

Democrats Prop Up Reagan Reaction

Labor, Blacks: Now's the Time to Fight Back!

Forge a Workers Party!

A lot of angry people have been looking for a chance to fight back against the vicious, lying moron in the White House and this government driven by limitless greed and lust for war. The M.O. of the criminals running the country is to slam everyone up against the wall and bully them into submission. Last year Washington was crowing about "having the Soviets on the run"; the Nicaraguan Sandinistas would have to "cry uncle," or else. The warped Meese police have been getting high examining people's urine and snooping in their bedrooms. Now the Reagan administration has been caught with its pants down over the Iran/Contragate affair. With an embarrassed administration, there is an opening for the independent mobilization of the workers and oppressed in defense of their rights. Now is the time for the working people, minorities and all the victims of the American empire to strike back with hard class struggle. If we fail to do so, the crisis-ridden capitalist system will continue to lurch toward imperialist war.

The Reagan gang targeted just about everybody. The elite, white PATCO air controllers had their union smashed, the entire workforce fired and their leaders hauled away in chains. The message to black America was the firebombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people including babies, and turning a neighborhood into ashes. In Los Angeles, Palestinians are rounded up in pre-dawn Gestapo raids. Concentration camps are set up for "illegal aliens," as the U.S. prepares



Lynn GE strikers, March 1986: Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

WV Photo

for mass deportations. It's all the domestic side of U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union and those labeled its "surrogates," a crusade in which contra terrorists are called "freedom fighters" and death squads equal "democracy." This is a government of war at home and abroad. But in Washington today there are two war parties, Democrats and Republicans, the partner parties of racist American capitalism.

The Democrats approved the \$1.5

trillion military budget, and regularly voted for contra aid except when they were embarrassed over CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors. They had no quarrel when Reaganite bullying of the world's peoples seemed to work okay, like the invasion of tiny black Grenada. They cheered when the U.S. bombed Libya in "retaliation" for a terrorist crime which they all knew probably had nothing to do with Libya. Even when the Reaganauts tripped up with their bizarre Teheran cakewalk that exposed

the overt/covert wars run out of the White House basement, the bipartisan watchword was "damage control" to protect the imperial presidency. After Democrats took the Senate in November, majority leader Byrd called for coalition government, offering "to cooperate with the President.... I don't think the American people want confrontation." And today the Senate votes up \$40 million for the contras, Reagan carries out the Democrats' demand for

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Beat AIA McCarthyite Libel!

The PDC is supporting the Spartacist League libel suit against the notorious right-wing "Accuracy in Academia, Inc." (AIA), its contra-loving executive director Laszlo Csorba III and McCarthyite witchhunter Reed Irvine, mastermind behind the Reaganite soap opera *Amerika* and the founder and Chairman of the Board of AIA.

The SL is seeking damages over AIA's publication in its pamphlet, entitled "Appeasing the Censors, A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses," of a false and deadly libel. The AIA pamphlet had the following sentence about the SL: "Their publications (*Workers' Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge 'military victory' for the communists in El Salvador, and the killing of police officers." The AIA's attempt to equate the SL's forthright Marxist politics with terrorism is a conscious and deadly smear—a libel that kills. Police have a way of eliminating people tagged as "cop killers."

AIA seeks to sterilize the campuses against even modest political opposi-

tion. It also stands squarely behind the racist marauders running rampant on campuses, like the staff of the conservative *Darimouth Review* who leveled a shantytown occupied by students opposing apartheid. AIA's *Campus Report* hailed this assault and ran a fund appeal for the racists' defense.

AIA has just retained the prominent law firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays and Handler, with offices in New York and Washington, to represent them. More than a month after the time permitted to respond to the SL's complaint, AIA filed a petition to remove the case from New York State Supreme Court to the Federal District Court in New York.

We are seeking endorsements from all defenders of democratic rights and opponents of racist terror to support this fight against the new McCarthyism. Howard Zinn, a noted author and professor of political science at Boston University, himself a target of AIA, gave the following statement of support:

"I understand that Accuracy in Academia has claimed that the Spartacus

Youth League advocates the killing of policemen. Whatever my own political disagreements with the Spartacus Youth League, I have seen no evidence of their belief in such tactics, and to falsely accuse an organization of that is to set them up for violence directed against them. My own experience with Accuracy in Academia is that they are dishonest, especially in claiming to be interested in accuracy, when it is clear that they are interested in purging left-wing and even liberal faculty from universities. In short, they do not believe in academic freedom, are contemptuous of the ability of students to think for themselves about the important issues of politics, and have no faith in the democratic value of pluralist opinions."

To defend a workers party in the bourgeois courts costs big bucks and AIA has friends with very deep pockets. Help us send these Big Lie witchhunters packing. Send donations and endorsements to the PDC. As a supporter from Arlington, Massachusetts put it:

"I am so delighted by your recent achievements (the Geronimo rally and the suit against AIA) that I have to sit right down and make out a check for \$20.00. I will take the article in *WV* about Pratt and show it to all my friends who are waffling on supporting him: how can they stand aside with the kind of response you've gotten?"

"As for Reed Irvine, the *Nation* pointed out that nobody respects or likes him. But it was only by taking on your tiny radical group that he'll meet his Waterloo. I have followed your suits against powerful organizations for about 15 years, and I'm convinced if he doesn't settle fast it's bye-bye Irvine."

Former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt's case will be heard by the California State Parole Board on May 5. The Federal Court of Appeals will shortly be hearing his appeal for a new trial. We must act now! Mobilize your unions and community organizations. We have collected more than 500 letters

demanding Pratt's freedom. Send your letters and telegrams demanding freedom for Geronimo Pratt to: California State Parole Board, District Parole Office, 759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, re: Parole Hearing for Elmer Geronimo Pratt; and 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. Courthouse, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102.

We recently refused a contribution from an individual who wanted to donate to the PDC's stipend program for class-war prisoners with the restriction that it not be used for any of the MOVE prisoners. The PDC chooses its cases and causes in accordance with our Marxist understanding of legal defense. At times we will make special and urgent positive appeals, e.g., Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund drive or the Geronimo Pratt demonstration. We will accept earmarked donations for these and other cases and causes. We repudiate those who, in their prejudices and bigotry, would negatively circumscribe the purposes for which their contributions can be used. We are not going to be dependent on people who seek to control our purses with their program or prejudices.

The fourth issue of the PDC newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is now available, featuring the campaign to free Geronimo Pratt and updates on class-war prisoners. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$7.50 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

American Imperialism On the Eve of War

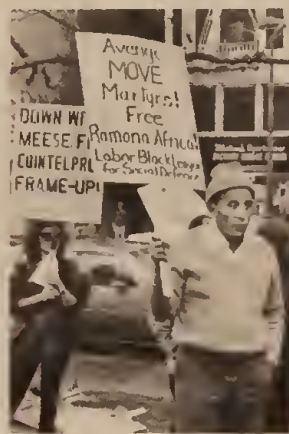
On the eve of World War II the Socialist Workers Party was founded as the American section of Trotsky's Fourth International which was to hold its founding conference nine months later. Regarding the state of U.S. imperialism the SWP's founding "Declaration of Principles" stated:

In spite of its magnificent natural resources and its unparalleled industrial plant, the United States is in no way exempt from the influences of the world decline of the capitalist order. On the contrary, as has been proved by the war of 1914-18 and by the economic crisis of 1929, and is being further proved in the rapid approach of the new war and the new economic crisis, the United States is inseparably interlocked into the system of world imperialism. With the war of 1914-18, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power at the very time when capitalism everywhere had entered its decline and conflicts between the great powers were therefore intensified. American imperialism cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the masses in the United States itself, in Latin America, South America, Europe, and Asia, whom it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. The economy and politics of the United States are inextricably connected with crises, wars, and revolutions in all parts of the world. The phenomena of capitalist decline—economic crises unprecedented in their depth, mass unemployment, inability to utilize inventions and technological improvements, insecurity, violations of democratic rights, the ever present threat of war—are all present, many to an exaggerated degree, in the United States. Nor can the United States, under capitalism, escape the more dire extremes of the new war and of fascism. In the very nature of the power of United States imperialism lie the irrepressible conflicts that herald its collapse.

—Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the SWP (1938)



LENIN



WV Photo

Oakland, February 21—Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League organize rally to free framed-up former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

OAKLAND RALLY DEMANDS: "FREE GERONIMO PRATT!"

Condemning "London New for Geronimo Pratt!" with police, black and Hispanic scientists, students and activists rallied Saturday, February 21 at Oakland's City Hall Plaza for a rally. Black volunteers with leaders Geronimo Pratt has been indicted and could not have committed from San Quentin prison last June. Labeled for Black London, now standing in the rally. "The fact of your doing injustice in justice demands for justice whose a desire of freedom for the people of labor as they are helpless when faced with the law (even prison) of the United States. London would be a witness and a witness that to be a militant fight as for Black Liberation is not to be a criminal!"

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IN THIS ISSUE—CALLS TO ACTION

LETTERS—TWO BANGS! BUILD THE PDC! PROTEST VIOLENCE OF BARBARA AFRICA

Alameda County Superior John George addresses rally

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No. 426

17 April 1987

Moscow Embassy Spy Hysteria

Just before Secretary of State George Shultz was due to visit the Soviet Union for arms control discussions, the capitalist propaganda machine found an excuse for some Soviet-bashing. As a result of the ill-fated amours of two (and maybe more) young Marines who had been assigned to guard duty at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, the entire embassy has been declared a security risk. This affair has been lumped together with the much older story of the bugging of the new U.S. embassy building under construction in Moscow. The obvious purpose of this brouhaha is to fabricate a new "crisis" in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Meanwhile, the two Marines accused of espionage, who face the death penalty, have pleaded innocent. But the press and government have already hung them. Sergeant Clayton J. Lonetree, of Navaho and Winnebago Indian heritage, has admitted having a "romantic involvement" with an attractive Soviet woman named Violetta Seina, who was employed by the U.S. embassy. The most serious charge against him—that he supposedly allowed Soviet agents into restricted areas of the embassy, including the communications/coding area—was based on the statements of a black Marine, Corporal Arnold Bracy, who has since recanted his testimony, according to defense attorney William Kunstler. Moreover, the *New York Times* (15 April) now reports: "The Marine Corps is having trouble gathering sufficient evidence to prosecute the two Marine guards."

