

WV Photo

Spartacist League and NY Labor Black League protest Koch's racist killer cops, September 1986.

DECEMBER 26—Last weekend the racist punks that roam the Howard Beach section of Queens went on a bloody rampage. A gang of a dozen punks, screaming racist epithets and wielding baseball bats and sticks,

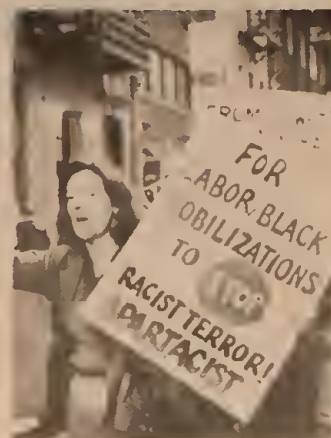
## Gun Control Kills Blacks!

# Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!

## Spartacist League Statement

savagely beat three black men, killing 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith, driving him into the path of an oncoming car. Three hours earlier in neighboring Ozone Park another racist gang attacked two Hispanic

youths. And only a half-hour after and one block away from the earlier assault in Howard Beach, two carloads of bat-wielding thugs beat up a white fireman after trying to run him over. Assaulted along with Michael Griffith was his



WV Photo

October 1985: SL protests South Africa's execution of anti-apartheid fighter Benjamin Moloise.

stepfather and coworker Cedric Sandiford, who told *Newsday* (22 December): "It was like a lynch mob. Like something that would happen in the days of slavery."

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# Lynching in NYC

New York City is at the flash point. Michael Griffith, a young black construction worker, was murdered by a racist lynch mob; now his two surviving companions are getting a lynching by the courts, the media and the racist politicians, while the murderers go free. Howard Beach, a white ethnic enclave in Queens, has become synonymous with the racist terror inflicted on minorities in Reagan's America. For years, Mayor Koch and his killer cops have whipped up the hogs with their wanton, murderous attacks on minorities. And now the machinery of state—D.A., judge, mayor, governor—is proving once again that there is no justice for black people in this racist system.

Just after midnight December 20 in Howard Beach, a racist pack set upon the three black men who had walked into the 98 percent white neighborhood after their car broke down. They were brutally beaten leaving a pizza parlor. Timothy Grimes managed to escape.

The other two were hounded past nativity scenes and trapped at the fence along the Shore Parkway where they were clubbed with bats and a tree limb. Cedric Sandiford, 36, survived by feigning unconsciousness. But 23-year-old Griffith was chased onto the parkway where he was struck by an onrushing car and killed.

The working people of this city must share the grief and anger of the family of Michael Griffith at this wanton racist killing. Representatives of the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee attended the funeral services in solidarity.

After the pumped-up punks killed Griffith they cruised the neighborhood boasting of their crime. When the cops finally got around to picking up the lynch mob, the murderers "showed no remorse," even admitting they were out to kill. Koch and the media insist that "the community" is not to blame. But as three of the killers were led off to be

hooked, a crowd outside the Ozone Park/Howard Beach stationhouse cheered. The next weekend, as black preachers and politicians called a march to the pizza parlor, hundreds of white racists turned out to taunt the marchers. It was entrenched Northern-style segregation that fueled this murderous rampage. When the protesters chanted, "Howard Beach, have you heard, this is not Johannesburg," the mob responded "Bullshit!"

After first comparing the Howard Beach murder to a racial lynching, now Koch is leading the lynch mob. So when Griffith's stepfather and coworker Sandiford denounced the official handling of the case and refused to testify for the "prosecution," Koch obscenely called this refusal "another type of hit and run operation." According to *Newsday* (31 December 1986), on the MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, "Koch said the refusal by Sandiford to cooperate was perhaps worse than the attack itself!" The victims are now being pilloried, along with their lawyers. Koch's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward denounced Sandiford's attorney Alton Maddox, claiming he was looking for a fat fee in a future civil suit.

The Spartacist League responded to the atrocity in Howard Beach with a leaflet (see above) demanding: "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!" Our call, reprinted (with some excisions) in the *Black American* (1 January), urged the formation of "integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women" to patrol the streets where Griffith was attacked and killed. NYC transit militants of the Committee for a Fighting IWW issued a leaflet noting, "If Michael Griffith had a gun at least he might be alive today. But he might also be in jail. The anti-gun laws are killing black people." The CFTWU called for "a caravan of flatbed trucks filled with integrated union defense squads, to patrol Howard Beach to ensure that this neighborhood is safe for all working



MICHAEL GRIFFITH  
1963 - 1986

UPI

people." A similar call was raised at the December 29 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union by a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus.

## Legal Lynching

The legal persecution of the black victims began as soon as the racist mob was finished with its deadly work. At a January 3 press conference in Harlem, Cedric Sandiford described what happened when the cops arrived. "When they took me off the highway, they were telling me about a crime committed in Queens. I was trying to tell them about the beating the mob was giving us and the death of Michael Griffith but no one seemed to care anything about it. All they were concerned with was some robbery. After taking me to where Michael was killed, they took off my coat and searched me.... At that time nobody offered any medical attention to me. I was bleeding in my head, my eyes and my legs and back were swollen and severely beaten. I stood out there for

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Mob of racist thugs in Howard Beach.

# Racist Terror U.S.A.

SEE PAGE SIX



### Free Black Militant Ed Poindexter!

Ed Poindexter was framed up and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1971, following an explosion which killed an Omaha, Nebraska cop. As former leaders of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, a successor organization of the Black Panther Party, Ed and David Rice were targets of the racist COINTELPRO conspiracy to destroy the Panthers and their supporters. Since June, both Poindexter and Rice have been among the class-war prisoners to whom the PDC sends monthly stipends.

Ed was able to transfer to a prison in Minnesota to further his education, and is working on a master's degree in management of instructional systems, while also writing movie scripts. He recently sent us a profile of himself which appeared in the Lincoln, Nebraska *Star-Journal*. Now 41 years old, Ed has spent more than 15 years in prison and meets the Nebraska Board of Parole requirements for their recommending commutation of sentence. But as he told reporter John Barrette in the newspaper interview, "I don't see it as an easy undertaking to get out. It's hard for me to imagine them keeping me beyond 20 years, but I could be in beyond that."

The article had this to say about Poindexter:

"Poindexter said it took time to reach a crossroads in prison....

"[After four years in prison including some time in the hole] I tried to stop being so bitter."

"What followed for Poindexter was an intense analysis and exploration of the world's religious and psychological disciplines and a survey of knowledge in a range of subjects....

"I no longer subscribe personally to any particular religion, but recognize the beauty in all of them as well as the commonalities they all share," he said....

"He spent six years in the service where, he said, he encountered racism despite an initial desire to make the Army a career. He left the Army and returned to Omaha, where he became an active leader in the struggle for civil rights."

Poindexter was convicted on the testimony of 15-year-old Duane Peak, who admitted placing the bomb and calling police to the scene.

"I'm in here for trying to do something for society," Poindexter said. He said he doesn't blame others, but doesn't absolve them either. "I got involved in a situation that I should not have got involved in," he said. "It was my associations...rather than anything that I did do or conspired to do."

"...Regardless what the jury decided, the trial records reveal that I'm innocent," he said. "And, even if I were guilty, I have already served the sentence...."

"Poindexter said a statement that echoes in his mind was made by Fidel Castro after Castro seized power in Cuba. It was that revolution isn't just to fashion a new society. He said, 'not only to create a new society but to create

a new man.'" Poindexter said.... "Of course, Cuba's a long way from that, you know."

"Poindexter said society may appear to have moved on to a new agenda since the 1960s, but underlying problems remain."

"It's not just a racist society," he said. "It's a class society. Where you find a racial problem, you'll also find something just as serious on a level that has nothing to do with race. Class against class. Capitalist interest versus the people."

When the PDC asked Ed if there was a holiday gift he would like, he told us he had depleted his funds to buy an electronic keyboard for a friend's 10-year-old daughter. We sent Ed \$50 to help pay for this generous gift.

Prison walls have not stopped Ed Poindexter's activities on behalf of oth-



Committee to Free Rice/Poindexter  
Ed Poindexter

ers. As he stated in the early years of imprisonment, "There have been many times during my stay here at this camp that I have helped others whose philosophy of life was different than mine."

Nevertheless, I helped them, as I felt it to be my duty to help those in need if it was in my capacity to do so."

It is the duty of the workers movement to fight for Ed Poindexter's immediate freedom. It is criminal for this class-war prisoner to spend another day behind bars. Free Ed Poindexter Now!

MOVE member Ramona Africa told us last week she has been denied parole for her "unwillingness to comply with special condition of parole that you not associate with the MOVE organization in any way...." The Board told Ramona her case will not be reviewed again until October 1987. Protest this outrage! Send telegrams to: Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 N. Front Street, Harrisburg, PA 17110.

The PDC holiday fund appeal has raised over \$400, receiving contributions from three continents. This has enabled us to send additional monies to class-war prisoners and holiday gifts to their family and friends.

The PDC has published the third issue of our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, featuring updates on class-war prisoners. We urge W/V readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send your donation and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$ .75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

#### Marx and Trotsky on the Pen and the Sword

*The common evolved adage holds that "The pen is mightier than the sword." But in contrasting the revolutionary tradition of Oliver Cromwell to the parliamentary cretinism that saturates British reformism, Trotsky noted:*

Nevertheless, it was Cromwell who paved the way for the parliamentary and democratic methods of the two succeeding



LENIN

centuries. In revenge for Cromwell's execution of Charles I, Charles II had Cromwell's body suspended on a gibbet. But no Restoration could reestablish the pre-Cromwellian society. The work of Cromwell could not be liquidated by the predatory legislation of the Restoration. For the pen can never eradicate that which has been written by the sword. This reversal of the popular proverb is much more correct, particularly when we speak of the axe of revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)

*The dialectical relationship between the common adage and the converse stated by Trotsky was succinctly put by Marx:*

The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.

—Karl Marx, Introduction to "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" (1844)

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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9 January 1987

### Free Mordechai Vanunu!

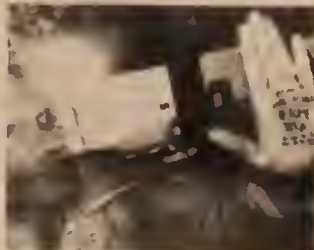
Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli technician whose revelation of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal made headlines around the world, is in Israel facing a possible death sentence on charges of aiding an enemy in wartime, "aggravated espionage" and disclosing state secrets. All court proceedings are being held in strict secrecy as the case of "Attorney General vs. X." If Vanunu is sentenced to death, it would be the first legal execution in Israel since Eichmann! The Partisan Defense Committee has called for an urgent international campaign of protest and publicity around this case. A PDC telegram to the Israeli embassy in Washington demands that Mordechai Vanunu be freed and that the charges against him be dropped.

Employed for ten years as a technician in Israel's Dimona nuclear power plant, Vanunu disclosed to Rupert Murdoch's London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) that the Dimona facility is actually a plutonium factory which has enabled Israel to become the world's sixth largest nuclear power. Before Vanunu's revelations, it was widely believed that Israel had a nuclear arsenal of perhaps 15 to 20 warheads. His disclosure of an Israeli nuclear force of 100 to 200 bombs created a sensation internationally. As we noted in *WV* No. 416 (21 November 1986):

"A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play.... Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets?... Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III."

