 June (3)

Victory for James Grimes, #407, 4 July (12, 10)

Transit Workers Come Through for James Grimes, #410, 29 Aug. (2)

Defend Austin Weekes, Anti-Racist Hero!, #412, 26 Sept. (3)

James Grimes Thanks Supporters (L), #412, 26 Sept. (3)

Transport Workers Union (TWU)—See **Airline Workers; Transit Workers**.

Trotsky, Leon—See **Quote of the Week**.

**TURKEY**—See also **West Germany**.

The Istanbul Synagogue Massacre, #412, 26 Sept. (6)

TWA Strike—See **Airline Workers**.

United Auto Workers (UAW)—See **Auto Workers; Firearms Workers**.

United Mine Workers (UMW)—See **Mine Workers**.

## UNITED STATES

• **General**—See **Civil Liberties: General; Civil Rights**. See also **External Tendency/ Bolshevik Tendency**.

Billions for the Pentagon, Hell for the Homeless, #394, 3 Jan. (1, 9)

1985: Year of the Air Disaster, #394, 3 Jan. (5)

Challenger Blows Up in Reagan's Face, #397, 14 Feb. (1, 4)

Challenger Probers Tiptoe Around the White House, #398, 28 Feb. (5)

Titan Up, Up and Away, #402, 25 Apr. (3)

Reagan Roulette at L.A. Airport, #411, 12 Sept. (4)

Scab Ship Hit-and-Run Murder, #412, 26 Sept. (16, 14)

Pat Robertson: Sinister Bigot, #414, 24 Oct. (6, 10)

White House Stonewalls, #418, 19 Dec. (1, 10)

• **International Relations**—See **Central America; KAL 007; Libya; Philippines; South Africa**. See also **Bolivia; Britain; West Germany**.

Reagan's Libyan Frenzy, #395, 17 Jan. (1, 10)

Reagan's Contra Band, #396, 31 Jan. (7)

Soviet Mission: Good Neighbors, #399, 14 Mar. (2)

Reagan's Insane War Provocations, #400, 28 Mar. (1, 7, 8)\*

Reagan's Insane War (C), #405, 6 June (13)

Flashpoints for War, #401, 11 Apr. (1, 8)

Reagan's Terrorism, #402, 25 Apr. (1, 10, 11)

"Reagan/Thatcher Bloody Hands Off Libya!", #402, 25 Apr. (12, 11)

Remember the Bay of Pigs, #404, 23 May (11)

The Contra Connection, #411, 12 Sept. (1, 8)

Bloody U.S. Cops of the World, #411, 12 Sept. (1, 10, 11)\*

Bloody U.S. Cops (C), #417, 5 Dec. (2)

A Fair Trial for Daniloff, #411, 12 Sept. (10)

Reagan Goes Closer to Brink, #412, 26 Sept. (1, 13)

The Daniloff Dossier, #413, 10 Oct. (1, 2)

Reagan's Dogs of War Shot Down, #414, 24 Oct. (1, 8)

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!, #415, 7 Nov. (1, 8, 9, 12)

Contras' Godfathers, #415, 7 Nov. (1, 10, 11)

Bonzo's Gonzo Diplomacy, #416, 21 Nov. (1, 10)

Ratfink Reagan, #417, 5 Dec. (1, 4, 5)

U.S./South Africa: "Free World" Butchers (YSp), #417, 5 Dec. (9, 10, 11)

United Steelworkers of America (USWA)—See **Steel Workers**.

## VATICAN

Pope Plot Frame-Up Flops, #402, 25 Apr. (4, 5)

WV Helped Foil Pope Plot (L), #414, 24 Oct. (2)

Waldheim, Kurt—See **Austria**.

**WEST GERMANY**—See **Immigration**.

Turkish Workers in the German Fourth Reich, #399, 14 Mar. (6, 11)

Who Bombed Berlin Disco?, #402, 25 Apr. (1, 9)

Victory for Picket Line Defense in Germany (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (8)

Woman Question—See **Abortion; Civil Liberties: Cases**.