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov couldn't resist some well-deserved tweaking of Reagan's Rambo nose. "We were surprised at these stories that show a defeat of the famous American marines who were victorious at Grenada," he glibed (*News-*

day, 1 April). Jest about the Marines' "inability to resist the enemy," he went on:

"We can only smile at what is being said about this story.... Twenty-eight strong marines are being brought back from the U.S. Embassy because they allegedly are unable to withstand the charms of blonde spies."

"It is sometimes said that there are Reds 'under' every bed. Perhaps this saying should be amended somewhat?"

—*New York Times*, 1 April

A few days later, the Soviets opened a new chapter of *glasnost* (openness) when the Foreign Ministry held a press conference in Moscow to display the many CIA bugs which the KGB has dug out of Soviet embassies, consulates and even "bedrooms of Soviet diplomats" in the U.S. "Such methods of 'getting to know you' run counter to norms of diplomatic immunity," commented a Soviet spokesman. The next day Soviet

succession of Americans willing to sell military and diplomatic secrets to the Russians, in part the flowering of Reaganite "free enterprise." From the Walker family spy ring in the Navy to the exploits of former CIA agent Edward Lee Howard, Americans with access to government secrets have taken to heart Reagan's admonishment to privatize everything and, above all, enrich oneself. Usually it was cold cash transactions, with no ideological motivations. The 1985 defection of CIA agent Howard, who was to be posted at the Moscow station, reportedly resulted in the "virtual destruction of [the U.S.] spy network in the Soviet Union" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 January).

Typical of the sterling character of U.S. agents was FBI fink Leakh Bhoge, a naturalized American student who set up Soviet UN employee Gennadi Zakharov last year. After the FBI



Soviet spokesmen display U.S. "bugs" found in their new Washington embassy.

officials in Washington showed American reporters where they had found "many dozens of eavesdropping devices" implanted in their new embassy under construction.

The hysteria over the Moscow embassy comes after a seemingly endless

arrested Zakharov on "espionage" charges, the Soviets arrested the dubious "reporter" Nicholas Daniloff, triggering an outcry in the American media which ended only after Reagan agreed secretly to a trade. Every U.S. official and media hack insisted that Zakharov



Violetta Seina

was the "real" spy. Now the FBI's fink Bhoge admits that he only gave photocopies of "non-secret materials" to Zakharov and "never had given Mr. Zakharov classified information until the day of the Russian's arrest" (*New York Times*, 31 March). In other words, it was a sting operation. Why does he admit this now? Because he is bitter that the FBI had promised him "well over \$100,000" but paid him only \$20,000! He was "proud to serve his country but would not do it again," notes the *Times*.

The Moscow embassy incident has again shown the Democrats as a pack of rabid warmongers when it comes to the Soviet Union. The Democratic-controlled Senate passed a special resolution demanding that Shultz not go to Moscow, but the administration seems determined to go, apparently enticed by the prospect of an arms control deal to boost Reagan's sagging political fortunes. "You don't stop doing business," Reagan lectured, making "Ronbo" look reasonable compared with his Congressional opponents. Democratic Senate majority leader Robert Byrd ranted about spies: "These people are traitors. Execute them. They're not fit to live. We've got to quit being so chicken-hearted."

The hapless Marines at the Moscow embassy must not become the latest victims of anti-Soviet hysteria! ■

Letter to the Black American Farrakhan Wanted Malcolm X Dead

The following letter was sent to the Black American, a weekly published in New York.

12 February 1987

Black American
New York, NY

Dear Sirs:

Your article titled "Tribute to a Martyr" in the February 5th-11th issue conspicuously omits the last and most significant year of Malcolm X's political development. While Malcolm X never adopted a class-struggle strategy of revolutionary integration he broke sharply with Elijah Muhammad's black separatist dogma. He also renounced Elijah Muhammad's refusal to confront KKK and Nazi racist terrorists. This fact is clearly documented by Malcolm X's January 1965 telegram to George Lincoln Rockwell who was the head of the American Nazi Party:

"This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and...that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation."

—*Malcolm X Speaks*

After Malcolm X's split from Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan became Elijah's hatchet man. Farrakhan has since then represented the backward political

views that Malcolm X fought against in his last year. Farrakhan declared in December 1964 that Malcolm X was "worthy of death." The fact that Farrakhan's political principles clash head on with those of Malcolm X is demonstrated by his policy towards the KKK. Instead of organizing self-defense squads against the KKK and the Nazis, Farrakhan invited Grand Dragon of the KKK Tom Metzger to his forum in Inglewood, Los Angeles in September 1985. That was the forum where Farrakhan declared Hitler to be a great man.

It is evident from the writings of Malcolm X in the last year of his life that he no longer supported the dogma of Elijah Muhammad which preached hatred of all whites. In a meeting in NY in 1965 Malcolm X speaking on the relations between white and black militants said

"So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up—I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what is going on—when they learn how to establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up, and they get some coordinated action going, you'll get some changes. You'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take

Muhammad Speaks
—4 December 1964

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM
IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell or to their doom will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

everything you've got, it will take that."

Malcolm X also made a serious re-examination of black nationalism weeks before he was assassinated. In a discussion with an Algerian ambassador Malcolm X relates:

"When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white.... Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries, dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary."

Death threat (left) by Farrakhan (Louis X) against Malcolm X (below). Black Muslims whipped up hysteria against Malcolm when he came out for militant anti-racist struggle.



Wide World

If today's militant black youth are to carry the struggle for black liberation forward in the face of a rotting capitalist system which promotes racism, they must be capable of making the political leap that Malcolm X made. And in order to succeed against the armed power of the capitalist government they must move beyond black nationalism altogether in favor of revolutionary integration. The energy and militancy of black youth are critical for building a movement that will unite all revolutionaries and all advanced workers in the struggle to finish the Civil War with a third American revolution.

Sincerely,
Edward Kartsen
Spartacist League
Central Committee member



Frenzy on Wall Street as...

Der Spiegel



...Japanese money men sell off dollar holdings.

AP

Wall Street on the Brink

For a few days late last month it all came together and Wall Street's house of cards almost came crashing down. On Friday, March 27, under pressure from the Democratic-controlled Congress, Reagan imposed a 100 percent tariff on Japanese imports ranging from television sets to x-ray films. This was the first unilateral trade action against Japan in the postwar era. Within hours the dollar fell to a 35-year low against the yen as Japanese investors sold off some of their American holdings. Fearing escalating trade war and capital flight, the stock and bond markets plunged downward. And when the Stock Exchange opened the following Monday, it experienced the third largest slide in its history. The next day Citibank and Chase Manhattan raised their prime lending rate for the first time in almost three years.

While Wall Street has partially recovered from the panic of March 27-30, the chain reaction of events demonstrated the shakiness of American capitalism's financial structure. As the conservative London *Economist* observed at the beginning of the year:

"Ronald Reagan has just presented his trillion-dollar budget to an America whose mountains of debt now make the Rockies seem as flat as a prairie. On Main Street, consumers are using their credit cards to buy what their wages increasingly can't. Wall Street, thanks to a rash of debt-financed mergers, is teeming with junk-bond junkies."

The dean of liberal economists John Kenneth Galbraith points out the many parallels between the present situation and the frenzied financial speculation leading up to the Great Crash of 1929. And meanwhile, Federal Reserve chief Paul Volcker is now publicly worrying about an imminent worldwide depression.

Facing impending economic crisis, the various wings of the U.S. ruling class only offer different recipes for screwing the working people of this country and the world. Reagan's "solution": more union-busting, more starving the black and Hispanic poor and the aged. The Democrats counter with trade war and higher taxes. And Wall Street, through

its mouthpiece Volcker, wants to impose full-scale austerity to drastically lower living standards—like the IMF has done at gunpoint in Pinochet's Chile and any number of Third World dictatorships.

However, none of these "solutions" can stave off economic crises. Depressions, rampant inflation, financial panics, fascism and imperialist war are inherent in the capitalist system, based on production for profit, subject to the anarchy of the market and shackled by the nation-state. Only world proletarian revolution leading to international socialist planning can liberate the productive resources to ensure a decent life for all.

Anti-Soviet War Buildup Sinking America

At the core of debt-laden America is the anti-Soviet war buildup which Reagan "financed" by cutting taxes for the rich. The predictable result: over the past six years the U.S. government has run greater budget deficits than the total accumulated in the previous almost 200 years of the American republic! Within the space of just three years the U.S. went from being the world's leading creditor nation to its biggest debtor, owing more than twice the debt of Brazil or Mexico. So far, however, white middle-class America has been insulated from the full effect of the war budget by the willingness of foreign money men, especially the Japanese, to accept American IOUs.

In the last year alone, Japanese investors picked up \$80 billion in U.S. Treasury issues and other dollar bonds. Naturally, the willingness of Tokyo and Frankfurt bankers and Arab oil sheiks to finance Reagan's Star Wars and other Pentagon boondoggles is not only based on anti-Communist solidarity. In addition to historically high interest rates in the early 1980s, foreign capitalists saw in Reagan's America a strong, right-wing government capable of driving down wages and benefits and slashing social services and welfare. During 1982-85, a period of "recovery" from the deep 1981-82 world depression, the poorest families in this country, those living on less than \$5,000 a year, had their meager incomes actually *cut*, while families making more than \$33,000 a year saw their incomes *increase by 10 percent*.