Vanunu disappeared from London on September 30, shortly after being

interviewed by the British newspaper. On November 9 Jerusalem confirmed that he was under detention in Israel but refused to say how he had been captured. Appearing in public briefly after a court hearing on December 21, Vanunu dramatically flashed before photographers a message written on his hand, revealing that he was hijacked September 30 in Rome after taking a British Airways flight from London. While



AP  
Mordechai Vanunu exposes Mossad kidnapping.

the Israelis (along with their American financiers) routinely flout the sovereignty of other countries, the virtual certainty that the Mossad (Israeli CIA) violated British and/or Italian sovereignty in seizing Vanunu has caused diplomatic embarrassment for the Israeli government at a time when it is, among other things, trying strenuously to woo the Vatican.

A nuclear arsenal of the size described by Vanunu means that Israel has a bigger target than the likes of Syria in mind. Israel is suspected of providing nuclear weapons technology to racist South Africa. (Pretoria is presently expanding its military facilities on Marion Island, permitting it to test nuclear

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# Terrorism and Imperialism

Athens  
20.9.'86

Letter to "Workers Vanguard"  
On Terrorism

"Workers Vanguard" in an article "Who Bombed the Berlin Disco" asked the question did Libya truly take part in an "act of terrorism" or was it a fabrication made by the USA so it could be used as a *pretext* for the invasion of Libya. To anyone who does not take Reagan's word for granted, it is clear as daylight that they who bombed the Berlin disco also bombed Libya.

What appears peculiar is that numerous so-called "terrorist attacks" all over the world have occurred (Italian Akile Laure cruiser, Vienna, Rome, Athens airports, countless TWA flights, recent Paris explosions etc.) and hardly no-one has pointed their finger at the CIA, the world's greatest terrorist? Why? Everyone from the right to the so-called revolutionary left has condemned terrorism. In almost every European country Parliaments have voted in "anti-terrorist" laws where anyone labelled a "terrorist" by the capitalist state will be dealt with severely.

In the late 50's and 60's we had the "communist threat," in the late 70's and 80's we have the "terrorist threat" to Western capitalism. The aim of these attacks is to *ally* everyone behind the capitalist state machine in its struggle against "terrorism."

"Senseless and criminal acts of indiscriminate terror" is what you called the attack in Pakistan and Turkey. Like most people "Workers Vanguard" believes that they who organized them are *not* the CIA but so-called "terrorists" of a Libyan or Arab descent. In any event, your position is reminiscent of Healy's who in Britain whenever the IRA did bomb unarmed civilians always condemned them in the most chauvinistic manner as "Trotskyism is against individual terror" (!) forgetting one main thing that the Irish are *at war* (and have been for hundreds of years) with British imperialism. During a war of liberation casualties will exist. Or do we distinguish the "superior" British casualties from the Irish ones?

Have the readers of Workers Vanguard ever asked the question why in Reagan's America no "terrorists" exist, when they exist in every other European country. Why is Reagan attacking the population with anti-homosexual laws, anti-pornographic and anti-drug laws. Isn't this the American version of the European anti-terrorist laws.

American capitalism in its death agony is trying to return to the past epoch of direct colonial rule (Grenada, Libya, Nicaragua are examples) using as a pretext manufactured by the CIA terrorist attacks. The Berlin disco raid is the clearest example of all.

Fraternally,  
J. Lucas

WV replies: Brother Lucas, who seems to have considerable familiarity with our press, attempts to ascribe to us positions which are the polar opposite of those we hold. U.S. imperialism is the world's biggest terrorist, as we have said and substantiated time and time again. We have insisted that the manufactured hysteria over "international terrorism" is designed to whip up public support in the U.S. and West Europe for the war drive against the Soviet Union and for domestic repression against the left and minorities. Lucas suggests that WV blamed the Libyans for the Berlin disco bombing. In fact, our article in WV No. 402 (25 April 1986) presented substantial evidence implicating fascist groups

in the atrocity, noted that the bombing was "oh-so-convenient for the Americans" and observed that the disco, patronized by American black GIs and Turkish immigrant workers, was a very unlikely target for Qaddafi in any case. In the wake of Reagan's first attack on



Mother holds photo of son, GI Kenneth Ford, killed in criminal bombing of Berlin's La Belle disco. Reagan blamed Qaddafi; WV said "Reagan's story stinks."

Libya last March, we sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to underline our anti-imperialist solidarity against the barbaric American attack.

More recently, in response to the Paris bombings which have been exploited to whip up anti-immigrant sentiment, we again asked, who benefits? We listed as suspects the French secret service, fascist groups, the CIA and the Israeli Mossad. And we wrote that the bombings "can only strengthen French ties to Israel and the U.S. in the name of 'anti-terrorism,' the code word for the anti-Soviet war drive in the Mediterranean" ("Criminal Terror Bombings in Paris," WV No. 412, 26 September 1986).

However, the CIA is not the only terrorist organization on the face of the planet. Brother Lucas partly denies and partly *defends* indiscriminate terrorism against civilian populations carried out in the name of "wars of liberation."

It is a fact that petty-bourgeois nationalists claiming to speak for the oppressed have been known to engage in indiscriminate mass terror. To deny it is just silly. We consider such acts to be crimes against the people. For example: George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine publicly took "credit" for the 1972 massacre at Israel's Lod airport, killing innocent Israeli civilians and others, including 13 Puerto Rican Baptist pilgrims. Known Palestinian militants associated with the Arafat wing of the PLO carried out the stupid and criminal hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship last year, killing an elderly American Jew. Lebanese Shi'ites seized an American TWA airliner in June 1985 and wantonly murdered a U.S. Navy diver. Such actions are not only crimes from the standpoint of elementary socialist morality but also play into the hands of the most rabid, bloodthirsty chauvinists, including those with state power, like Reagan and Zionist war criminal Ariel Sharon.

We take indignant exception to being compared by Brother Lucas to Gerry Healy and his gang of political whores, who as is well known will support anything if the price is right, as for example when they supported anti-Communist state terror in Iraq by justifying a mass execution of members of the Iraqi CP, which has historically had a base among the militant oil workers. Yes, Healy does capitulate to British chauvinism against the Irish, but not because he condemns the IRA for its policy of individual terrorism, whether carried out in Northern Ireland or England. Healy has refused to agitate

for British troops out of Ireland, refused to actively defend IRA militants against British state repression, and refused to distinguish between symbols of British imperialism—like Lord Mounthatten, blown to smithereens aboard his yacht in 1979—and people

who just happened to be in the wrong pub at the wrong time.

Brother Lucas, however, defends precisely the Irish nationalists' indefensible acts of terrorism. As Leninists, we understand that the chauvinism of the oppressed must be distinguished from the chauvinism of the oppressor, but we know also that in all nationalism lurks the appetite for genocide of the "enemy" people. There is absolutely no common ground between Marxists and nationalist terrorists who believe that all those of the "wrong" nationality, race or religion simply deserve to die, and that those who fraternize with them do too. In the



McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal  
Terrorism USA: Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic bombing, Christmas 1984.

Irish nationalists' 1974 bombings of two pubs in Birmingham, 21 people were killed, including two Irish Catholic brothers and two West Indian blacks.

Of such actions, Brother Lucas writes:

"...the Irish are *at war* (and have been for hundreds of years) with British imperialism. During a war of liberation casualties will exist. Or do we distinguish the 'superior' British casualties from the Irish ones?"

No, we distinguish the British ruling class and its armed forces from the working people of Britain! Brother Lucas here seems to accept the ideological premise of a Winston Churchill or Margaret Thatcher which identifies British imperialism with the entire British people.

What a despairing perspective, to redefine a "war" as something that can go on for hundreds of years! In fact, even when there is a war and imperialist military forces are involved, revolutionists seek where feasible to fraternize

with soldiers of the enemy, appealing to their class solidarity and urging them to oppose their own rulers. In Nazi-occupied France, for example, the Stalinists often assassinated individual German soldiers, many of whom were the sons of Communist or social-democratic parents. This terrorism could only strengthen the hold of Nazism on the young conscripts of the German army. The French Trotskyists sought to organize underground cells among German "workers in uniform," putting forth the perspective of destroying Hitler's Third Reich from within through proletarian revolution.

Moreover, Brother Lucas' argument on Irish terrorism and permanent "war" is transparent sophistry. He observes that wars sometimes involve civilian casualties, as if the pub patrons are like some old wino who falls asleep too near an air force base and gets killed in a bombing raid. What does the death of an unfortunate as the by-product of a military act have to do with a cold-blooded atrocity like a pub bombing whose sole purpose is the death of civilian victims? By Lucas' logic, *anything* that is done to the members of the Protestant community by an Irish Catholic can be defined as a justifiable political act on behalf of the oppressed. We reject this view absolutely.

Proletarian morality is not an abstract moral question, either. The practice of indiscriminate terrorism drives a wedge between "the boys" and the people, eroding their base of support and sympathy. Even where it does not drive the people into the arms of "law and order" and other reactionary forces, it makes "politics" into a dirty word, thereby impeding the development of mass struggles and completing the circle of demoralization that allows the "heroic" terrorists to portray themselves as the only game in town. Moreover, indefensible terrorism corrodes and corrupts the "militant" forces themselves, and history from Ireland to Sri Lanka shows that it's only a short step to fratricidal turf warfare where "the boys" are killing each other.

We should also inform Brother Lucas that there is indeed terrorism inside Reagan's America, from the bombings of abortion clinics by "right-to-life" bigots to the gas-grenade attack by the fascist Jewish Defense League on a performance by a Soviet dance company. Puerto Rican nationalists took "credit" for the bombing of the Fraunces Tavern in New York. The KKK and Nazis, with the collusion of the state, shot down five anti-fascist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. Last year a Jewish radio talk-show host in Denver was murdered by neo-Nazis. And the firebombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, in which eleven people were killed, five of them young children, is a signature of the Reagan years. When Brother Lucas says that terrorists don't exist in America, we can only suggest that he has been reading too much U.S. imperialist propaganda. ■

## Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

### Bay Area

Fri. 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat. 3:00-6:00 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)  
Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

### Chicago

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

### New York City

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



# TWU: Fight for the Right to Strike!

*Rejection of the strike weapon by the misleaders of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 has emboldened the New York City Transit Authority bosses and capitalist politicians. Transit workers face job cuts, deadly unsafe working conditions and union-busting assaults on the seniority system. We reprint below a leaflet published by the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU.*

## Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

On December 11, [TWU] Local 100 President Sonny Hall agreed to co-sponsor legislation that would slash 1,300 union jobs and further tighten the no-strike noose. A binding arbitration panel will now dictate the conditions of labor exploitation in New York City transit. And what is the crumb that is falling off the banquet table for Hall? A seat on the MTA Board! There are no limits to betrayal for the ratfink bureaucrats of the Sonny Hall gang. For years they have been telling us the way to fight the no-strike Taylor Law is to give to COPE and give a vote to "friends of labor" Democrats, like Cuomo who saddled us with union-busters [Transit Authority bosses] Kiley and Gunn, or like Reaganite [Senator] D'Amato. Now we see the depth of the lies and hypocrisy.

The union bureaucrats' sabotage and sellout of the powerful 1980 transit strike is still serving the interests of labor's enemies. Since then we have seen the steady erosion of long-established working conditions and the rights of labor. Everything from safety to job security to seniority rights is under attack by management. Their main weapons are the Taylor Law and compulsory arbitration; their main

allies are the class-collaborators of the Sonny Hall gang.

The main target of the TA's union-busting drive is the seniority structure. For the vast majority of transit workers, management is unilaterally abolishing seniority rights as our only defense against day-to-day discrimination and favoritism—a blatant violation of the contract. Unless the principle of seniority prevails, the bosses will slice this union to pieces. In this deeply racist society, management violates seniority to whip up racial and ethnic hostility among the workers. A divided workforce is a defeated workforce.