## WORKERS LEAGUE (WL)

*Bulletin* Doth Protest Too Much, #394, 3 Jan. (2)

Is Workers League *Bulletin* a Scab Paper?, #395, 17 Jan. (11)

*Bulletin's* Hormel Lies, #403, 9 May (9)

Lord of the Fleas, #412, 26 Sept. (8, 9, 10, 11, 12)

Workers League Cop-Lovers (L), #413, 10 Oct. (3)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

WV Subscription Drive, #410, 29 Aug. (2)

WV Subscription Drive, #411, 12 Sept. (9)

WV Subscription Drive (Week 2 Totals), #412, 26 Sept. (12)

WV Subscription Drive (Week 4 Totals), #413, 10 Oct. (15)

WV Subscription Drive (Week 5 Totals), #414, 24 Oct. (3)

WV Sub Drive Over the Top!, #415, 7 Nov. (11)

World Politics—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

## ZIONISM

Zionist Terrorists Target Arab Americans, #395, 17 Jan. (5)

JDL Zionists Terrorize Soviet Dance Performance, #411, 12 Sept. (3)

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## 1986 SUBJECT INDEX

3 January to 19 December 1986 (Issues Nos. 394-418)

### GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

• This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1986, from issue No. 394 (3 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 418 (19 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.

• The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with one exception: corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (\*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.

• Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

Defend Hormel Strikers!, #403, 9 May (12, 9)  
means the headline of the article, issue No. 403, 9 May 1986, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 9.

• No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

**STUDENTS**—See **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests**; **Civil Liberties: General**; **Bermúdez; Fascism**.

means that additional articles on students can be found by going to the subject head **CENTRAL AMERICA** and looking under the subcategory **U.S. Antiwar Protests**; by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Bermúdez**, and by going to the subject head **FASCISM**.

• Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.

• Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.

• This year, with the suspension of publication of *Young Spartacus*, the monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League's youth section, *WV* has published two to four pages a month under the *YSp* masthead. These articles are listed in the index by subject with the notation "(YSp)" after the headline of the entry.

• This year also, *WV* has published "Class-Struggle Defense Notes," a regular column written by the Partisan Defense Committee, including biographies and updated information on class-war prisoners. This column is listed in the index under **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

• Abbreviations used in entries are:

C.	Correction	R.	Review
L.	Letter	Sup.	Supplement

### ABORTION

Long Island Bishop, D.A. Call Out Anti-Abortion Bigots, #394, 3 Jan. (4)

Abortion Clinic Bombers Rampage, #406, 20 June (12, 9)

Anti-Abortion Terror Bombers Strike at Sanger Clinic, #418, 19 Dec. (5)

Afghanistan—See **Central Intelligence Agency**.

AFL-CIO—See **Labor**.

Africa, Ramona—See **Partisan Defense Committee**; **Philadelphia MOVE Massacre**.

AFSCME—See **Public Employees**.

### AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD

**WORKERS**—See also **Workers League**.

#### • General

L.A. Meatcutters Strike Sold Out, #395, 17 Jan. (12, 10)

Defend Watsonville Strike!, #399, 14 Mar. (15)

#### • Hormel Strike—See **Labor: History**.

Shut Down Hormel!, #396, 31 Jan. (1, 4)

Mobilize Labor—Drive Out National Guard!, #397, 14 Feb. (12, 11)

Class War in "Hormel Town", #397, 14 Feb. (10)

A Fight for All Labor!, #398, 28 Feb. (12, 10, 11)

No More PATCOs! Victory to P-9!, #398, 28 Feb. (12)

Oscar Mayer Workers for P-9, #398, 28 Feb. (11)

A Battle Labor Must Win!, #399, 14 Mar. (16, 14, 15)

Hormel Butchers Workers, #399, 14 Mar. (14)

Hormel Strike Knifed, #400, 28 Mar. (12, 10, 11)

"We Bitterly Condemn and Protest Defeat of Hormel Strike!", #400, 28 Mar. (11)

Report from Austin, #400, 28 Mar. (11)

Defend Hormel Strikers!, #403, 9 May (12, 9)

Who Killed the Hormel Strike, #411, 12 Sept. (7, 11)

On the Hormel Boycott (L), #414, 24 Oct. (3)

### AIDS

Pentagon Wants to Brand AIDS Victims, #401, 11 Apr. (9)

Meese Declares War on AIDS Victims, #408, 18 July (7)

"English Only" Racist Attack on Immigrants—Fascist Referendum Targets AIDS Victims, #413, 10 Oct. (16, 15)

AIFLD—See **Labor: General**.