While the rich got richer and the poor got poorer, Reagan's America fell ever further, behind its international competitors. Already in the late '70s the U.S. was running a balance-of-trade deficit of \$40 billion a year, equal to 1.5 percent of its gross national product. Last year the U.S. international trade deficit was \$170 billion, equal to 4 percent of gross national product. The basic reason for this marked deterioration of America's

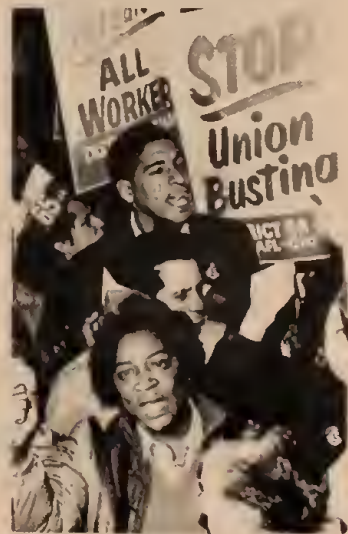
trade performance has been the massive diversion of productive resources into the military. The share of manufacturing in the U.S. economy has fallen from a peak of 30 percent in the early 1950s to 25 percent in the late '70s, to about 20 percent now. The founder of Sony, Akio Morita, declared: "The U.S. is abandoning its status as an industrial power." Aggravating the fundamental loss of American industrial competitiveness was the overvaluation of the dollar until early 1985. However, the steep devaluation

of the dollar since then—45 percent against the yen—has *not* reversed the trade deficit. In fact, it jumped another \$20 billion last year.

American capitalism has no effective means to counter Japan's competitive edge except trade protectionism, for which there has now emerged a bourgeois consensus. Differences exist only over the scope and form of protectionist measures—whether old-style tariffs and quotas, competitive currency devaluation, export subsidies ("industrial policy") or other, less direct methods. The most rabid advocates of trade war against Japan are not Reaganite rightists but the flag-waving AFL-CIO bureaucracy and "friend of labor" Democratic politicians. Reagan imposed the recent tariff on Japanese imports, on the pretext that Japan had violated an international price-fixing agreement on microchips, *after* the Democratic-controlled Congress had passed resolutions demanding such action.



From Rio to New York City, capitalist bosses attack working people. Above: Brazilians protest IMF-imposed starvation program. Right: Greyhound strikers fight wage slashing, union-busting, 1983.



WV Photo

Bellicose American trade warriors don't seem to appreciate the vulnerability of the U.S. economy to Japanese retaliation, not so much from the Nakasone government as from Japanese investors who now prop up Ameri-

ca's jerry-built financial structure. The London *Economist* (28 February) pointed out: "If foreign lenders decided to stop fuelling the federal budget deficit then either (a) American interest rates would soar, plunging America into recession, and precipitating a new and deeper developing-country debt crisis, or (b) to avoid that, the Federal Reserve would crank up the printing presses, ensuring a new outbreak of world inflation."

Is this an illusory danger? Shinji

Cold Wind from Rio

The danger of a new Great Crash stems not only from the Star Wars deficit but also from the long-expected detonation of the Latin America debt bomb and the junk-bond-ridden state of corporate America. During the commodity price boom of the 1970s, spearheaded by OPEC oil, Wall Street poured money into the Third World, especially Latin America, where they could get far higher interest rates than in

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Asher/Time

U.S. Federal Reserve bank head Paul Volcker warns of world depression, demands austerity.

El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Rebels!



Sistema Radio Venceremos

Salvadoran leftist insurgents' mortars were right on target.



Renderos/AP

Major army base of El Paraiso demolished, March 31.

Guerrilla Attack Stuns Death Squad Regime

In the early morning hours of March 31, leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) overran and demolished a major base of the bloodthirsty Salvadoran army in the province of Chalatenango. The American press repeated the government claims of 64 dead and 60 wounded, but a rebel spokesman said army casualties totaled 700 (*Clarín* [Buenos Aires], 2 April). In addition, the guerrillas reported taking 200 prisoners and a large quantity of arms. An FMLN communiqué said the combined operation produced "the largest number of losses so far in the war." Among the dead were a U.S. imperialist adviser, Green Beret Gregory Fronius. A few days earlier a CIA man died in a helicopter crash.

Following this stunning defeat for the death squad "democracy" of José Napoleón Duarte, U.S. president Reagan declared that it proved "the responsibility of the United States to prevent communism from spreading to the northern [!] hemisphere." What it proved was that the professional killers of the Salvadoran armed forces, who have slaughtered more than 62,000 people in the last seven years, are *not* winning the bloody civil war. The week before, the FMLN staged an audacious ambush of a police patrol in broad daylight in downtown San Salvador. And after the attack, as the army was combing the hills, guerrillas held a propaganda meeting with U.S. reporters present only four miles

from the base.

This was the second time the rebels had taken the supposedly impregnable El Paraiso base, which was rebuilt by U.S. Special Forces after an earlier devastating attack in December of 1983. In separate, simultaneous actions FMLN units wiped out a battalion of National Guard troops in eastern Morazán province and an army outpost in central Cuscatlán province. The assault was part of the operation named "For the Conquest of Peace, Bread, Justice, Work and Liberty—All the People to Take Up Arms." As the FMLN communiqué stated, the campaign "took place within the context of an intense struggle of the Salvadoran people to win just wages, work, shelter, land and respect for their human rights."

Over the last two years, hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran workers have carried out strikes and mass demonstrations under the most dangerous conditions, protesting the war and economic policies of U.S. puppet president Duarte. With Reagan's anti-Soviet Central American campaign bogged down over the Contragate revelations, now is the time for the workers and the guerrilla forces to join in an offensive to bring down this murderous military regime and its capitalist-landowner masters. Proletarian revolution in El Salvador would buttress the besieged Nicaraguan Revolution and spark workers revolution throughout the volcanic isthmus and beyond.

The FMLN troops turned El Paraiso—"paradise" in Spanish—into an inferno before the government troops knew what hit them. Deadly accurate mortar, rocket and artillery fire from the surrounding hills scored direct hits on the command post and other key buildings. Then guerrilla sappers threaded their way through supposedly impregnable defenses—minefields, several perimeters of razor wire and manned watchtowers—to finish off the job with satchel charges. The officers, very *macho* when it comes to directing the sadistic massacre of peasant villagers, hid out in an underground bunker. The amazing precision of the raid indicates that the rebels had people on the *inside*, in the government army. As in Vietnam, a heroic people are fighting

to free themselves from neocolonial rule.

The Reagan administration holds up El Salvador as its Central American success story. A massive injection of U.S. military aid, especially in the form of helicopters (now more than 70) and attack aircraft, forced the rebels to disperse and for a time stabilized the government. A week before the attack, the local commander took journalists on a tour through eastern Chalatenango to show that the area was pacified. But in seven years of civil war, after nearly \$2 billion in total U.S. support, the Salvadoran army has yet to win a major battle. The FMLN, however, has rolled

Duarte's hold weakens, even the traditional military party (PCN) has taken up the call for a "government of national convergence" (*Proceso*, 18 March). This is a formula for disaster. From the Spanish Civil War to Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile, the epitaph of popular fronts has been written in workers blood. The Trotskyists call for "Military victory to leftist rebels!" and "Workers take San Salvador!"

In the U.S., solidarity with the heroic liberation struggle of the Salvadoran masses has been channeled into Democratic Party politics. Even the most liberal Senators, such as California's Alan Cranston, a sponsor of the April



LeMoyné/NY Times

After devastating raid, guerrillas address villagers only four miles from El Paraiso base.

up spectacular victories, such as last year's attack on the main eastern army base in San Miguel. This year the guerrillas spread the war into the previously quiet western provinces.

Meanwhile, Duarte's "Made in U.S.A." government continues to face a major labor upsurge. Last month 19,000 government and private workers carried out a one-day work stoppage to protest Duarte's austerity policies. Thousands more demonstrated at the National Cathedral on March 24 on the anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. With their calls for "dialogue" and a "government of broad participation," the FMLN and its liberal allies of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) treacherously lead the mass protest into a "popular front" with sections of the exploiters. And as

25 "peace" crawl, support U.S. aid to Duarte, with "human rights" strings attached of course. And two days after the El Paraiso attack, the Democratic-controlled House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a *half billion* emergency aid package for Salvador. Instead of empty rhetoric about "End U.S. War in El Salvador," what our class brothers and sisters in Central America desperately need is some hard class struggle against both the Reaganites and the "soft cop" Democrats who *designed* the U.S. strategy for El Salvador as part of the *hipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. We say: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!"

Real solidarity with our Salvadoran compañeros means a struggle to forge a workers party, to fight for socialist revolution *at home*. ■

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

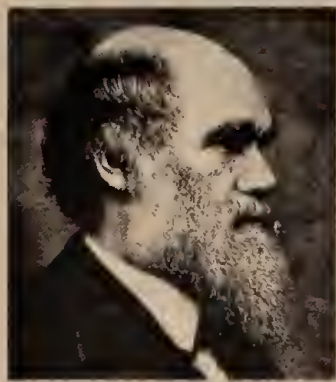
Down with Alabama Book-Banning!

Hail Charles Darwin and Karl Marx!

ATLANTA—On March 4, in a Mobile, Alabama court federal district judge Brevard Hand came down with a ruling banning 45 textbooks from the state's public schools. This judicial book-banning is part of a nationwide onslaught by fanatical fundamentalists against secular education. In court cases from Deep South Louisiana to "liberal" Minnesota the religious right is attempting to enforce the teaching of their bible-thumping bigotry in the classroom. Turning "religious freedom" and "academic freedom" into their opposites, they have declared "biblical creationism" a "science," and now Judge Hand's

representing a civil rights case.