At the present time there are a number of seniority grievances being held up in the arbitration quagmire. Some of these, like the one from the

dropping their grievance by taking away their seniority shape-up. It is criminal for the Sonny Hall bunch to isolate such workers in the front lines of the fight for seniority rights, letting them take the full brunt of the TA's attack.

The defense of seniority is a union-wide issue and requires a union-wide fight, up to and including strike action, to win this and similar grievances. Sonny Hall, Organizer Tony Corona, and 207th Shop Chairman Arnold Cherry should have their names on these vital grievances and prepare the membership for strike action. What we get instead is Hall's endorsement of that piece of union-busting legislation up in Albany!

The Kiley, Hall, Cuomo scheme to slash 1,300 jobs and cut and discontinue

Line Supervisors are instructed, as policy, to violate contractual working agreements and to suspend any workers who object. The TA does not care if it wins or "loses" these discipline cases in arbitration. Back pay is accepted by management as a small price to pay for an atmosphere of fear and intimidation on the job.

Railroad Safety Board and OSHA [federal job safety agency] regulations, never adequate, are now gutted by the Reagan administration, giving the green light to the TA to throw "safety first" out the window. On the job accidents are up sharply. From January to October of this year the burn unit of New York Hospital was virtually monopolized by a stream of transit workers with serious 3rd rail burns. Injured workers are afraid to report many accidents because it means an immediate drug test and possible suspension. Management's disregard for safety has deadly consequences. In January 1984 six workers in the Coney Island Shop floor gang were rendered unconscious and hospitalized by fumes from SKIDO flooring compound; all these workers suffered intense headaches, nausea, dizziness and chest pains. One of them, CMA Jimmy Stark, 41 years old and father of three, was never able to work again. After nearly three years of increasingly intense headaches, nausea, and agony Brother Jimmy Stark, poisoned by the Transit Authority, died of brain seizure in November.

## For a Fighting TWU! Abolish the Dues Checkoff!

In a fighting union, system-wide elected Stewards would collect the dues and have the power to stop the work immediately when management violates the contract. But any Steward system or grievance procedure is meaningless unless the strike weapon can be wielded.

*continued on page 10*



TWU bureaucrats sold out militant 1980 transit strike, throttle ranks with the bosses' laws.

207th St. Shop Test Lab, concern daily job pick by seniority shape-up. Management knows they will probably lose this grievance based on past practice so they are postponing arbitration while they try to blackmail this small gang into

many bus routes is in addition to the many jobs already lost to outside, low-wage contractors. Daily intimidation and threats by management are making life intolerable for transit workers. We have heard from several sources that

## Expropriate the Shipowners! NMU SOS

United States Lines, the oldest and once largest American shipping company, has filed for bankruptcy, threatening the demise of the National Maritime Union (NMU). U.S. Lines is only the last of many shipping companies to collapse over a 15-year period. The shipowners have been on the government gravy train, receiving millions in government subsidies over the years, while seamen have gotten a screw job. Seamen aboard U.S. Lines vessels in foreign ports spent Christmas under virtual arrest, as their ships were seized by creditors. When they finally got paid off, they found out there were no vacation benefits—amounting to half their pay, in many instances several thousand dollars. Union pension and welfare plans are threatened.

The merchant marine, like railroads, is essential to an industrial economy. The Founding Fathers recognized its importance: Thomas Jefferson sent naval frigates to the Barbary Coast to defend merchant shipping against pirates demanding tribute. What is involved here is not a particular capitalist loser, like the Chrysler bankruptcy several years ago. No one makes money out of merchant ships. Even the largest Japanese shipping line has gone broke.

Seamen must demand: Nationalization of the merchant marine, without compensation for the shipowners, under full union wages and union control of the hiring hall, including the right to strike! As the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained:

"The socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination, should in no case during the present transitional period hinder us from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (1938)

But the groveling NMU bureaucrats have always subordinated the interests of seamen to company profits. Thus, union officials turned over a half million dollars of NMU funds to the bosses in an ill-fated scheme to bring out a laid-up U.S. Line passenger ship. And at the December union meeting in New York, the officials asserted that they would continue to "aid and abet" U.S. Lines. The NMU tops, who used to back the anti-labor Democrats, went for union-

buster Reagan in 1980 in the hopes that he would throw them some crumbs from his anti-Soviet war buildup. But as Reagan has made clear, the only ships he's interested in building are those owned and operated by the Navy.

As opposed to the bureaucrats' concessions to the bosses and chauvinist calls to throw foreign seamen off U.S.-owned ships, the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) appeals for a class-struggle fight internationally. The M-SC laid out the situation in their newsletter, *The Beacon* (29 December):

"But seamen can't fight this battle alone. The only way out is to link up

centralized economy producing for people's use and needs—not profits. This is what the Russian workers built in the Soviet Union and why it is the greatest victory labor ever had. This is the only way to end racial and ethnic hostility within the labor movement to end racism and flag-waving protectionism. While the U.S. merchant marine is sinking, even [NMU president] Shannon Wall had to admit that '...The Russians are out buying new merchant vessels from the West...' and that the 'Soviet Modernization Program Aims to Replace 70% of Fleet by 1995' (October NMU Pilot, p. 3)....

"Joint militant labor action is what built the labor movement, like the tie-up of the S.S. California or the Flint auto sit-

U.S. merchant marine goes down the tubes. U.S. Lines ships laid up at Manhattan pier.



with the rest of labor and take on the entire decrepit capitalist system—the cause of the economic crisis in the steel, auto, textile as well as shipping and other industries. Such a link-up would organize the entire working class and all the oppressed through a workers party (big business controls the Democrats and Republicans) and could replace the bosses' government with a workers government and replace the chaos of a capitalist economy with a planned

down strikes—not empty union merger proposals for bureaucratic maneuvers. Our officials' groveling to the companies breeds anti-unionism within our own membership. Opportunists as well as well-meaning, misguided members are threatening to sue the union again. The bosses' courts should never be allowed into the labor movement! Real union unity for labor strength is built through battle action against the bosses!"



# Returning Sakharov

For over a decade Andrei Sakharov has been Western imperialism's most prized and praised Soviet "dissident." And for good reason. He has repeatedly called on the capitalist world to use economic and political blackmail against the USSR. This man, who played a key role in developing the Soviet H-bomb, has repeatedly encouraged NATO militarists to build up their nuclear arsenal. Far more respectable and influential than the crazed Slavic chauvinist and tsarist Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov's has been the most strident Russian voice in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. In 1984, after he publicly endorsed Reagan's drive for nuclear first-strike capability, we called for Sakharov and his accomplice and wife, Yelena Bonner, to be tried as traitors to the Soviet Union and the heritage of the October Revolution.

Gorbachev seems to have found another way. The new Soviet leader did an end run around the prominent pro-imperialist dissident by lifting his internal exile at Gorky and pardoning Bonner, earlier convicted of anti-Soviet activity. Gorbachev, who spoke with Sakharov personally by phone, may actually have turned him with honor—that is, away from his patrons in Washington. Back in Moscow and speaking on American TV, Sakharov, while reading a list of nine political prisoners he wanted freed, declared, "I have great respect for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev," and took a shot at Reagan's Star Wars plans: "I think that a potential enemy with highly developed technology can always find a means to overcome the space defenses, and it is much easier and cheaper."

"Has Sakharov sold out?" asked columnist Lars-Erik Nelson (*Washington Post*, 2 January). No doubt the White House is feeling betrayed by their favorite Soviet dissident, though these days they have rather more pressing things to worry about. So now maybe Sakharov will tell Ms. Bonner to keep her mouth shut. (When she went to

Boston in 1985, after an international hullabaloo over her need for advanced medical treatment for cancer, the doctors asked her why she didn't stop smoking five packs of cigarettes a day. "She appears to smoke more than the entire city of Pittsburgh," said one.)

## The Traitors Sakharov at Gorky

When in December 1979 the Soviet army intervened in Afghanistan to crush the CIA-backed counterrevolution of mullahs, landlords, tribalists and bandits, U.S. imperialism went ape. Jimmy Carter slapped a grain embargo on Russia, pulled the U.S. team out of the



Tunley/Newsweek

Mikhail Gorbachev

Moscow Olympics and openly threatened military action against the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf. Sakharov not only endorsed these policies but called for even stronger Western actions on behalf of the Afghan contras, Islamic fundamentalists who shoot school-teachers for teaching young girls how to read. For this Sakharov was hailed in the West as a great champion of "human rights."

That provocation finally caused the Kremlin tops to send Sakharov off to internal exile in Gorky. This did not, however, stop his anti-Soviet agitation. He kept up a barrage of articles, letters

and messages which Bonner delivered to the American embassy in Moscow and to the Western media. In the summer of 1983 he published an open letter in the prestigious U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs* advocating the development of the MX missile and the deployment of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in West Europe. "If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation," he wrote, "then perhaps this is what the West must do." Thus, Sakharov lined up with the Reaganite warmongers against not only the Soviet Union but also against the bulk of American liberals and West European social democrats. Lars-Erik Nelson now admits that "Sakharov's letter was close to treason."

Despite this the Kremlin rulers treated him with kid gloves. He and Bonner lived at a level far above the average Soviet worker or collective farmer. There could be no question of allowing Sakharov to emigrate to the West. As father of the Soviet H-bomb, Sakharov possesses intimate knowledge of Soviet military defenses which has not necessarily decayed over time. And given his oft-stated political loyalties, he would certainly have blabbed everything he knew when face to face with the CIA on "free world" soil. Concluding our article "Try the Traitors Sakharov!" (*WV* No. 356, 8 June 1984), we suggested a "modest proposal": that Sakharov might be traded for the father of the American H-bomb, Edward Teller. Today Sakharov himself recognizes emigration to the West "is impossible because of my secret work" (*New York Times*, 24 December 1986).

## Sakharov and the Soviet Bureaucracy

For now, Sakharov seems willing to play the role of loyal opposition to Gorbachev, whose reforms he welcomes. At his Moscow press conference he stated: "I think a great change for the better is taking place in the area of



Jasmin/Gamma-Liaison

Reagan's favorite Soviet "dissident" Andrei Sakharov comes out against Star Wars.

openness.... I am glad we have these changes, but I think they should go deeper." Gorbachev has appealed to Sakharov to resume "doing patriotic work," and the liberal London *Guardian* (24 December 1986) speculates: "What Gorbachev seems to be banking on is the hope that, in the dissidents of the Brezhnev era, Gorbachev may have found a kind of loyal opposition."

In Stalin's day the only loyal opposition was a corpse, and Sakharov would simply have been shot the first time he opened his mouth. But Stalinism, a system of bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property, is not synonymous with the person of Joseph Stalin. He was a truly evil man, a paranoid psychopath who killed millions of people, including Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms and the cream of Russia's communists. It has taken over three decades for the Soviet Union to get in Gorbachev a Stalinist not personally tainted by Stalin's bloody reign.

Nonetheless, the Kremlin bureaucracy remains profoundly hostile to workers' democracy and fearful of genuine proletarian justice. We strongly condemn the Stalinist practice of depriving dissidents, oppositionists and émigrés of their Soviet citizenship. If they are deemed guilty of crimes, they should be so charged and given a fair, public trial. By resorting to administrative measures like denying opponents their citizenship, the bureaucracy shows its contempt of Soviet legality and distrust of the masses.