### AIRLINE WORKERS

Shut Down TWA!, #399, 14 Mar. (16, 15)

TWA Strike: Honor the Picket Lines!, #400, 28 Mar. (12, 8)

Airlines Unions: Ground TWA!, #401, 11 Apr. (5)

TWA Stewardess: Scabs Are Dangerous to Your Life, #403, 9 May (8)

TWA Flight Attendants Busted, #404, 23 May (10)

### AUSTRIA

War Criminal Waldheim, #404, 23 May (4, 5, 9)\*

War Criminal Waldheim (C), #405, 6 June (13)

### AUTO WORKERS

General Motors Shutdown to Ax 120,000 Jobs in U.S., #416, 21 Nov. (12, 11)

**BLACK QUESTION**—See **Busing**; **Civil Rights**. See also **Philadelphia MOVE Massacre**; **Quote of the Week**; **Spartacist League**.

Racist Hypocrisy on Martin Luther King Day, #396, 31 Jan. (1, 8, 9)

Why the FBI Tried to Destroy M.L. King, #396, 31 Jan. (8)

Reagan's America—Nightmare for Blacks, #398, 28 Feb. (6, 7, 8)

Labor Must Fight for Black Freedom!, #403, 9 May (7, 8)

"Gone With the Wind"—50 Years of Racist Trash, #407, 4 July (3, 9)

Black Poor Face Mass Evictions, #408, 18 July (12, 11)

No to Roxbury Bantustan Scheme!, #414, 24 Oct. (12, 10)

### BOLIVIA

U.S. Troops Out of Bolivia!, #409, 1 Aug. (6)

Free Eleuterio Gutiérrez!, #412, 26 Sept. (6)

Bolivian Workers Strike Against U.S. Troops, IMF Starvation, #412, 26 Sept. (7)

Paris, London Demonstrations to Free Bolivian Miner, #413, 10 Oct. (2)

Boston University—See **Central Intelligence Agency**.

**BRITAIN**—See **Near East**. See also **U.S.: International Relations**.

London Printers Battle Cops at Murdoch Scab Plant, #404, 23 May (2)

The Heroic British Miners Strike, #413, 10 Oct. (6)

Industrial Murder in the North Sea, #416, 21 Nov. (5)

Scab Kinnock, #417, 5 Dec. (1, 14)

Apologists for Wapping Sellout (L), #418, 19 Dec. (2)

Class Traitor Kinnock!, #418, 19 Dec. (3)

Brover, Molly—See **Obituaries**.

### BUSING

Labor Must Act to Defend Norfolk Busing!, #398, 28 Feb. (7)

All Out to Defend Busing in Norfolk!, #401, 11 Apr. (12, 10)

Norfolk Labor Against Jim Crow (Sup), #413, 10 Oct. (10)

Cannery Workers—See **Agricultural and Food Workers: General**.

Carter, Hurricane—See **Civil Rights**.

### CENTRAL AMERICA

#### • El Salvador—See also **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

Salvadoran Workers Strike Against Duarte, #394, 3 Jan. (7, 8)

El Salvador Workers Face Showdown, #405, 6 June (16, 14, 15)

Free Salvadoran Trade Unionists!, #405, 6 June (14)

Defend Salvador Phone Workers!, #406, 20 June (3)

San Salvador Phone Workers Appeal for International Solidarity, #407, 4 July (4)

El Salvador: For a Workers and Peasants Government!, #407, 4 July (5)

Workers Free Salvadoran Unionist, #409, 1 Aug. (7)

Salute Heroic Salvadoran Phone Workers, #409, 1 Aug. (7)

Salvador Workers: Give Duarte the Somoza Treatment!, #416, 21 Nov. (6, 7)

Free José and Jaime Centeno!, #416, 21 Nov. (7)

• **Nicaragua**—See **U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Freedom Socialist Party**.

For the Nicaraguan Revolution, #396, 31 Jan. (2, 11)

continued on page 12