Ironically, among the books Hand banned in his March 4 verdict in favor of the fundamentalists' suit are *History of a Free People* and *The American Dream*. Also verboten are a host of other home economics and social studies textbooks which are said to foster "situational ethics" (as against the Ten Commandments) and "the democratic family" (against the unquestioned authority of the father). Students were ordered to turn in their books immediately. With only ten weeks left in the school year, the superintendent of the Mobile public school system angrily



New York Public Library



Mayall/Progress

For science and socialism: Charles Darwin and Karl Marx.

decision claims "secular humanism" to be a "religion." (Of course, Hand's 111-page ruling denounced the offending texts for promoting "godless" humanism!) As John Buchanan, chairman of the liberal People for the American Way, commented, Hand's ruling is "the first time in history that a religion has been created and defined by its adversaries."

In 1983, Hand upheld school prayer in Alabama, claiming the Constitution "does not prohibit the state from establishing a religion." As for a member of a religious minority, he "will have to develop a thicker skin if state establishment offends him," says Hand. Although this earlier decision was overturned by the Supreme Court, Hand used it to instigate the suit brought by 600 evangelicals against "secular humanism" in the schools. His '83 ruling argued, "This court must also purge from the classroom those things that serve to teach that salvation is through one's self rather than through a deity" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 March). Last year Hand, who was appointed to the bench by Nixon, reportedly came under fire for calling a white Mobile attorney "a disgrace to his race" for

denounced the ruling as a "tragedy." On March 27, a federal appeals court temporarily suspended Judge Hand's textbook ban. But it is a sign of the times in Reagan's America that a state-sanctioned crusade of religious reaction declares war on the achievements of science, the Enlightenment, and principles of the American Revolution such as separation of church and state.

As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee argued in an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief filed on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education against the teaching of "creationism" in the public schools:

"The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority."

Scientific evolution destroys the appeal to biblical authority for racism. Many of the evangelical parents who brought the Alabama suit, sponsored by the sinister right-wing televangelist Pat Robertson's "National Legal Foundation," don't even send their kids to public schools but to lily-white "Christian academies" formed to counter court-ordered school integration. And it's no accident that the book-banning case comes in Mobile, where in 1981 a KKK mob lynched a young black man, Michael Donald. But even an all-white Mobile jury ordered the Klan to pay \$7 million in compensation to the Donald family for this heinous crime.

One of the prime targets of the fundamentalist New Right is Charles Darwin and the science of evolution. Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, published in 1859, put the seal on a scientific worldview, demolishing the metaphysical conception of nature. Like Karl Marx, Darwin applied science to man himself. Both (despite Darwin's professed religious belief) were thoroughgoing materialists whose discoveries of the laws governing natural and social development were based on concrete study of nature and society. Their achievements opened the road to the emancipation of humanity. Leon Trotsky, the leader together with Lenin of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution,

recalled the impact Darwin had on him as a young revolutionary imprisoned in tsarist jails:

"Darwin stood for me like a mighty doorkeeper at the entrance to the temple of the universe. I was intoxicated with his minute, precise, conscientious, and at the same time powerful, thought."

—quoted in Max Eastman, *Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth* (1925)

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th through 19th centuries freed science and social development from the shackles of religious obscurantism imposed by feudalism. Geoffrey Bibby, in *Testimony of the Spade* (1956), points out that the most pre-eminent anthropologists and archaeologists in the 19th century combined "advanced ideas in politics with interest in pre-history." In particular, the tidal wave of revolution which swept Europe in 1848 had a tremendous impact on the study of the history and development of man. And following the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky wrote in "Science in the Task of Socialist Construction" (1923): "It may be said that the workers' state—at least to the extent that it is left in peace—is an organized struggle for civilization and culture, and consequently for science as the most important lever of culture."

Capitalism in its death agony enforces backwardness and ignorance in every realm of human endeavor. Over six decades ago John Thomas Scopes was prosecuted for teaching evolution in Dayton, Tennessee in the famous 1925 "monkey trial." In the powerful movie on the Scopes trial, *Inherit the Wind*, a local banker tells the town fathers that he doesn't want his kid being taught "creationism" because he wants him to go to Yale. Even not-so-enlightened sections of the bourgeoisie



School principal carts away banned textbooks.

don't want their children's minds fogged with the dogmas of the Dark Ages. But today the Moral Majority inquisition against "secular humanism" is part of the social and political agenda of the warmongers in the White House, aimed at regimenting the population through fear and ignorance for a thermonuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union.

When the book-banners are at work in their judicial black robes, you will find the book-burners in their brown shirts in Hitler's Germany, in their olive uniforms in Pinochet's Chile, or in their white sheets in the USA today. Mankind will only be freed from the book-banners, the cross-burners and the imperialist nuts who have their fingers on the button of the most advanced nuclear weaponry when the working people take power and put knowledge and science at the service of all humanity. ■

Smash KKK Terror in Chattanooga!

CHATTANOOGA, Tennessee—On April 4, an integrated crowd of over 200 marched and rallied at the Hamilton County Courthouse to protest racist cop killings and Klan terror. With heavy police "escort," including conspicuous mounted cops, the marchers wound their way through black Chattanooga and an empty downtown to the rally site, where cops ringed the demonstration, blocking off all approaches for a three-block radius. In the shadow of this police intimidation, demonstrators recalled the 22 people gunned down by the police from 1978 to 1987—14 blacks and eight whites—as well as nine black men and women killed in their jail cells.

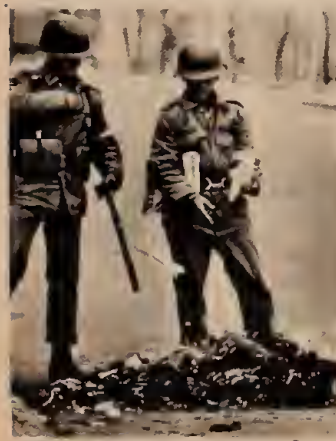
The demonstration was called by a coalition of local civil rights and left groups. Black Democratic Party aspiring office holders, the NAACP and SCLC spurned the action. One rally organizer, Maxine Cousin, made a searing indictment of Chattanooga's black politicians. During the hearings on a court suit she brought (and lost) over the murder of her 66-year-old father in his jail cell, she said: "They never took a seat in the right row or the left row, always in the center row to let it be known that it did not matter how the verdict turned out. They could always choose up sides later."

So craven are these "leaders" that in February 1980 the local spokes-



WV Photo

man for Jesse Jackson's PUSH and the NAACP met with a KKK group that in April of that year rampaged through Chattanooga and shot four elderly black women. No Klansmen paid for this heinous crime. Behind the myth of the "New South" lies the Chattanooga body count. Capitalist "justice" means the racist police act as judge, jury and executioner. What is needed is an integrated revolutionary workers party to mobilize labor in the fight against racist cop/Klan terror. Break with the Democrats! Jail the killer cops! Black liberation through socialist revolution! Finish the Civil War!



Gamma

Pinochet's Chile: Burning books in the streets.

Young Spartacus

Racism in Sports

New York Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden, the young black knockout king of baseball, has been sidelined for drug "rehab" while the team he helped lead to the '86 World Series championship opens a new season. In December, Gooden was the victim of a brutal, racist assault by Tampa, Florida's Dixie cops. Now it's the Dixie cup of baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth that threatens to end "Dr. K's" career. We say: Down with the reactionary drug witchhunt which targets especially labor and minorities! Let Dr. K play ball!

Over a century since the Dred Scott decision, the racist barrage against Gooden shows that a black man still has "no rights that a white man is bound to respect." The gutter tabloids, racist cops and fat cat owners were gunning for Gooden, a superstar who dared to return to his Southern hometown in a silver Mercedes—a perceived threat to the racist status quo where Tampa blacks are "kept in their place" by unbridled police terror. On December 13, Gooden and four companions were pulled over by 22 white Tampa cops for an alleged traffic violation. Gooden was beaten and bloodied by these uniformed thugs who went for his pitching arm yelling, "Hit his arm, hurt it, end his career!" In order to play ball in the 1987 season, Gooden pleaded no contest to frame-up felony charges that he beat his cop assailants.

Hoping to dispel the rumors that he was on drugs, which escalated after he was mauled by Tampa cops, Gooden knuckled under to the pressure and requested a drug test. But the urinalysis (the results of which are often wildly inaccurate) administered to Gooden during spring training allegedly showed a trace of cocaine. And the sharks closed in. Ueberroth sacked Gooden like a junkie in some halfway house and the press had a field day portraying this talented player as "public enemy #1," an "uppity" black who rose too far, too fast. Now the cops who ran Gooden out of Tampa are making him return South to piss for them too, or face possible charges of violating probation.

On opening day at Shea, Mets man-



Jackie Robinson signed with Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, breaking Jim Crow in major leagues.

17 APRIL 1987

Let Dwight Gooden Play Ball!

Dwight Gooden, baseball pitching great, latest victim of racist anti-drug hysteria.



Ronald Modra

agement pulled an Orwellian "Big Brother" act, disappearing any mention or picture of Gooden during the pre-game World Series ceremonies which included big screen highlights of the '86 season. While claiming they didn't want to "offend" the fans, we suspect what the sports bosses really feared was a rousing cheer for Gooden from the stands. Columnist Tom Wicker, a liberal white Southerner, wrote: "the tides of condemnation, innuendo, moralism, holy outrage and pious preaching that have surged from his failed urine test make me want to throw up" (*New York Times*, 8 April). He also pointed out that the sports writers going after Gooden are typically themselves heavy boozers.