Fearing Trotsky's still considerable  
*continued on page 10*

# KAL Pilots Knew

Ronald Reagan has shot himself in the foot over the Iran/contra affair, but the American media are doing their best to contain the damage. The word's still mum on the most sinister and dangerous Reaganite covert operation: the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 spy plane provocation, where 200-plus innocent passengers were sacrificed in an insane penetration of Soviet airspace on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983. Seymour Hersh's recent book, *"The Target Is Destroyed"* (1986) was intended as the definitive whitewash on the subject, laying to rest all "conspiracy theories" (see our critique, "The Spectre of KAL 007," *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986). But outside the U.S., sane people everywhere see a White House connection in the 007 affair.

And now the closest thing to an eyewitness—indeed, most likely an accomplice in the operation—has shot down Hersh. Y.M. Park, captain of KAL Flight 015 which took off from Anchorage 14 minutes behind Flight 007, has broken a three-year silence to give an interview in the December issue of the South Korean monthly *Chosun*. Just before Captain Park was scheduled to testify two years ago in the court suit

brought by relatives of the victims against the U.S. government, he suddenly resigned from KAL and refused to talk. But after having read an abridged translation of Hersh's book, Park evidently felt compelled to come forward to "remedy misunderstandings" (*New York Times*, 28 December 1986).

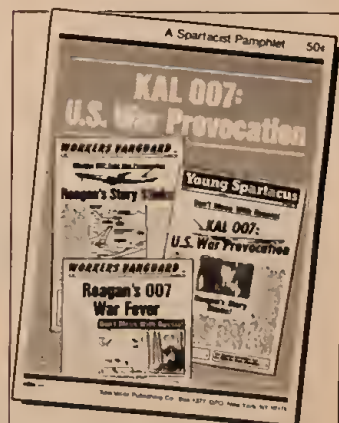
Park dismisses Hersh's "accident" theory that Flight 007's captain Chun had incorrectly inserted a shortcut into the plane's computer navigation system to save fuel as "a laughable conjecture." In answer to Hersh's supposition that Chun had left the cockpit for some five hours to talk to passengers—and hence was not present in the cockpit to notice numerous instrument warnings that the plane was drastically off course—Park reports, according to the *Times* account, a radio exchange with Captain Chun "almost three hours into the flight.... about the time Flight 007 entered Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula." So Chun was in the cockpit at the crucial moment. Park also says that when he asked Chun why 007 was falling behind schedule, "Captain Chun's answer was short and hasty. He seemed to be hiding something and in trepidation."

Park offers his own laughable theory for all this, namely that Chun had discovered a navigational error but concern for loss of face and fear of "severe punishment" by KAL led him to continue flying through Soviet airspace—at risk of getting shot down! Park has some more explaining to do: he was the one who relayed Chun's obligatory (and false) position reports back to Anchorage when 007 flew out of direct radio range of Alaska ground control. Park had to know that Chun's reports were not only alarmingly late but also inaccurate. In short, the evidence suggests Park was an accomplice in the plan. It would not have been the first military mission for the two men: Chun was junior officer under Park when they were in the South Korean air force.

Other evidence has surfaced indicating that the KAL pilots knew. Back in 1984, attorney Melvin Belli, who represented several relatives in the disaster, revealed that the widows of the pilot and co-pilot of KAL 007 told him that their husbands were frequently paid to penetrate Soviet airspace. Another lawyer told the *Nation* (17 August 1985) that Captain Chun's widow said her husband "had told her Flight 007 was an especially dangerous mission." And speaking to a packed house at Brown University last November 11, retired State Department officer John Keppel revealed a South Korean press report that Chun's wife had taken out a supplementary insurance policy on her

husband's life, worth about \$36,000, before Chun boarded Flight 007 for the final fatal flight.

Shortly afterward, a referendum at Brown on impeaching President Reagan came within a few votes of passing. In addition to Washington's anti-Qaddafi disinformation campaign, the revelations over the captured American mercenary Hasenfus and the World Court verdict against the U.S. for mining Nicaragua's harbors (all  
*continued on page 10*



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# Racist Terror U.S.A.

The white lynch mob in Howard Beach, Queens which savagely beat three black men, killing 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith, threw a spotlight on the wave of terror against minorities across Reagan's America. When racist NYC mayor Koch compared this hideous murder to a lynching in the Deep South, it was official recognition of the fact they can no longer cover up—across America the lynchers and cross-burners are riding high. "It's open season on blacks," said LeRoy Thomas, executive editor of the *Chicago Defender*. White ethnic mobs in New York, racist riots on campuses, at least 60 KKK marches last year in North Carolina alone, trigger-happy cops gunning down minorities in the streets—and they're all taking their cue from the top. The rollback of busing, voting rights and all integration laws, together with vicious cutbacks of services to the ghettos and the grotesque government bombing of the Philly MOVE commune—these are the Reagan administration's "message" to black America.

The frenzy of racist reaction has been particularly ominous on the campuses. At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, hundreds of stampeding whites set upon a handful of blacks after the Mets beat the Red Sox in the World Series. Next door at Smith College, one of the elite "Seven Sisters" schools, menacing slogans scrawled on campus buildings say, "Niggers, spics and chinks, quit complaining and get out." At the University of Texas, the "Aryan

Virlee Berry and community activist Denise Gums, were stopped for traffic "infractions," yanked out of their cars and brutally worked over by the cops. In September, two white Alameda County sheriff's deputies burned a cross in the cell of a black inmate. That same month, black youths Karlos Hill and Edwin Smith, Jr., were shot and killed by Berkeley and Oakland cops, respectively.

This reign of terror extends beyond the inner city ghettos. Louisiana sheriff Harry Lee issued an apartheid-style order to automatically stop blacks driving in "white" areas of Jefferson Parish outside New Orleans. On December 13 in Tampa, Florida, Mets superstar pitcher Dwight Gooden was driving his silver Mercedes home from a basketball game when he was pulled over by the cops and beaten bloody with fists, nightsticks and Mag-Lites. Gooden, who was born and raised in Tampa, said the police "were laying for me," and that one cop jammed a .38 revolver into his neck. "Hit his arm. Hurt it. End his career," yelled the cops while calling him "nigger." "Dwight Gooden was beaten because he was driving an expensive car," wrote black columnist Tony Brown. And at Amherst, when they brought in black Mets player Mookie Wilson and a white Red Sox player for a "unity" rally to cool out the tense campus, racist punks booed Wilson.

It's not only blacks who are targeted. In June 1982, a 23-year-old Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was beaten to death with a baseball bat by a white auto

Klan foments race war in Chicago's Marquette Park.



Eva Stimson



Southwest News-Herald

KKK scum stage provocation in Raleigh, North Carolina.

teenager in the hospital. This was followed by a series of assaults on Asians in the Boston area, culminating in August in the Revere Beach beating of Cambodian Bun Vong, who went into a coma and died ten days later. With their taunts of "Kill the gooks!" and "Cambo-Rambo," these white ethnics are acting out the revenge fantasies of their rulers who were humiliated by the heroic peasants and workers of Vietnam.

"There is this steady drumbeat from this administration," says NAACP chief Benjamin Hooks, an ominous "national mood" being whipped up against blacks. What he's hearing is the beat of war drums, as the administration whips the country into war frenzy against the Soviet "evil empire" and its "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya. Reagan's rape of Grenada is their idea of "standing tall," as white GIs with their M-16s stomped around the tiny black Caribbean island. But the Reagan years really began under Democrat Carter who undertook the post-Vietnam War buildup and campaigned in Cleveland in 1976 saying that neighborhoods had the right to preserve "ethnic purity." It was under Carter—and with the aid of the FBI, ATF, state and local cops—that KKK/Nazi terrorists gunned down five leftists, labor organizers and civil rights workers in the 1979 Greensboro massacre.

In 1980 and 1984 the Klan campaigned for Reagan, and was rewarded by the media and politicians who sought to make these racist killers "respectable." *Newsweek* (29 September 1986) "jokingly" quoted KKK Imperial Wizard James Farrands about having "to do the cross lightings and everything" himself, while the *New York Times* ran an obscene feature on the Connecticut Kluxer and the rising price of hooded robes. And as the burning crosses lit a fiery swath of terror North and South, racists burned down anti-apartheid shanties in Baltimore and firebombed the homes of black and Hispanic families who dared to move into Chicago's Southwest Side. But the decent people of this country are revolted by this racist filth. In the last year, the KKK was driven out of Atlanta, Georgia and the college town of Radford, Virginia as hundreds mobilized to protect their communities against the fascist killers.

Even in Boston, where busing had been defeated by racist mobs in the streets (with the connivance of Democrats in Congress), the hooded racetrainers were run out of town in October 1982. The showdown came in Washington, D.C. that November, when the KKK vowed to parade in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. The

Spartacist League initiated a Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan which won the support of scores of unions and labor officials, bringing out 5,000 predominantly black workers and youth who stopped the Kluxers before they started. While the Reagan administration and Democratic Party mayor Barry called out their cops to protect the lynchers' "right" to terrorize the 70 percent black city, other black Democrats and their reformist flunkies tried to divert black anger with cheese handouts and gabfests. But to no avail, as red and black power took the streets of Washington that day.

The key to smashing fascist terror is revolutionary leadership, mobilizing the power of labor at the head of the oppressed. A class-struggle integrated workers party must be forged in the fight to unchain the black masses from the parties of the racist oppressors, whether Republican Reagan or Democrat Koch. And that requires a political fight against the black overseers of America's cities, like Wilson Goode who bombed Philly MOVE, as well as demagogues such as Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan who with their "black capitalist" schemes and anti-Semitic ravings oppose integrated struggle while joining hands with the KKK.

Today black people around the coun-



November 1982: SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C.

Collegiates" vow to rid the campus of "outspoken minorities," while graffiti on the walls at Ohio State call on whites to "Get Out Your 22s" against black students. At a Charleston, South Carolina military academy left over from the days of slavery, white-robed cross-burners terrorized black cadet Kevin Nesmith (see "KKK Terror at The Citadel," *WV* No. 418, 19 December 1986).

It's racist terror, U.S.A., in white sheets and blue uniforms. In the Los Angeles area, Huntington Park and Huntington Beach cops imitating New York City's 106th Precinct (which includes Howard Beach) have gone on a spree of torturing minority youth with 50,000-volt stun guns: four cases reported in the last month. In San Diego last November, a black man arrested allegedly for walking his dog without a license was paraded through the streets on a rope by a mounted cop. In Oakland, the black community is outraged over a new round of racist cop attacks. Last spring, in separate incidents, two black women, phone worker

plant foreman and his stepson, who mistook Chin for a Japanese and blamed him for auto layoffs. Four years later, the killers are still free: last September, a federal appeals court overturned the murder conviction of the foreman on a technicality. Faced with mass outrage from Asian Americans across the country, the U.S. announced it would retry the case. This was protectionist murder: the auto bosses and chauvinist union tops had whipped up a poisonous atmosphere as the city was plastered with signs, "Send 'em back to Japan," and the UAW sponsored bash-ins of foreign cars.

Trade war and imperialist war mean racist terror at home. Soon after the movie *Rambo* opened in Boston in May 1985, a group of Southie whites attacked three Vietnamese. The macho flick quickly became the cult picture for racist hoodlums, who repeatedly sat through the 96 minutes of Sly Stallone killing Russians and Vietnamese and yearned to be a "Rambo Man." On Memorial Day, a white gang with lead pipes in East Boston put a Cambodian



Detroit, May 1983: Demonstrators protest murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin. Protectionist frenzy fuels anti-Asian terror.

try are bitterly lamenting the total absence of any leadership prepared to defend the ghetto masses against racist attack. The nativist fascist killers will not be moved or removed by pray-ins, pizza eat-ins or pizza boycotts, or appeals to the racist Democratic Party of American capitalism. Just as it took a second American revolution—the Civil War—to do away with slavery, labor/black mobilization must serve as a springboard to socialist revolution to smash the racist terrorists and achieve genuine emancipation for all the exploited and oppressed. ■



# NYC Lynching...

(continued from page 1)

three and one-half hours before they removed the body from the ground and after that I went back to the police station"—i.e., to the 106th Precinct, notorious for using stun guns to torture blacks.

Of the eleven suspects brought in, only three were held, charged with second degree murder, manslaughter and assault. Instead of going to a grand jury for an indictment, Queens district attorney Santucci gave away all his evidence to the press and the killers' lawyers, while ignoring the confessions he has in hand. And on December 29, Criminal Court Judge Ernest Bianchi threw out all charges except reckless endangerment. Outraged blacks in the gallery stood up and shouted "Injustice!" and "Disgrace!" Bianchi ordered the cops to push them out, screaming, "Shut out all the loudmouths before I hold them in contempt." Bianchi blamed the victims for his dropping the charges: "Mr. Sandiford is a Negro, a black man who did not come to testify."

They didn't need his testimony, either to get an indictment or to simply hold them for a grand jury. The cops know who killed Michael Griffith because the killers bragged about it. Jon Lester, 17, told detectives that after seeing the black men in the New Park pizzeria, he rushed to a friend's birthday party and shouted, "Hey, there's some niggers in the pizza parlor! Let's go kill them!" A dozen or more whites in three cars raced back to the restaurant. Sandiford says that cops in a patrol car from the 106th Precinct saw the mob gathering but drove off without doing anything. With a green light from the cops, the killers went to work. Lester fought with another white over a baseball bat because he "wanted a piece of the action." He said he was "not going to give up anybody. I am going to be a capo" in the Mafia. (Cosa Nostra boss John Gotti is a Howard Beach resident.) But today Lester is a free man.

The cops ignored Sandiford's charge that the car which killed Griffith was among those in the original chase. Dominick Blum, a cop in family court and the driver of the car which killed Griffith, claims he stopped after the impact but saw nothing, and believing he had hit a tire or an animal, proceeded to drive his girlfriend home. His car's hood and left side were damaged and the windshield was shattered, and one of the gang members said he saw Griffith's body thrown 20 feet in the air. Moreover, Blum returned to the scene of Griffith's death later, accompanied by his father, another cop, in a different, undamaged car. He was not given a breathalyzer test nor even questioned at the scene. At the very least, Blum left the scene of an accident—yet he has not been charged with anything.

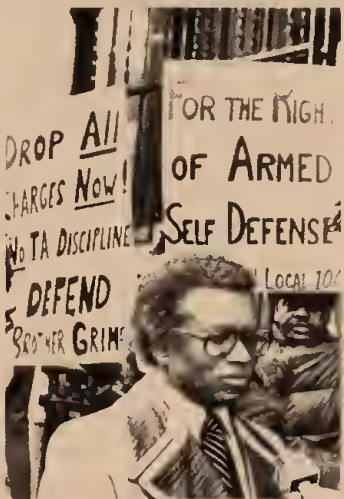
Sandiford's attorney Maddox commented, "Given the outcome of the Willie Turks case where you had a dead body and no murder conviction, it is clear that whenever white people murder a Black man this city is unprepared to prosecute a white mob on murder charges" (*Daily Challenge*, 22 December 1986). So Queens D.A. Santucci, Judge Bianchi, Mayor Koch, NY State special prosecutor Hynes and the entire establishment media joined in a chorus claiming Sandiford, Grimes and Maddox "must now bear a heavy share of responsibility for the reverberating tensions" (*New York Times*, 30 December 1986). Whatever Maddox and Mason's reasoning in keeping Sandiford off the stand, their strategy is based on pressuring the state or federal government to take over the case. The idea that they'll get a better shake from Reagan/Meese is grotesque. And Governor Cuomo has joined the Dixiecrats,

denouncing Koch for comparing the murder to a Southern lynching: on the eve of a pre-presidential campaign swing through the South, Cuomo said, "this is too sensitive an issue for that kind of rhetoric" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 4 January).

## Class War or Race War

As a predominantly black protest moved into the Howard Beach area on December 27, someone in the white crowds lining the sidewalks shouted, "Here come the animals!" This gutter racism echoes that of Reaganite New York Senator Alphonse D'Amato who justified voting against a housing project saying, "We didn't do too well with the animal vote, did we?" (*New York Times*, 12 October 1986). Koch's Democratic predecessor Abe Beame referred to widespread looting in Brooklyn during the 1977 blackout as the work of "animals." And it is Koch more than anyone in this city who has created the climate in which racist attacks are now daily occurrences. In the last election Koch got 85 percent of the vote in Howard Beach, but when the mayor visited a Roman Catholic church December 28 he was met with shouts of "go home!" and "go to a synagogue!" As Malcolm X used to say, "The chickens have come home to roost."

Lily-white and heavily Italian Howard Beach is surrounded by parkways, Jamaica Bay and JFK Airport serving



Mobilizations by militant TWUers spearheaded successful defense of subway clerk James Grimes.

as a virtual moat to keep out blacks. To ensure "safety," local householders pay \$220 a year to maintain a private security force. A local racist was frank: "If Whoopi Goldberg came into this neighborhood she'd be killed" (*Newsweek*, 5 January). When the NAACP, clergymen, and liberal and reformist organizations held a "prayerful observance" in this bastion of white racism December 27, it was an experience of humiliation, degradation and terror. Hundreds of racists itching for blood lined the streets screaming epithets and drowning out the demonstrators. The march was "protected" by the cops of the 106th stun-gun Precinct. One black remarked: "What was really scary is that if these groups [of racist punks roaming Howard Beach] would have come, they could have closed all 1,500 folk in there and had a field day."

In the face of this orgy of racism, the city stands at the brink. Lacking any leadership capable of mobilizing to crush the lynchers, clots of enraged black youth have responded by assaulting isolated whites. On December 23, two dozen black teenagers shouting "Howard Beach! Howard Beach!" chased, punched and kicked Jeffrey McCarthy, a white youth, in Jamaica, Queens. Unlike the lynching in Howard Beach, black passers-by came to McCarthy's rescue. In another case in

Cedric Sandiford (center), survivor of Howard Beach racist attack, with attorneys Alton Maddox (right), C. Vernon Mason (left).



Jamaica, a black family gave a white victim refuge in their home. Meanwhile, New York is degenerating into an all-sided ugly meanness. On New Year's Eve, a woman was pushed from an upper-story hotel window, a French tourist was stabbed to death and an off-duty cop was shot in the neck by teen rowdies at Penn Station.

And as the city slides toward race war, Hispanics have been taking it from both whites and blacks. The same night as the Griffith lynching, racist thugs in Ozone Park attacked two Latino youths. A week later, light-skinned John Santiago was assaulted with bats and sticks by ten blacks shouting "Howard Beach!" in the East New York section of Brooklyn. When Santiago started speaking Spanish, one of the assailants reportedly said, "Leave him alone, he's not white." Another replied, "he looks white," and the beating continued. In the Belmont section of the Bronx there has been a wave of assaults on Puerto Ricans by Italian gangs. And there is the constant police harassment: on December 27, three Hispanic women were beaten and jailed by transit cops in the Bronx when they came to the aid of a friend who was robbed on the IRT and then seized by the police while the muggers escaped.

In New York City's black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, Koch's venal and brutal police are universally hated. So when outlaw Larry Davis, who plugged six cops and got away, was able to negotiate his surrender last month after evading a massive police manhunt for 17 days, dozens of tenants in the Bronx housing project leaned out of the windows chanting, "Lar-ry! Lar-ry!" He became a folk hero, known on the streets as the "dude that elude." Claude Brown, author of *Manchild in the Promised Land*, the autobiographical account of growing up in Harlem, explained:

"The white police department has been intimidating the black community—think of Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart—and all of a sudden here comes Larry Davis the avenging angel. It's like, 'We finally won one.'"

—*New York Times*, 2 January

And meanwhile the courts and cops are using gun control laws to keep decent citizens helpless in the face of racist mob terror. As the Committee for

a Fighting TWU stated: "The Democratic Party and the liberal left are exploiting the Goetz case in order to strengthen the anti-gun laws.... The racist right-wingers also used the Goetz case for their own ends to inflame vigilantism."

## For a Multiracial Class-Struggle Workers Party!

In the face of this horrendous lynching in New York City and the seething anger of the black population, the black leaders have shown their utter bankruptcy. "Establishment" pals like Floyd Flake and Charles Rangel obediently trooped to City Hall to praise the mayor's handling of events. The suddenly respectable Rev. Herbert Daughtry held a private meeting with the mayor six weeks ago and is now calling on Koch to head up a task force on racial bigotry! This call was echoed by none other than Jesse Jackson, who said that the city's Number One Bigot displayed "aggressive leadership to combat an incident that would have become worse" (*New York Post*, 31 December 1986). And the Rev. Al Sharpton has gone from vigilante attacks on Arab store-owners in Harlem (for selling "drug paraphernalia") to a pizza eat-in in Howard Beach.

And what is the program of the lawyers Maddox and C. Vernon Mason? At a January 3 press conference they talked grandly of a new movement for black "empowerment." But in the concrete all they had to offer was anti-Italian demagoguery (calling for a boycott of pizza parlors) and reliance on the racist Democrats (Mason ran for Manhattan D.A. in the Democratic primary). While such stunts seem merely absurd ("How in God's name does a pizza pie jump up and run you over?" one kid commented), ultimately it leads to another Crown Heights, where in 1978 Daughtry diverted angry black protests against the police killing of black businessman Arthur Miller into pogromist marches on a Hassidic synagogue. As if to prove this point the January 3 white-exclusionist Abyssinian Baptist Church meeting was laced with anti-Semitic rhetoric, and heard

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## Spartacist Forum

### Racist Lynching in Howard Beach For Labor/Black Defense To Stop Racist Attacks!

#### Speakers:

Ed Kartsen

Spartacist League Central Committee  
NY Labor Black League for Social Defense  
1985 Spartacist candidate for  
Manhattan Borough President

Marjorie Stenberg

Spartacist League Central Committee  
1985 Spartacist candidate for Mayor

Richard Dundy

Parlisan Defense Committee,  
New York representative

Friday, January 23, 7:30 p.m.

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For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY



# Stop Racist Attacks...

(continued from page 1)

In Reagan's America and Koch's New York lynch-mob terror is on the rise, as even the *New York Times* was compelled to editorialize. The *Times* praised Koch's "rightful anger" and the "appropriate urgency" of his racists in blue after the racist terror in Howard Beach. But it is racist pig Koch who inflames the white, ethnic middle-class backlash. As his egomaniacal biography frags, "hizzoner" really gets off on closing down West Harlem's only hospital, Sydenham, and trying to break the 1980 transit strike. It was Koch's SWAT team cop Stephen Sullivan who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with two shotgun blasts in her Bronx apartment because she was two months behind in her rent, while his Uncle Tom police commissioner Ward exonerated Sullivan's brutal murder as "within departmental guidelines."

Koch and his ghoulish coroner Dr. Gross covered up the racist murder of black artist and son of a retired transit worker Michael Stewart at the hands of the transit cops in Union Square. From the cop murder of 81-year-old Dennis Groce in the vestibule of his own apartment building, to the systematic stun-gun torture of black youth in the 106th Precinct, Koch's racist killers in blue have been given license to kill.