Gooden's friend and teammate Darryl Strawberry bucked Mets management on opening day by wearing Gooden's uniform pants, belting a three-run homer in the first inning and proudly proclaiming to the press, "I did it for Doc." One of the few black starting players left on the team, Strawberry has also been the target of harassment. Said Strawberry, "Dwight and I seem to be the ones that have to face this kind of talk. If you're black and young, you're always being suspected" (*Daily News*, 3 April).

In the Reagan years, "role models" must be ideologically and morally "safe," especially in baseball, that most American sport. The anti-drug witch-hunt is the cutting edge of the government's drive to regiment the population for anti-Soviet war by attacking fundamental democratic rights. Drug testing represents an especially pernicious invasion of individual privacy, and in sports it's the height of racist hypocrisy. As long as they're capable of racking up wins for the team bosses, professional

athletes are routinely pumped up with amphetamines, steroids or painkillers and forced onto unsafe fields despite injuries.

But individual drug testing is now enforced (notably first in basketball, a sport dominated by blacks) to show that the owners and the cops still hold the whip hand. Mitchell Wiggins and Lewis Lloyd of the Houston Rockets were banished for life from professional basketball after testing positive for cocaine. Black baseball stars Willie Wilson and Lonnie Smith were sent to the slammer along with football great Mercury Morris. But if you "kick and tell" like Gooden's teammate Keith Hernandez, baseball's premier sink during the 1985 drug trials, you're sport's celebrated glamour boy.

Players now have to cope with narcs in the locker rooms and drunken snoops from the press teams. Laws against so-called "crimes without victims"—drugs, gambling, prostitution, homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of

everyone and should be abolished. The owners, cops and bosses should keep their big noses out of the players' business.

Modern Gladiators for Capitalist Circuses

Forty years after Jackie Robinson broke the color bar in professional baseball, sports in America is still a racist business. The hoopla orchestrated by the media to mark this anniversary *bombed* when L.A. Dodgers vice president Al Campanis opened his trap on national television. Questioned by Ted Koppel on *Nightline* April 6 as to why there are no black managers in the major leagues, Campanis said, "I truly believe that they may not have some of the necessities to be, let's say, a field manager or perhaps a general manager.... How many quarterbacks do you have, how many pitchers do you have that are black?... Why are black men, or black people, not good swimmers?"

continued on page 8

Peter Ueberroth (right): Reagan's strikebreaking, drug-busting, flag-waving commissioner of baseball.



Racism in Sports...

(continued from page 7)

They just don't have the buoyancy."

It is the systematic racist and economic oppression of blacks that means few indeed compete in country club sports because they have no access to swimming pools, tennis courts or golf courses (except as caddies). But it's a deflated Campanis who's not buoyant since the Dodgers solicited his resignation for openly mouthing such racist garbage. While baseball czar Ueberroth termed Campanis' tirade merely "unfortunate," Hank Aaron, still the record home run leader and the only black in an executive front-office position in the major leagues, said, "he should apologize to every black person in America for what he said," and noted, "Mr. Campanis has said some things that most people in his position think" (Washington Post, 8 April).

The segregation which maintains blacks as a race-color caste at the bottom of society is replicated in the world of sports. Dwight Gooden was one of the few black starting pitchers in the Mets' 25-year history, a reflection of the fact that from elementary school through college, blacks are steered away from the glamour positions such as pitcher and quarterback. George Foster spoke the bitter truth when he was dropped from the Mets last summer: "I think the Mets would rather promote a Gary Carter or a Keith Hernandez to the fans so parents who want to can point to them as role models for their children, rather than a Darryl Strawberry or a Dwight Gooden or a George Foster" (New York Times, 8 August 1986).

In 1975, Cleon Jones, at that time the greatest player in Mets history, was arrested in Florida for sleeping in a van with a white woman! Though charges were dropped, the Mets fined him \$2,000 and forced him to apologize at a



Joe Louis (left) KO'd Jimmy Braddock in 1937 and became heavyweight champion of the world. Harlem erupted in celebration with march down Lenox Avenue.



and the other around a bottle. That double standard dates back to 1887 when Cap Anson, manager and star of the Chicago White Stockings, refused to play against an integrated Newark team. Thus began 60 years of segregated baseball.

The owners and their media mouthpieces yearn for the days of sports' lost "innocence," such as that enforced by baseball's first commissioner, Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis. As a federal court judge, Landis meted out stiff sentences in the World War I trials of IWW labor organizers. In baseball, Landis sought to uphold Jim Crow, opposing Bill Veeck's effort to buy the Philadelphia Phillies and field black players, six years before Jackie Robinson broke the barrier in Brooklyn's Ebbets Field in 1947. At the same time, everyone in baseball knew that the best players were to be found among the black athletes in the segregated Negro Leagues. Thus the Yankees tested the young Joe Dimaggio by hiring Satchel

chambermaid, is held up as a paragon of determination and virtue for Little Leaguers to emulate. Though he is professional basketball's greatest winner, Bill Russell refused induction to the Hall of Fame, which honors arch-segregationists like University of Kentucky basketball coach Adolph Rupp.

Ever since the 1830s when slaveholders imported boxing from England to bet on which slave (in plantation colors) could best pummel the "property" of a rival plantation, black athletes have been used to entertain and make millions for their bosses, only to be chucked aside when their talents were no longer profitable. The streets are filled with boxers whose brains have been scrambled by a couple of hundred punches too many. Even the best, such as boxing great Joe Louis, have died broke, their money taken by unscrupulous agents, promoters and the IRS. As Muhammad Ali said, "You are only free if you are number one. Otherwise you are slave" (quoted in Richard Lapchick, Broken Promises [1984]).

Black track star Jesse Owens, whose record-setting four gold medals smashed Hitler's parade of the "Aryan master race" at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, was "rewarded" with a reception at New York's Waldorf-Astoria which he was allowed to enter only through the freight elevator. On the heels of his Olympic victory, Owens was rushed out of town without rest, and ordered to compete in exhibitions for the next ten days (without pay). When the exhausted Owens refused to run in Sweden, he was suspended by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) and blacklisted from amateur sports for life. For his affiliation with the Communist Party, athlete, actor and musician Paul Robeson was stripped of the All-America award he won as a star running back for Rutgers. And with his 1960 Olympic gold medal around his neck, Muhammad Ali returned to his hometown of Lexington, Kentucky only to be refused service in a Jim Crow restaurant. Disgusted, Ali hurled his gold medal into the murky waters of the Ohio River.

Ever since Jack Johnson won the boxing heavyweight crown in 1908, the

defamation of black athletes and quest for a "Great White Hope" have been relentless. Johnson was attacked as "arrogant" for enjoying the prerogatives befitting a world champ, including expensive clothes, jewelry and cars. For associating with a white woman, Johnson was arrested under the Mann Act, which forbade the transportation of women for "immoral" purposes. The woman, Lucille Cameron, married Johnson, so he was tried on a lesser charge, but hounded by police detectives continually. When Johnson defeated former heavyweight champ Jim Jeffries in 1910, white mobs roamed the streets attacking blacks who dared celebrate the victory of a black man over a white. Johnson was hounded out of the country to Canada, and later Mexico, and was able to return to his home only by throwing a title bout.

Sports is about the only profession where, for a few short, brutal years, blacks can earn six- and seven-figure incomes. But even for those on top, the "American Dream" is a nightmare. Dwight Gooden, Red Sox pitcher "Oil Can" Boyd, former Boston Celtic Bill Russell, among others, have seen that fame and big salaries are no protection from the racist jackboot in the dead of night. As blacks emerged as a dominant force in sports, new racist genetic "theories" were spawned. As Bill Russell put it, "It's okay to be racist as long as you try to sound like a doctor." The NBA's all-time leading scorer, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, defined the real reason for black stardom in sports:

"Yes, I was just like the rest of those black athletes you've read about, the ones that put all their waking energies



Mets star Darryl Strawberry with his son. Darryl went to bat for Gooden in season opener.

into learning the moves. That might be a sad commentary on America in general, but that's the way it's going to be until black people can flow without prejudice into any occupation they can master. For now it's still pretty much music and sports for us."

The College Sports Racket

City streets, welfare offices, gyms and playgrounds are filled with former high school athletes who were a step too slow. One out of 12,000 makes it to the pros. In 1983 Harry Edwards, the black sociologist who helped organize the "black power" protest at the 1968 Olympics, estimated that there were about 1,400 professional black athletes, and only 2,400 blacks who made a living through sports-related entertainment. Fewer than 10 percent of all athletic scholarships go to blacks, and even that small amount is under attack. A high school athlete now needs a minimum combined SAT score of 700 to be eligible for a scholarship at an NCAA school. And now that the NCAA is reducing the number of athletic scholarships available, it is unlikely they will take a chance on athletes who risk being declared ineligible down the road.

It is an indictment of the racist American education system (and the race- and class-biased SATs) that less



Muhammad Ali won Olympic gold for U.S. in 1960, was stripped of heavyweight title seven years later for refusing to be drafted into the Imperialist army. Ali's "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger" became slogan of black antiwar marchers, New York, 1967.

news conference in the presence of his wife, for "despoiling" the image of major league baseball. Contrast this with the all-time white American baseball hero, Babe Ruth, who spent most nights with one arm around a hooker

Paige to pitch against him. Anson's fellow Hall of Famers, Tris Speaker and Rogers Hornsby, were members of the Ku Klux Klan. The "Georgia Peach" Ty Cobb, a known racist psychopath who once beat a black

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Principles of Communism

Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.
Next classes April 18, 25, May 2
Dwinnelle Hall, Room 146
UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Anti-Gay/Racist Terror on U.S. Campuses

Speaker Tweet Carter
Thursday, April 23, 7:30 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

(Exco Course)
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class April 28
Wilder Hall, Room 212
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 775-5858

OBERLIN

Columbia U: Smash Racist Attacks!