Blacks and other minorities, all decent people in this city, share the deep grief and bitterness of the Griffith family over the brutal racist murder of Michael Griffith. We are fed up with racist terror, in and out of uniform. Koch is Reagan reaction in New York City, and

July 1983:  
Angry black  
residents chase  
racist Koch out  
of cop brutality  
hearings in  
Harlem.



he has driven this city to the brink of race war. From Trump Tower to Wall Street, the swindlers who rule NYC are afraid the lynch-mob murder of Michael Griffith might push it over the edge. So they got the big-mouth bigot of Gracie Mansion to denounce the "racial lynching" in Howard Beach. That's about as sincere as Reagan denouncing the diversion of Iran arms money to the contras. Queens D.A. Santucci dredged up three likely suspects from the sewers of south Queens and slapped them with second-degree murder charges.

But working people in New York remember the similar lynch-mob murder of Willie Turks and the beating of two fellow workers in 1982, only blocks from their Coney Island shop in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. The most any of the killers of Brother Turks got was a slap on the wrist from Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman. And every single one of those racist thugs are hack on the street, free to kill again. Yet liberal Democrat Holtzman subjected black token-booth clerk James Grimes

to a four-month "legal" lynching for defending his life (and transit funds) from armed muggers. Gun control is killing black people in this city, ensuring that the racist thugs and the killers in blue are armed to the teeth while decent working people remain defenseless. If Willie Turks and Michael Griffith had been armed, they would be alive today. No reliance on Koch's "injustice" system, which turns loose the racist killers of Willie Turks, and tries to jail a courageous black worker like James Grimes!

Across the country large cities are run by Democrats, frequently black, who are front men for Reagan reaction. In NYC the black Democratic Party politicians and preachers have rushed in to contain the flood of anger over Michael Griffith's murder. Led by Rev. Al Sharpton, they held a December 22 "eat-in" at the pizzeria in Howard Beach where the lynch-mob assault began. Relying on the "protection" of stun-gun cops from the 106th Precinct and the sinister Guardian Angels, the black ministers and a handful of supporters at the pizzeria were subjected to threats and humiliating taunts. Such dangerous stunts, preaching reliance on Koch's racist cops, will only embolden the racist scum and leave blacks defenseless from racist and fascist terror. Similarly, the liberal left's call for the hoax of a "democratic civilian review board" to "control" the racists in blue is a diversion meant to channel the outrage over Michael Griffith's murder into empty schemes to "reform" Koch's cossacks. It will mean more black victims on the streets of New York. The lawyer for the Griffith family has already charged the Queens D.A. and the 106th Precinct with a cover-up of the full extent of the racist crime while the press has put the surviving victims on trial.

What is needed now is a powerful mobilization of labor and minorities on the streets of Howard Beach. Let those

racist scum try and take on thousands of integrated transit workers, hospital workers and city workers patrolling Cross Bay Boulevard on flatbed trucks. Then the racist punks with their Mussolini T-shirts will get a taste of what their hero got. In 1982, following the murder of Willie Turks, the Spartacist League supported the call of militants in the TWU to provide such a defense against racist terror in the streets of Gravesend. But it was sabotaged by the TWU tops, who seek to keep the integrated power of the labor movement in the chains of their masters in the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party. The absence of that labor power to smash racist terror leaves blacks and other minorities defenseless, and prey to the deadly schemes of nationalist and anti-Semitic demagogues like Farrakhan and Herbert Daughtry. *For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women!*

In 1985 at a forum in solidarity with the victims of the hideous racist massacre in Philadelphia of the MOVE organization, Ed Kartsen, SL candidate for Manhattan Borough President, called for the kind of integrated labor power that must be mobilized against the racist terror in Howard Beach: "We stand ready at all times to mobilize our strength in united actions against racist terror. The mass power of organized labor, black militants, once broken from the Democratic Party in mass actions, will constitute the kind of invincible force that will avenge the Philly bombing. Legal lynchings must be met with revolutionary class justice.... United actions mobilizing the power of organized labor and minority organizations must be brought to bear to smash racist terrorism.... We have to move forward to a mass labor/minority party that can lead the working class to seize power in order to end racist terrorism once and for all."

—NY Spartacist League



Brooklyn Supreme Court, 20 July 1983—Militant transit workers demand union action to defend blacks, following lynch-mob murder of union brother Willie Turks.

## NYC Lynching...

(continued from page 7)

greetings from Hitler-lover and KKK ally Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted *Malcolm X* dead.

Discussing the December 27 preachers-and-politicians march in Howard Beach on WLIR radio, talk show host Gary Byrd noted the similarity to the kind of racism Martin Luther King encountered in Chicago and the show's guest remarked, "Yes, Cicero, Illinois, that area is pretty rough and that's what it reminded me of." It was precisely in the lily-white Chicago suburb of Cicero, in 1966, that the civil rights movement was killed, and the white backlash won its first major victory. King and the pro-Democratic Party civil rights movement had won victories over Jim Crow discrimination in the South in alliance with sections of the state. But in the North they ran aground on the economic bedrock of racism in America because they lacked a program for a revolution-

ary fight for equality and social integration against capitalism.

What is urgently needed is to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities, who are the majority of the New York City population, with the social power of the organized labor movement, particularly the heavily black and Latin municipal unions. Speaking at a protest meeting in Brooklyn on December 30, Gene Herson, a class-struggle oppositionist in the National Maritime Union, pointed out:

"They're talking about swapping police precincts because of the Crack crack-down. What are they going to do, swap the [Howard Beach/Ozone Park] stun-gun precinct with the Union Square precinct, the cops who killed Michael Stewart? Or with the SWAT team that killed Eleanor Bumpurs?... The murderers of Willie Turks are free on the street. The murderers of Griffith are free on the street. The courts are part and parcel of the racist, capitalist system. That's no answer and I don't want to hear about appeals to the mayor or the governor or other politicians. The only answer is the integrated, powerful force of the unions in this country. And in New York, the TWU in particular is a heavily black union which is a cornerstone of city labor. What we need is one

or two thousand union defense squads on the streets, on flatbed trucks, going through Howard Beach and other areas, because you've got to command respect. And that's the only way: make a show of force. And the unions can be in the forefront of that."

In this deeply racist country black emancipation has always been the measure of general social progress, and racist terror is the cutting edge of social reaction. Every civil right and social gain we cherish has been won through hard, often bloody, integrated struggle, from the abolitionists in the Union Army in the Civil War and Reconstruction to the industrial union movement during the Great Depression. During World War II, as hundreds of thousands of blacks flooded into the industrial North, there were racist riots in Detroit where white thugs and police murdered 26 blacks. The then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party proclaimed:

"The hoodlums and hooligans who are today assailing the Negroes are training themselves for other acts of violence. Tomorrow or the day after they can be unleashed by the Fords, Wilsons, and Chryslers as storm troops and strikebreakers against the unions themselves. Workers, take warning! This is how

fascist gangs were formed and fascism arose in Europe and crushed the labor movement. Do not permit them to take root here.... Flying squadrons of union militants should stand ready to protect the rights of their Negro fellow workers menaced by the mobs. The various local unions should maintain order and clear their respective territories of anti-Negro, anti-labor gangs."

—Militant, 3 July 1943

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League continue the struggle for labor/black defense today. While murderous mobs and Koch's killer cops wreak racist terror in the streets, and black Democratic demagogues feed into this orgy of racism with their ethnic appeals, we stand for united struggle against the capitalist oppressor: *For class war, not race war!* Counterposed to the dead ends of liberal integrationism and black separatism, the road to social progress is the road of revolutionary integrationism, of the liberation of oppressed minorities in an egalitarian socialist society. Forging a multiracial vanguard workers party is the key to building a society where Jim Crow segregation and the lynch rope are but bitter memories of a barbaric past. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



# Stop Execution of Indonesian Communists!

SYDNEY, Australia, December 17—Today some 25 people took part in a militant picket at Garuda Indonesian Airways, the Indonesian national airline, to protest against the threatened execution of leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) planned by the blood-drenched Suharto dictatorship. The protest was called at short notice by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency, in response to reports that seven political prisoners held in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, were to be executed by the end of the month and possibly before Christmas.

Chanting "Stop the executions of Indonesian Communists!" and "Free Indonesian Communists! Free all class-war prisoners!" the spirited picket attracted much attention from passers-by, including several Indonesians. Calling for urgent action by the Australian and international labour movement to save PKI prisoners from the military firing squads, demonstrators chanted, "Union action must be the weapon, against Suharto's bloody repression!" A protest telegram from the Partisan Defense Committee of the U.S. was read out.

The seven in imminent danger are among between 16 and 33 political



Hundreds of thousands were massacred in 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia.

prisoners remaining under death sentences imposed in the wake of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath in which Suharto came to power in 1965, and who have spent most of two decades in prison. They include four PKI leaders:



Emergency picket called by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists.

• Ruslan Wijayasastra, 69, former deputy chairman of SOBSI, the All-Indonesia Federation of Trade Unions, which numbered 3 million members in 1965.

• Sukatno, 56, secretary-general of the PKI youth organisation Pemuda Rakyat (People's Youth).

• Asep Suryaman, 61, and Iskander Suhekti, 64, PKI Central Committee members. The other three are non-Communist military personnel charged with involvement in the abortive "September 30 Movement" coup of middle-ranking officers led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the pretext for Suharto's takeover. In addition, over 200 political prisoners from 1965, including many women, remain in prison.

A key demand of the Spartacist demonstration was "Avenge the 1965 massacre—for workers' revolution!" In the orgy of mass slaughter unleashed by the military in the last months of 1965, at least half a million and probably many more members and supporters of the PKI and its unions, peasant, women's, youth, student and cultural organisations, as well as the Chinese minority, died. The annihilation of the largest Communist party outside the USSR and China, in this strategically central country of Southeast Asia, was a historic defeat for the international proletariat and stabilised imperialist domination of the region. Spartacist spokesman Andrew Giannakis told the picket:

"The bourgeoisie of this country along with its servants in the ALP [Australian

Labor Party] bureaucracy breathed a sigh of relief. For years previously they had offered their services to a U.S. imperialist drive to quell the combative Indonesian proletariat via CIA/ASIS [Australian Security Intelligence Service] provocations. The aftermath of the 1965 massacre enabled them to disengage from the Vietnam debacle and embark on a streamlined imperialist push into Asia. Indonesia today is a key anti-Communist bulwark for imperialist anti-Soviet war preparations in this region. It forms a central part of the reactionary ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] alliance directly targeting the Vietnamese workers state as part of the war drive worldwide against the gains of the Russian Revolution. Suharto wants to place the threatened Indonesian Communists on the altar of imperialism's anti-Soviet war frenzy. It is a war drive that the Australian bourgeoisie is four-square behind. They are the self-styled imperialist cops for the U.S. in this region."

Placards at the demonstration read, "Smash ASEAN, U.S.-Australian Alliance! Defend USSR/Vietnam!", "Down with Hawke, Suharto's Anti-Communist Ally, Reagan's Lackey!" and "Stop Australian Military Aid to Indonesia!"

According to Amnesty International, there have been as many official executions in Indonesia in the last three years as in the entire preceding 38! After a long lapse of 13 years, the junta resumed executions of Communists sentenced to death in 1985 with those of SOBSI general secretary Mohammad Munir and three others, followed by a further nine executions in September/October 1986. They are linked to a new campaign of anti-Communist hysteria, including mass sackings [firings] of former PKI members, supporters and even their relatives and children. For example, 1,638 oil workers were sacked and blacklisted by companies including the U.S. giant Caltex for membership in a pre-1965 PKI-led union. Another 900 "ex-PKI" railwaymen are to be dismissed, according to *TAPOL Bulletin* (July 1986).