The March 22 attack against black students by white football players and frat rats at Columbia University has sharply polarized this campus and posed pointblank the question of how to stop racist attacks. On March 26, a thousand Columbia students, trade unionists, Harlem residents and others held a militant, integrated demonstration and marched on the fraternity houses where ringleaders of the racist mob reside. This demonstration was billed by its organizers, the Concerned Black Students at Columbia (CBSC), as a buildup to an April 4 demonstration which they hoped would be even larger.

A massive police presence, some 300 cops, paddy wagons and a mobile cop command center, was mobilized as a threat against the much smaller group of protesters who came out in the pouring rain on April 4. A small contingent of Columbia students met a march of some 50 black nationalists (organized by the National African Youth Student Alliance and Sonny Carson's Black Men's Movement Against Crack) whose defeatist, separatist, pro-capitalist politics carried the day. Demonstrators chanted: "Columbia is a crack house!" and "The pigs have got to pay!" and told anti-racist white students to go "raise consciousness" in the racist fraternities.

This demonstration was a diversion from the kind of mass, integrated, labor-centered actions which are necessary to beat back the racist attacks. The rhetorical militancy of the nationalists is a smokescreen for their political impotence. Pushing the "buy black" schemes of the sinister Louis Farrakhan (the man who wanted Malcolm X dead!) and taunting capitalism's armed thugs plays into the hands of New York City's racist trigger-happy cops who are itching to turn the ghettos into an occupied war zone. Ominously, CBSC members who earlier went to the 26th Precinct in Harlem to file a complaint against the campus racists found a picture of black student organizer Tanaquil Jones hanging in the station with derogatory



Students, Harlem residents and labor in integrated protest against racist attacks at Columbia, March 26.

remarks scrawled underneath.

Meanwhile, racist provocations and violence continue at Columbia. On April 6, a delegation of about 60 students confronted a Southern white Columbia student who had a Confederate flag displayed in his window. After persuading the racist to remove his filth from public view, the students left the residence hall. As Mike Paris, a campus activist and Columbia Law School graduate, was leaving, he was fingered by dorm residents, thrown up against a wall by security guards and choked. A student who arrived on the scene told the *Spectator* (8 April), "I think that if I hadn't gotten there there very easily could have been further escalation of violence because there was no one but

Mike and those security guards in the stairwell." Paris was taken to a nearby emergency room and is now planning to sue the university.

Earlier that same day, about 30 black Columbia students rallied at New York City police headquarters in lower Manhattan, demanding to meet with police commissioner Benjamin Ward. Permission denied, the students staged a sit-in in the police station. Twenty-three students were arrested—without having their rights read to them—and charged with disorderly conduct. Black elected officials who students had called on to join them showed up—only after the students were arrested. When one student loaded into a police van asked where she was being taken, the cops

replied, "We're going to drop you in the river." We demand: Drop the charges against the Columbia 23!

With black people in New York City facing mounting racist attacks, C. Vernon Mason (an attorney for the Columbia protesters and former candidate for D.A.) is pushing illusions in the reformability of the police and the strategy of achieving "justice" through the bourgeois courts. After the arrests at police headquarters, Mason was quoted in the *Spectator*: "a lot of people had a lot of confidence that when Police Commissioner Ward became commissioner of this city that we would have someone who would enforce the law for all people. Today we found out differently." Today? What about when the cops beat young black artist Michael Stewart to death, blew away infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs and executed Nicholas Bartlett, a black street vendor, on 125th Street? What is needed is not further proof that cops are racist pigs, nor small demonstrations of students and political activists who confront the cops at cop stations with slogans like "Today's pig is tomorrow's bacon."

The strategy of mobilizing labor to smash racist attacks has scored victories, from the November 1982 labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching through D.C., to the successful defense of black transit worker James Grimes, who the courts tried to hang with this city's racist gun control laws which abrogate the elemental right to self-defense. Organized at the point of production, labor has the social power to strike at the heart of the capitalist system which breeds racial oppression. At the March 26 demonstration at Columbia, black, white and Hispanic transit workers joined the Spartacist contingent, calling for labor action to smash racist terror. As one of our signs said, "Students: Ally with Labor to Smash Racist Attacks!" For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

than 50 percent of black high school students have scored 700 in recent years. Decreasing black enrollment, engendered by the Reagan administration's cuts in student loans, fuels racist attacks like the one at UMass Amherst last fall when nearly 1,000 white Red Sox fans set upon a group of 20 black students.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs demand open admissions and free tuition to all colleges and universities, remedial programs for those who have suffered from inadequate education, and a living stipend paid by the state for all students. For those athletes who do get into col-

lege, often the only education they get is memorizing a playbook or learning how to read a defense. Over 70 percent of NFL players don't have college degrees. Education isn't deemed necessary for those whom capitalism has already slated for joblessness. When Dallas Cowboys running back Herschel Walker left college during his junior year to play pro and earn some money for his family, a hypocritical hue and cry swept the country over the athlete's need for a college education, and the sanctity of amateur athletics. At stake was really the preservation of the massive income colleges and networks suck off supposed "amateur" athletes.

For those few black athletes who do make it to stardom, the price of fame and adulation is high—no politics, praise god whenever possible and otherwise keep your mouth shut. In the context of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles in the 1960s, black athletes challenged and often won struggles against the racist owners—at great personal sacrifice. Muhammad Ali was stripped of his heavyweight boxing title and robbed of the three prime years of his career for refusing to join the imperialist armed forces. His defiant "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger" became the rallying cry for a generation of black youth who opposed fighting the racist ruling class' war in Indochina. Middleweight contender Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was framed up on murder charges and thrown into a New Jersey dungeon for 18 years

because he advocated black self-defense following the 1964 cop rampage in Harlem. 1968 gold and bronze medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos were banished from the U.S. Olympic team and given 48 hours to get out of Mexico after raising the clenched fist "black power" salute during the awards ceremony. For challenging baseball's reserve clause, which bound a player to one team like a slave for life, Curt Flood was driven out of baseball after the 1969 season.

For a minuscule number of blacks, sports can be a way out of the grinding poverty of America's hellish ghettos. But if Dwight Gooden, a hero, superstar

and millionaire, is not safe from cop brutality, what black is? Certainly not the millions of unemployed black youth whose "future" under capitalism is imperialist war or the scrap heap. For them, life is only injustice with no rewards. But capitalism has not simply spawned victims, it has created its own gravediggers. Black workers, strategically organized at the point of production, are potentially the most combative section of the working class. United in a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party along with their white brothers and sisters, they can lead all the oppressed in a class-struggle fight against the rotting capitalist system. ■



"Black Power" salute at Mexico 1968 Olympics.

Viva Simone!

College athletes who don't submit to urinalysis are barred from competition by the NCAA. But Simone LeVant, a gutsy 22-year-old diver at Stanford U., refused to take a drug test, took the NCAA to court, and won—an important judicial precedent against government rollback of civil rights. As the judge said in his decision, "many people would like to reinstitute slavery, but that doesn't make it constitutional." A victory for one is a victory for all!



Zagaris/NY Times

Young Spartacus Review

PLATOON and the Vietnam Syndrome



For the last six years there's been an orgy of flag-waving superpatriotism in this country. From the L.A. Olympics to selling cars and beer, everything's wrapped in the red-white-and-blue. Medical students kiss the ground to hail the Grenada invaders. "Rambo" is the symbol of U.S. marauding around the world. But the gung-ho mood never went very deep. With "Ronbo" on the skids, Democrats are as desperate as Republicans to save the imperial presidency which they hope to regain in '88. This season the box office hit is *Platoon*, a kind of anti-Rambo that says it's going to tell the real story of the Vietnam War. *Platoon* is pulling record-breaking audiences ranging from Viet vets to teenagers fed up with movies of Vietnam draft dodger Sylvester Stallone bashing the "commies."

It took ten years for writer/director Oliver Stone to find a sponsor for *Platoon*, and even then the backer was British. Released in the midst of the Iran/Contra scandal, the film's popularity is a gauge of the unpopularity of the covert wars directed from the White House basement. *Platoon*'s reception proves that the "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well and living in the hearts and minds of America. And now it has won the Academy Award for best picture. Speaking at the awards ceremony, Stone summed up the message of his movie: "It should never, ever in our lifetime happen again." The "No more Vietnams" line is the refrain of everyone from leftist antiwar protesters to arch war criminal Richard Nixon. It reflects the attempts by U.S. rulers to erase the memory of their crushing defeat by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. For revolutionaries, *Vietnam was a victory!*

Platoon is a watered-down version of what the Vietnam War was like for the American troops fighting there. Based on Oliver Stone's experiences as an infantryman in Vietnam in 1967-68, the central character, Chris, is a middle-class kid who drops out of college to "fight for his country" in Vietnam. In a letter to his grandmother Chris writes about the "grunts"—army infantrymen—in his platoon: "Two years high school's about it, maybe if they're lucky a job waiting for them back in a factory. But most of them got nothing, they're poor, they're unwanted, yet they're fighting for our society and our freedom." But the Vietnam War shattered the anti-Communist myth that U.S. imperialism was defending world "freedom" against the "red menace."



Ronald Haerberle

My Lai, 1968—Bloody mass murder of Vietnamese civilians.

The young, overwhelmingly working-class and black soldiers sent to fight this dirty war found themselves in combat with a whole people, workers and peasants united and armed in a revolutionary war for national liberation and

napalming, campaigns of mass terror that were the hideous means by which U.S. imperialism waged its dirty colonial war against the Vietnamese people. It does have one scene in which the platoon razes a Vietnamese peasant village, mur-

another dirty colonial war.

In fact, the very few Vietnam antiwar films focus almost exclusively on the American "experience": like Jane Fonda's *Coming Home*, which shows that imperialist war is bad for your sex life. *Platoon*, albeit through its liberal lens, does show some of the horrors of the Vietnam War. It certainly doesn't make military intervention look very appetizing. And this is why the movie has run afoul of Reagan reaction. The New Right, who think that the Vietnam War was lost on television, see in *Platoon* yet another "stab in the back" by lily-livered liberals aimed at undermining the national will for an invasion of Nicaragua. Not surprisingly the Pentagon refused to cooperate with Stone over any aspect of the movie.

The Vietnam War was a turning point in U.S. history. The so-called "American Century" died in the rice paddies and jungles of Indochina. Thousands of American youth were radicalized, an army came out of it that couldn't be relied upon to fight. To this day the bourgeoisie is haunted by the spectre of Vietnam and of a volunteer army, overwhelmingly blacks and Hispanics who mainly join out of desperation and have no illusions in the "democracy" of U.S. imperialism. As Leon Trotsky, leader of the Bolshevik Red Army, wrote: "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme." But in *Platoon* everything seems to take place in a social and political vacuum. The characters are one-dimensional, in particular the black soldiers, who are portrayed as stereotyped, cardboard figures.

Blacks made up a disproportionate share of the front-line soldiers in the Vietnam War while the cushy positions in the rear were generally reserved for

Vietnam Was a Victory!



Oermulder/Gamma-Liaison

Victorious NLF troops roll through gates of U.S. puppet's presidential palace, Saigon, 30 April 1975.

Two, Three, Many Defeats for Imperialism!

social revolution. The courage and determination of the North Vietnamese soldiers is captured in one scene in *Platoon* where a soldier sacrifices himself to blow up a U.S. command bunker. And, in a sanitized way, the movie shows the fear and demoralization of U.S. troops. The message is that the war was hell for American soldiers. It was. But for us, as Marxist revolutionaries our side was the heroic North Vietnamese and Viet Cong fighters. Their victory was a victory for opponents of injustice and class exploitation everywhere, inspiring struggles for national freedom and social progress from Managua and San Salvador to Luanda and Kabul.

You get no sense in *Platoon* of the vast size of the U.S. imperialist forces the Vietnamese went up against. As General Van Tien Dung, chief of staff of the Vietnamese People's Army and commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon on 30 April 1975, tells in his memoirs, *Our Great Spring Victory*:

"At the height of their invasion of Vietnam, the U.S. had used 60 percent of their total infantry, 58 percent of their marines, 32 percent of their tactical air force, 50 percent of their strategic air force, fifteen of their eighteen aircraft carriers, 800,000 American troops (counting those stationed in satellite countries who were taking part in the Vietnam war), and more than 1 million Saigon troops. They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over \$300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee."

Platoon follows Chris and his fellow soldiers through night patrols, "search and destroy" missions and fire-fights in the jungles of Vietnam. But it shows nothing of the carpetbombings,

dering two civilians. The media has repeatedly compared this scene to My Lai, the infamous slaughter of an entire village by American troops in 1968. This is a grotesque whitewash. At My Lai an estimated 700 unarmed villagers were massacred in less than two hours. This was no "isolated incident" as claimed at the time. What the scene in *Platoon* shows was simply "routine" military policy. As Stone told *Time* magazine: "We killed a lot of innocents."

Platoon is a celluloid version of the Vietnam War Memorial, a "requiem on Vietnam"—the war which all wings of the American ruling class want to bury (they even built the memorial below ground level). In the movie two sergeants, Barnes and Elias, come to blows in the scene of the "search and destroy" mission. Barnes has shot a Vietnamese peasant woman and has a gun to the head of a young girl. The clash is represented as good vs. evil. But Elias only deplores the "excesses," not the war aims of American imperialism against the Vietnamese. As he tells Chris, he lost faith in the war when he realized the U.S. was losing. The message is the bourgeois defeatist line of no more losing imperialist adventures.

Elias and Barnes are also supposed to be a metaphor for the split "psyche" of America. As Chris says at the end of the movie, "We weren't fighting the enemy, we were fighting ourselves." Tell that to the Vietnamese who saw their villages burned, their land destroyed by Agent Orange, their children hideously hurt to death by napalm. The U.S. killed over 1,000 people a day during the Vietnam War. But in *Platoon* the real "tragedy" is not the murder of two million Vietnamese but that the war was "divisive," that it polarized an American population which to this day has no stomach for



Monad Press

Inside racist armed forces, black troops mark Martin Luther King birthday, Long Binh, 1971.

whites. Eleven percent of the American population at the time, blacks accounted for almost one quarter of U.S. casualties in Vietnam. In *Platoon* there is a shot of the Confederate flag, the emblem of the slavery and racist terrorist KKK, above a white soldier's cot. Yet there is never any racial conflict in the movie. As one black Vietnam vet commented on the movie: "The scene I was looking for was the true feeling of racism we experienced in Vietnam. Since 1965, we had race riots, by and

large, almost every day there.... I was in Vietnam when the Watts riots broke out, and we wondered what we were doing here—fighting colored people in a foreign land—and we can't even get due process at home" (*Boston Globe*, 29 March).

There is, however, a totally gratuitous scene in *Platoon* which shows a black soldier who has supposedly been lynched by the Viet Cong. This triggers the "search and destroy" mission against the Vietnamese peasant village. In fact the Viet Cong's National Liberation Front appealed to black soldiers. In the jungles of Vietnam was a sign reading, "U.S. Negro Army-men! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home." The Vietnam War radicalized many black soldiers. An outstanding example is Geronimo Pratt, a decorated Vietnam vet who returned from the war and joined the Black Panther Party. Today, Pratt is courageously fighting for his freedom after over 16 years in jail on frame-up murder charges coming out of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO conspiracy aimed at eliminating the Panthers.

The Tet Offensive

Interestingly, *Platoon* makes no mention of the corrupt Saigon puppet regime and its "army," which was riddled with pimps and drug pushers, that the U.S. intervened to prop up and "assist." These were losers of the ilk of the Nicaraguan contra rapists, murderers and torturers. Combined with massive corruption in the U.S. officer corps, especially as contrasted with the heroism and sacrifice of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, this contributed to the growing demoralization of U.S. troops. You get a flavor of this in the movie *Go Tell the Spartans*, starring Burt Lancaster. Released in 1978, this was one of the first "realistic" Vietnam War movies. But appearing on the eve of the Democratic Carter administration's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign to rearm U.S. imperialism after its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, *Spartans*



Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Above: Boston 1972—Spartacists fought for labor strikes at home and victory to the North Vietnamese in antiwar protests.

was a box office flop.

Any remaining will to fight in the U.S. army was completely broken by the 1968 Tet Offensive, when the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a full-scale offensive across the South. General Westmoreland, who had declared three weeks prior to Tet that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were losing, and the rest of the U.S. military command were exposed as incompetent liars. Lyndon Johnson's presidency collapsed, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara resigned amid rumors of a nervous breakdown and "Wastemoreland" was "reassigned." Richard Nixon came to office under the slogan of "peace with honor," at which point the U.S. imperialists actually escalated the war in a desperate attempt to prove (mainly to the Soviets) that their hegemony was intact.

But in the last four years of the war everything broke down. Accusations of war crimes against U.S. officers increased dramatically. So did drug use among ground troops. In 1970 one-fourth of the U.S. armed forces worldwide were listed as deserted or AWOL. Fraggings, the killing of officers, reached their height in the same year. The army was in a state of total collapse by 1971-72. This was coupled with growing antiwar sentiment at home and

in Vietnam as the body bags continued to pile up.

With its "We Won't Go" moral protest against the draft, the petty-bourgeois antiwar movement voluntarily isolated itself from the Americans who most keenly felt the brutality and hypocrisy of the war, who were potentially the base for the most explosive opposition to it: working-class and particularly black soldiers. The Spartacist League fought against the draft under the slogan, "Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army." Although defending individual draft resisters from repression, we opposed the program of individual draft resistance. Instead, Marxists sought to introduce a proletarian class perspective in the armed forces, to set the working-class ranks against the top brass and their political bosses—the ultimate war criminals. Spartacist supporters in the army during the war initiated a newspaper called *G.I. Voice*. The paper provided a forum for soldiers to express their grievances over the racist hell of the American military, linking these to the real nature of imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

At a Spartacist League educational in 1981, SL Central Committee member Joe Vetter spoke from his own experi-

ence of the openings for a Marxist worldview among American soldiers during the last years of the Vietnam War: "I remember drinking beer in a hootch one night with some guys and saying, 'You know, I think the NLF should win the war.' There were 12 guys there, and one of them stands up and says, 'You're fucking right, man. And then we'll get out of here!'"

Counterposed to the social-patriotic and pacifist "peace crawls" organized by pro-Democratic Party liberals and the reformist left, we fought for labor political strikes against the war. War is the mother of revolution, and as Leon Trotsky wrote, "an insurrection is, in essence, not so much a struggle against the army, as a struggle for the army." Open revolt broke out several times in the armed forces during the Vietnam War. In 1968, 43 black soldiers refused to go to Chicago to be used against antiwar demonstrators at the Democratic Party convention. In 1972, 800 sailors on the USS *Constellation* staged a sit-down strike to protest discriminatory discharges of six black sailors.