Why has the butcher Suharto now opted to resume killing members of a party drowned in blood 20 years ago? Part of the reason must be to terrorise anew the Indonesian masses. With the economy in crisis and oil prices falling, revolutionary turmoil next door in the Philippines where another 20-year anti-Communist tyrant has just fallen, and the aging Suharto preparing his succession, the Jakarta generals sit nervously atop a social volcano. And they invariably combine anti-Communism with chauvinist hysteria against the country's significant Chinese minority. Three times in this century the combative Indonesian worker and peasant masses

have risen in struggle, at times to the point of posing the question of power. And now, two decades after 1965, a new generation has come on the scene, thirsting for vengeance. Moreover, executing Communists also serves to placate rising Islamic fundamentalist opposition.

This demonstration was especially significant for revolutionaries in racist white Australia, where the ALP has historically poisoned the working class with anti-Asian chauvinism, and the nationalist "left" seems to itch for "democratic" Australian imperialism to rescue East Timor and West Papua from their Indonesian invaders. The ruling class is stirring the pot of anti-Indonesian chauvinism because they fear that the crisis in the Philippines has destabilised the region and the regime that follows Suharto in Indonesia may not be so reliable an anti-Communist buffer. One SL placard, "Waterfront Unions: Remember the Black Armada! For Labour Action to Stop the Executions!" recalled the better traditions of the Australian working class—the large-scale black bans [hot-cargoing] of Dutch shipping by dockers and seamen in solidarity with the Indonesian independence struggle from 1945 to 1949. The road to revolution in this white imperialist outpost lies in struggle against racist Lahorism, for revolutionary class solidarity with the workers

## PDC Appeals for International Protests

On December 13, the Partisan Defense Committee issued an urgent appeal, sent to more than 600 individuals, newspapers, civil rights and civil liberties organizations, calling for international protests against the executions of Indonesian Communists. The PDC sent the following telegram to: Indonesia Embassy, 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, and urges others to do the same:

Hands of Indonesian government dripping with workers' blood for more than 20 years. Stop executions of PKI leaders Wijayasastra, Sukatno, Suryaman and Subekti. Demand immediate release of all workers and PKI members imprisoned after government slaughter of one-half million in 1965.

and peasants of Asia, a perspective expressed by the Spartacist slogan, "For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia!"

The 1965 bloodbath can only be avenged by forging a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership that has drawn the lessons of that defeat and the bankruptcy of the PKI's strategy, which the Chinese Maoists backed to the hilt. As Giannakis explained:

"It was the PKI's alliance with the nationalist bourgeois Sukarno that disarmed the proletariat before the butcher generals and the reactionary Muslim marauders. The Stalinist strategy of class collaborationism/popular front has its history drenched in workers' blood from China and Spain to Indonesia and Chile. Only the proletariat can lead the oppressed masses of the imperialist-dominated countries to working-class revolution. The historic example of the 1917 Russian Revolution remains to this day the inspiration to the oppressed and exploited of the world. The Indonesian masses today need their Bolshevik party."

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

**Atlanta**  
Box 4012  
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**  
Box 840, Central Sta.  
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## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

**Toronto**  
Box 7198, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8  
(416) 593-4138



# Sakharov...

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popularity and authority among the advanced workers, in 1929 Stalin had secretly and forcibly deported the man who, along with Lenin, led the Bolshevik Revolution. A few years later he stripped Trotsky and his wife, Natalia Sedova, of their Soviet citizenship—a then unprecedented act. And in 1940 Stalin had Trotsky assassinated. Following Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech denouncing some of Stalin's crimes, the Trotskyist movement supported Natalia



1977: Sakharov waves letter from U.S. president Jimmy Carter.

Sedova's call to restore her Soviet citizenship. Insofar as the Soviet Union has modified Stalin's legacy by permitting some emigrants to return, including from the U.S., and regain their Soviet citizenship, the homeland of the October Revolution has reaped a propaganda bonanza while inflicting a stinging indictment on the "Free World."

In the U.S. today we are fighting the government's efforts to deny citizenship to Margaret Randall, an American writer of leftist sympathies who lived for some years in Latin America. The latest

newsletter of the Partisan Defense Committee states:

"Citizenship is an inalienable birthright of the bourgeois revolution. A person may choose to deny his or her citizenship, then decide to take it up again. It is the choice of the individual—not the state. But as the case of Margaret Randall shows, the U.S. government wields the denial of citizenship like an axe, hoping to intimidate all citizens. Even the Soviet Union, which certainly needs to defend itself against a gaggle of U.S. imperialist-inspired 'dissidents,' today denies citizenship as a political reflex. This is contrary to the historic traditions of the Bolshevik Revolution which proclaimed the right of citizenship for all workers living in Russian territory."

—Class-Struggle Defense Notes  
No. 3, December 1986

Sakharov has represented those elements in the Soviet petty-bourgeois elite who became capitulators to Western imperialism. Now it appears that Gorbachev has rather elegantly levered Sakharov away from his previous role as the pre-eminent Soviet participant in the Western Cold War propaganda machine. But as long as the Soviet Union remains confronted by hostile capitalist powers more economically advanced than itself, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its intellectual periphery will spawn more Sakharovs. The only road to ending the terrible danger of nuclear holocaust is to return to the program of Lenin and Trotsky. Not appeasement of imperialism, but international proletarian revolution to sweep away the bloodsuckers on Wall Street and in the Common Market, and the NATO militarists who serve them. ■

## KAL 007...

(continued from page 5)

mentioned in the referendum), another factor which reportedly influenced students was the evidence of a govern-

New York memorial service for KAL 007 victims, 31 August 1986. Families of victims say U.S. government silence "is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."



ment cover-up in the KAL 007 affair. They had good reason to be worried.

The U.S.' KAL provocation almost triggered the Reaganites' apocalyptic wet dreams. In his minimal attempt to appear evenhanded, Seymour Hersh revealed some of the dangerous goings-on in the U.S. government and armed forces in the first day or so after the event. "Some senior Air Force and Navy officers in the Pacific... 'got emotional,' as one officer recalled, and began formulating actions for retaliation against the Soviet Union, actions 'that could have started World War III'." One officer said an Air Force general asked him to send a falsified intelligence report to the Pentagon to justify U.S. provocations. Six F-15 interceptors and an AWACS electronics surveillance aircraft were ordered to "orbit adjacent to Soviet territory near Sakhalin," and instructed to "take advantage of the situation"—i.e., to provoke an incident.

Back in Washington, National Security Council officer John Lenczowski had gathered a group of conservatives from around the government to plan "military steps":

"We wanted action—military action," one member of the group recalled. "We discussed everything from attacking Cuba to rolling back the Soviets in

Eastern Europe.... The Lenczowski proposals were appended, at [National Security Adviser] Clark's direction, to the formal NSC options paper on the crisis."

—"The Target Is Destroyed"

Only five months earlier, the U.S. Navy had conducted the largest maneuvers since World War II in the North Pacific, during which aircraft carrier *Midway* suddenly went into radio/electronic silence heading toward Soviet territory in the Kuril Islands, and six U.S. Navy jets violated Soviet borders, overflying the island of Zeleny.

KAL 007 was the culmination of a string of U.S. anti-Soviet military provocations. Since then Washington's dangerous policy of nuclear brinkmanship has continued unabated. If Reagan didn't pull the trigger after his KAL 007 war provocation, it was because he felt he wasn't ready. If he doesn't invade Nicaragua today, it's because the powers that be in Washington worry that they don't have the popular support for it. These people sent a civilian airliner to its doom in order to "tickle" Soviet air defenses, risking World War III. Today the Dr. Strangeloves in the White House have been wounded by the Irangate/Contragate flap, but wounded beasts are also dangerous. ■

## Vanunu...

(continued from page 2)

weapons in the Indian Antarctic Basin.) An even more sinister danger is Israel's role as the key anti-Soviet ally of U.S. imperialism in the Near East. Israel has already announced it is joining the U.S. in developing "Star Wars" technology with its aim of an anti-Soviet first strike. And those 200 nukes could be intended as a sucker punch from the south, to provoke Moscow into an action that would draw American "retaliation." The Zionist rulers, who have their own ambitions with a bunker mentality to boot, may be preparing to plunge humanity into a thermonuclear holocaust on their own timetable.

French prime minister Chirac recently stated that the Mossad was likely behind the London bomb plot against their own El Al airliner, to create a pretext for war with Syria. Moscow's principal military client in the Near East, Nixon/Kissinger almost launched nuclear war against the Soviet Union over the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Today Israel's arsenal is a nuclear trigger for World War III, in which the entire country would be annihilated within minutes. For the actions of the Zionist warmongers have placed Israel's nuclear

arsenal high on the Soviet target list. This is a horrible confirmation of Trotsky's warning that the Zionist project of creating a "Jewish state"—necessarily a garrison state founded on the brutal oppression of another nation, the Palestinians—could only result in a deathtrap for Jews.

Mordechai Vanunu's courageous revelations must serve as a warning to working and oppressed people throughout the world, and not least in Israel, of the urgent necessity to disarm the Zionist nuclear terrorists and their American backers through socialist revolution. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Drop the charges! ■

## TWU...

(continued from page 4)

In Sonny Hall and Co.'s union, an individual Steward or gang of workers, no matter how militant and determined, can be isolated by management, left to twist in the wind by the labor traitors, and eventually victimized and driven out of the job or hammered into submission.

Even in the worst of conditions, it is necessary to struggle and possible to win. The James Grimes victory was won through the independent political mobi-

lization of transit workers. A political fight against the pro-capitalist labor sellouts is central to the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the workers movement.

What can be done now:

- 1) Corner your union officials; demand that the entire union take whatever action is necessary, up to and including strike action to defend seniority rights.
- 2) Cancel your COPE checkoff, if you have not already; this is buying bullets for our own execution. Labor must break from the Democrats! We need our own workers party to fight for a workers government!
- 3) Call or write THE COMMITTEE FOR A FIGHTING TWU to set up a meeting to discuss the class-struggle program needed to defend the interests of the working class and all the oppressed.

Reagan, Koch and their TA flunkies are destroying public transportation. The TA scapegoats transit workers to cover for its own incompetence and downright sabotage of the transit system. Reagan is pouring billions into

the Star Wars program which is intended to destroy the gains of the Russian workers revolution. He intends to pay for it through destroying social services in this country.

It is insane to think that New York City can function without an efficient, clean, safe transit system. From chemical corrosion due to salt usage in the winter to massive service cuts, it is the TA and the Koch administration that are responsible for the decay of the mass transit system.

Instead of seniority violations, mass victimizations and injury or death through industrial accidents, transit workers united with workers throughout this city must demand that New York be rebuilt for the working people. New York City labor must launch a socialist fight to rebuild the transit system and all public services!

TAKE BACK THE GIVE BACKS!  
NO CONTRACT—NO WORK!  
UNITED WE CAN WIN!  
UNITED WE ARE INVINCIBLE!

COMMITTEE FOR  
A FIGHTING TWU  
15 December 1986

**Spartacist**

## HONOR BOLSHEVIK LEADERS

### LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG

As part of our struggle to continue the traditions of V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, outstanding revolutionary Marxists, the Spartacist League will hold a memorial meeting in Oakland, California. No greater tribute can be paid these historic leaders of the proletarian fight for socialism than to commemorate their deaths by propagating the ideas they lived and died for, and to organize the working masses for the mighty battles against capitalism. Forward to the international proletarian revolution!

**Sunday, January 18, 4:00 p.m.**

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# France...

(continued from page 12)

hureaucrats, but has not created a means to replace them. The movement is not a repeat of the student strike, as many superficial commentators have claimed, but the culmination of a series of hard defensive strikes over the past few years, waged along job category lines, which have frequently bypassed the unions.

After 10 May 1981, when Fiterman was given a back seat in the government as minister of transport, the leadership of the French Communist Party (PCF) and the CGT—which had a stronghold in the SNCF—systematically sought to throttle any strikes against the “left” government. May 1984 was the high point: railroad workers fought back against Fiterman when he introduced measures which attacked working conditions. The CGT leadership sought to stifle this supposedly “minority” movement at all costs. Today, despite verbal opposition to “cohabitation,” the Stalinist leadership of the CGT has again opposed the strike in the name of the traditional anti-worker ploy—“the interests of the public.” As for the CFDT, it denounced the strike from the start.



Striking Peugeot workers, July 1983. Predominantly North African auto workers took the lead in fighting the austerity program of Mitterrand's popular-front government.

For years these social-democratic pie-cards have been propagandists for “self-managed” austerity.

## Real Problems, False Solutions

At least for the moment, the discredited leaderships have lost all authority and control over the SNCF strike. But the workers feel the need to go beyond job category limitations, to centralize the struggle and to counter the maneuvers and compromises of the bureaucratic leaderships. Right now the rail workers have two “national coordinating committees”: one, centered on Paris-North, emphatically restricts itself to the engineers; the other, at Paris-Southwest, open to all categories, is influenced by [pseudo-Trotskyist] Lutte Ouvrière. The “engineers” coordinating committee seeks only to pressure the union bureaucrats, leaving negotiations to them, while refusing to go back to work if they come back with anything less than cancellation of the new schedules which abolish promotion by

seniority. The other, “provisional,” coordinating committee ignores the union leaderships and tries to go around them. Both leave the bureaucrats a free hand to break the strike as soon as they are able to do so.

The tool the railwaymen need to win the strike is a national strike committee, democratically elected and recallable at any time by general assemblies in which the strikers, with full knowledge, can make a majority decision on what strategy to apply. The union leadership would have to seek strikers’ votes for their program, and their policy of defending the bourgeois order could be exposed directly to the mobilized workers. The union leadership could be consciously rejected in the heat of action, under the hammer blows of revolutionaries fighting for leadership of the strike committees. That is the only way the bureaucrats’ stranglehold on all the workers can be broken.

Krivine’s LCR [French section of Ernest Mandel’s fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat] presented its “perspective” in a 21 December leaflet which called for “popularizing,” “extending” (but only to the SNCF) and “organizing and controlling the action” of the strike—three proposals, each more vague than the last, and no means to implement

stations, depots and especially signal centers which control the signal lights. There must be mass picket lines to defend occupied installations against the cops, against scabs organized around the CGC [“union” of managers and small businessmen] into committees to defend the “right to work,” and against the threat of fascist groups which are organizing active strike-breakers on the pretext of “defending the consumers.”

SNCF workers need the assistance of other sectors of the working class. Militants of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France [section of the international Spartacist tendency] who are CGT union members in the postal system distributed a leaflet dated 28 December in various PTT centers calling for solidarity with the rail workers and preparing a strike of the PTT and the civil service. Workers everywhere should instruct their unions to contact the SNCF strikers, their “coordinating committees” and their unions immediately. Mass delegations should be sent to reinforce picket lines in the train stations. Traveling and stationary postal workers in the stations, for example, should immediately join the strike. They should refuse to load mail on trains or any other substitute means of transport. Even before the SNCF strike, sailors were on strike, blocking most French ports in a strike which has an economic impact like that of the SNCF strike. Linking these two transport strikes is a natural. Go out on strike now, all government employees together against austerity.

At the same time, the trainmen should build a bridge to the immigrant workers, who represent a key sector of the industry. There is a whole sector of railroad workers without status—temporaries, contract workers and workers of sub-contractors employed as laborers and track cleaners. In April 1982 these workers demonstrated under the slogan “Railroad workers, same work, same status.” Walkouts spread from Paris-North where there were 200 immigrant workers, mainly Moroccans, among the 900 temporaries and contract workers. The engineers, who are fighting new wage scales which eliminate promotion by seniority (in the future, all promotions will be by “merit”—i.e., according to the bosses’ whim!), could draw in all temporaries and contract workers—the best response to reactionary propaganda which describes rail workers and functionaries as greedy “well-off” workers. Immediate full status for temporaries! Down with restrictions against foreigners in the civil service! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! For massive reduction in the workweek and massive wage increases! For mass hiring!

It’s possible not only to hlock the social rollback and anti-worker austerity, but to reverse gears, beginning with the public and nationalized sector where anger is high. And if the working class goes on the offensive, strike committees can become real factory committees, organs of workers control, that is,



Anti-Soviet strikebreakers: French prime minister Jacques Chirac (left) and “Socialist” president François Mitterrand.

organs of dual power in factories and businesses—embryos of dual power across France, where the government is as unstable as it is reactionary. The necessary precondition is an alternative leadership which wins authority in the labor movement by intransigent struggle for a revolutionary program, the Trotskyist program.

To win, a general strike needs a leadership with an internationalist program. Remember the British miners strike which shook the Thatcher government. That strike gave rise to many demonstrations of international working-class solidarity, but there should have been an international boycott by transport workers on imports of scab coal. In France as well, a general transport strike should call for solidarity by Belgian, German, Italian and Spanish rail workers. This question is already posed acutely by the sailors strike against registering ships in the Kerguelen Islands—actually a strike against French shippers’ hiring cheap labor. The real solution is to extend the gains of French sailors to all ships which dock in French ports and raising wages to the highest scale, which would require construction of a powerful international union federation.

A general strike is a tangible perspective in the current situation. The reformist apparatuses, although weakened, are desperately seeking to throw up obstacles to workers’ mobilization by channeling it into a new class-collaborationist alliance, like that of the Union of the Left—which the LTF, which didn’t vote for Mitterrand in 1981, fought against from the outset. The task of a Trotskyist vanguard is to fight this treacherous policy of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships, to break the workers from their domination and build the revolutionary party capable of leading them to victory. Then the proletariat can finish once and for all with the double disaster of inflation and unemployment by expropriating the capitalist class, bringing down the bourgeois state and installing a workers government—the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

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## Victory to the Railway Strike!

On December 24 at the Chambéry depot, Chirac sent 150 CRS [paramilitary riot police] up against strikers who were occupying the station and blocking five TGV [high-speed] trains. Facing 100, then 300 strikers, it took the cops three hours to push them back and free up the tracks for the scab trains. That shows the strike can be won if strikers go all out now. Railroad workers should block all traffic by occupying train

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# WORKERS VANGUARD



Boccon-Gibad/Keystone  
Striking French rail workers block tracks.



Leloup/Collectif  
CRS riot cops called out against strikers.

## Workers Strikes Derail French Regime

PARIS, January 5—The reactionary Chirac government has opened up a full-scale attack on the railway strike, now in its 16th day. The last several days have seen repeated attacks by police and CRS riot police on picket lines at most of France's major rail centers, including Paris' Gare du Nord, a strike bastion. This is accompanied by a lying propaganda campaign aimed at demoralizing strikers, claiming that workers at different rail stations have voted to go back to work. The strike still suffers from the lack of an authoritative national leadership—a democratically-elected national strike committee. Nonetheless, the strikers remain determined and the basis exists for mass strike pickets capable of shutting down all rail traffic.

The Communist Party and the CGT unions, in an attempt to refurbish their image, are calling for strike action throughout the public sector, starting tomorrow. This could be the jumping-off point for a general strike against the Mitterrand/Chirac government, escaping the control of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy. This strike is already polarizing French society. While the reactionaries are creating phony movements of "irate passengers," many students remember that the threat of working-class action forced the government to withdraw its unpopular university bill. As in the students' revolt, "Socialist" president Mitterrand is emitting vague hints of "solidarity" with the strike (with an eye to the presidential elections of 1988). But if this strike sparks a working-class explosion, his class-collaborationist schemes could be shipwrecked.

EXCERPTED FROM *LE BOLCHEVIK*  
NO. 69, JANUARY 1987

DECEMBER 28—At stake in the French railroad strike is the government's entire anti-working-class austerity policy, from the civil service and nationalized sector to French industry as a whole. This strike must be won! The trains must not move! Shut down the train stations, lower the signals, all

lar demands, this strike wave constitutes a political challenge to the government. The strike movement has been gathering for some time. Ever since October 1981, with "left" governments in power, there have been a series of harsh battles in the SNCF [French national railroad system]. But the immediate origins of the strike lie in Chirac's retreat on the education front, a retreat due largely to the fact that the working class was beginning to mobilize. It was obvious to

put Chirac in power] happened." The strikes are a graphic response to this provocation.

The stakes have been clear ever since last summer. As we wrote in *Le Bolchévik* (No. 66, September 1986): "The SNCF poses a new test, this time against the so-called 'privileged' sectors which retain certain job guarantees...it's a question of breaking the resistance shown to date by the SNCF workers, whose immediate and generalized response forced the previous Mitterrand/Fabius government to retreat. A strike in the SNCF...could be the catalyst for a general strike against the government. By stopping rail transport, the trainmen can paralyze the entire economy and open a breach into which workers at Renault, naval shipyards, steel, could step...seizing the bosses and their government by the throat and posing the inevitable question: who is master of the house, the proletariat or bourgeoisie?" Today, the rail workers have indeed begun a test of strength with the government. And the strike raises point-blank the question of the leadership of the movement.

In the railroads today, the reformist union leaderships of the [Stalinist-dominated] CGT, [social-democratic] CFDT and [right-wing anti-Communist] FO are widely discredited, clearly as a result of their treacherous role in sabotaging and suppressing the fight-back against the anti-working-class attacks carried out by Mitterrand's Union of the Left popular front for the last five years. The strike organization shows a generalized distrust of the union

*continued on page 11*

Rail workers demonstrate in front of St. Lazare station in Paris.



lights on red! Sailors are shutting down the ports, the Paris subway is going back on strike. All transportation should be stopped! Postal workers and all other government employees should join in! What's needed is a general strike against the Mitterrand/Chirac government's anti-worker, anti-immigrant and anti-youth attacks.

Over and above the strikers' particu-

lar demands, this strike wave constitutes a political challenge to the government. The strike movement has been gathering for some time. Ever since October 1981, with "left" governments in power, there have been a series of harsh battles in the SNCF [French national railroad system]. But the immediate origins of the strike lie in Chirac's retreat on the education front, a retreat due largely to the fact that the working class was beginning to mobilize. It was obvious to

### With the Strikers in Paris

Monday, December 22. A worker who participated in stopping a train from leaving the station at the Gare du Nord told *Le Bolchévik*: "We occupied the tracks, preventing trains from going through. A train driven by a foreman arrived, whistle going full blast. It stopped ten feet from workers in the middle of the tracks... What they're doing is very dangerous: if ever

anyone were hurt, the guy would have been lynched. Finally, the train crept back to the station."

*Le Bolchévik* asked how the movement started. Denis, one of the most active strikers, said that there was general discontent among the train conductors because they have lots of demands which are never taken into account. One day they held a general

assembly which decided to put out a leaflet and call for a strike on the 18th. The leaflet was written by conductors. Some of their wives made photocopies at work, several hundred copies of which were distributed all over France—Marseille, Lyon....

"At the bottom of the leaflet there was an SNCF phone number to contact us from anywhere. When management saw that, they cut off the bell on the phone before the strike. When we went on strike on the 18th,

some guys fixed the bell. Depots phoned in from everywhere, all night, all the next day. Based on that, we went for a hard strike because the guys were highly motivated, it was a movement which started from the grassroots.... In three or four days it spread all over France, people called us for a day and a half; after that they cut off the phone because management realized that was the essential focus...but it was already too late."