Vietnam today, in the face of a vindictive imperialist blockade of foreign trade and technical assistance which has spelled enormous poverty for the masses, has made real strides in achieving national reunification, reconstructing a land laid waste by four decades of imperialist devastation, and carrying out a social revolution. *Platoon*, in its pacifistic way, appeals to Americans' lingering mistrust of the government's plans for new anti-Communist military adventures. The movie is being used to rally support for the April 25 peace crawl in Washington, D.C. which is aimed at building support for the Democratic Party, the party which brought you the Vietnam War in real life. For the new generation of American youth who oppose Reagan's bloody war plans in Central America, who want to see the racist apartheid police state brought down, the vital lesson of the Vietnam War is the need for revolutionary class struggle here in the belly of the imperialist beast. We say: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! ■

Condoms Banned at Boston University Is There Sex After Silber?

Over 100 students showed up April 6 at Morse Auditorium on the Boston University campus to hear Bill Baird, the outspoken champion of abortion rights, speak on "The Politics of God, Government and Sex." The occasion for the talk was the 20th anniversary of Baird's arrest at BU for giving away a condom and a can of contraceptive foam as well as exhibiting "obscene" objects (birth control pills, diaphragms and the like). The 1967 arrest led five years later to the Supreme Court decision in *Baird v. Eisenstadt*, which overturned Baird's conviction and legalized dissemination of birth control devices to unmarried people. Citing this case as precedent, the following year the Supreme Court legalized abortion.

BU's arch-reactionary president, John "Madman" Silber, a stalwart fighter for the Reaganite social/sexual counterrevolution, has once again banned the distribution of condoms on campus. Silber's idea of "contraception" is all-out backing to the Nicaraguan contra scum who literally gouge the fetuses out of pregnant women. Baird told the *Boston Herald* (1 April), "Apparently school officials have learned nothing about student rights, health care and the prevention of unwanted pregnancies and the spread of

AIDS in 20 years." In a revealing explanation for his decision to ban condoms and "safe sex" kits on campus, Silber said, "You don't say 'Robbery is wrong,' and then turn around and say, 'But we have this handy-dandy burglary kit available if you want one'" (*Boston Phoenix*, 3 April).

Likening sex to a criminal offense,



April 6: Bill Baird displays headline of his 1967 arrest at BU. Condoms are again "banned in Boston."

Silber wants to screw students who deviate from his puritanical predilections by slapping them with university reprisals. At present, AIDS is an invariably fatal disease, and there are too many right-wing bigots who want to keep it that way. To these anti-sex moralists, the present inability of medical science to treat AIDS is a godsend, enabling them to exploit justified fears to push their reactionary anti-sex and anti-science agenda.

Reagan, Silber and the likes of Phyllis Schlafly want "sex education" to consist of propaganda for abstinence and married heterosexual monogamy. They burn at the thought of condoms—which, by inhibiting the transmission of semen from one person to another during anal or vaginal intercourse, offer a measure of protection against transmission of the AIDS virus. Unfortunately, the young distributors of "safe sex kits" are imbued with some of the same puritanical views. Thus at BU condoms are affixed to leaflets proclaiming that "safe sex" is "being monogamous," which only serves to reinforce the reactionary social stereotypes.

Reagan and AIDS notwithstanding, sex is still popular among college students. In February "National Con-



The real obscenity: BU's anti-union, anti-sex, mad dog Führer John Silber.

dom Week" was observed on a number of campuses; at Stanford a condom-rating contest was held, and there's a proposal to install condom vending machines in dormitories. The Student Health Service at the University of Pennsylvania has contributed money for the purchase of 11,000 condoms for free distribution, and a local AIDS project in Berkeley has distributed hundreds of condoms to UC Berkeley students. Boston University students deserve nothing less. On April 8 the campus Civil Liberties Union distributed condoms at BU, defying Silber's ban, and despite his threat to revoke their official recognition and funding. Silber is reportedly taking a six-month leave of absence to research and write about AIDS. We trust BU students will make the most of the madman's absence. Down with the anti-sex crusade! Government out of the bedrooms! Billions for AIDS research! ■

Labor, Blacks Fight Back!...

(continued from page 1)

Japan-bashing trade sanctions, while they all get together to gut welfare and Medicare.

There are a lot of angry people who want to fight back. But the April 25 "spring mob" is bringing them to Washington to a rally for the Democrats—the first act of the 1988 presidential campaign. The organizers of the "National Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and South Africa" appeal to the "democratic ideals" of U.S. imperialism and criticize "costly foreign wars," pressuring Congress for butter instead of guns. Demands on South Africa were tacked on after black groups complained, and later an empty call to stop racism was hastily added. Naturally, there's not a word about the Near East—after all, it's the liberal Democrats who are always the biggest allies of the racist Zionist madmen who run Israel. So the April 25 demo organizers and their "left" tails are doing their bit for the anti-Soviet war drive, enlisting mass support for the Democratic Party which brought the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Bay of Pigs and the war on Vietnam.

The Spartacist League calls for revolutionary struggle to smash racist terror from Soweto to Harlem. We say "Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution!" Our modest "Nica bucks" campaign raised \$25,000 in material aid for that embattled country heroically defending itself against the CIA's contra war. The international Spartacist tendency stood for the defense of Libya against the Pentagon's terror bombing, and sent a team of journalists to Tripoli as a show of solidarity. We hail Cuban troops defending black Angola against the South African apartheid army, and call for labor strikes against a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. We Trotskyists are forthright in our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism; the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow, because the 1917 workers revolution smashed the old regime and its fascist, anti-Semitic racist terrorists. And we say: "Labor's gotta play hardball to win!"

Labor and Blacks: Take the Power!

With Reagan on the ropes, the Democrats have kept Reaganism going. And now the bureaucrats who police the unions for the bosses are busing in thousands of unionists to Washington to line them up to vote for the other party of the class enemy in '88. Among the endorsers of the April 25 demonstration are: UAW president *Owen Bieber*, who along with Doug Fraser gave back billions to the auto bosses, turned the Motor City into a ghost town, and now spews out protectionist poison pitting American workers against their Japa-

nese class brothers; IAM president *William Winpisinger*, the "seat-of-the-pants socialist" who ordered machinists to work during the PATCO strike, stabbing the air controllers in the back and guaranteeing their defeat; and UFCW president *William Wynn*, the labor traitor who worked overtime to bust the months-long Hormel meat-packers strike of deliant Local P-9, and sided with scabs inside the plant while the strikers were facing the National Guard outside.

And these are the so-called "progressive" bureaucrats! AFL-CIO top *Lane Kirkland*, *Al Shanker* and their cronies aren't marching against "contra aid"—in fact, they're receiving it. These front

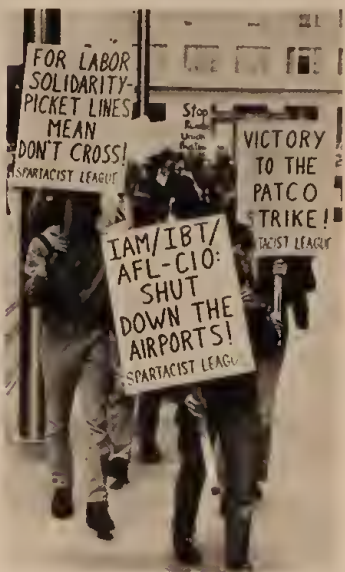


men for CIA "labor" projects to crush militant unionism from South Africa to Chile and El Salvador have been touring contras around the U.S., paid for by Oliver North. No wonder they're known as the "AFL-CIA" in Latin America. But the slicker labor fakers also share the fundamental program of propping up American capitalism. At a meeting to build support for the April 25 demo, UAW District 65 leader *Cleveland Robinson* made it clear that they were only against "continued military aid to the contras, not humanitarian aid."

These labor traitors—both the contralovers like *Kirkland* and "progressives" like *Winpisinger*—must be ousted through internal struggle in the unions to unleash the tremendous power of organized labor and break the cycle of defeats and sellouts. Key to such a struggle is breaking with the Democratic Party. Through this struggle a workers party based on the unions must be built. We're not talking about a reformist, parliamentary outfit like the British Labour Party but a revolutionary party that would organize defense squads against strikebreaking and scabherding, smash the Klan and other

fascist scum, champion the rights of women, fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and shove it to the Moral Majority bigots.

At the turn of the century American socialist *Daniel De Leon* called the union bureaucrats the "labor lieutenants of capital," pinning the tail on the asses who do the donkey work for the Democrats. During World War I, opportunist "socialists" preached illusions of "peace" through palavers of the imperialist kings, emperors and presidents, and invented reasons why the working people should support the war aims of their "own" national rulers. But V.I. Lenin insisted that the only way to end the slaughter was to "explain to the



WV Photo
Reagan's message to labor: PATCO leaders in chains, 1981. Spartacists demanded: Shut down the airports! Labor action to bring down Reagan!

masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism" ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," October 1916). And the Russian workers, led by the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, overthrew capitalism in the 1917 October Revolution. Today as well, what's needed is internationalist struggle to smash the capitalist system that inevitably spawns My Lai massacres and death squads abroad, and KKK/cop terror at home.

From the hideous lynching in *Howard Beach*, New York City and the KKK assault in *Forsyth County*, Georgia to unprecedented attacks on black students on campuses around the country, the racist killers in white sheets and blue uniforms are taking their cue from the lynchers' preferred Klandidate in the White House. But when thousands turn out for anti-racist marches, black Democratic misleaders rush to lock them under the control of the forces of racist state repression. A real fight against racism at home would bring them smack up against the black Democratic mayors, the overseers on

Ronald Reagan's plantation: *Andy Young* and *Coleman Young* break black sanitation workers strikes, while *Wilson Goode* orders the bombing of *Philly MOVE*. And April 25 speaker *Jesse Jackson* with his "Rainbow Coalition" is only out to broker black votes for the Dixiecrats at the Democratic convention in Atlanta.

Against the black Democratic front men for the white bosses like *Jesse Jackson* and nationalist demagogues like *Farrakhan*, we stand for revolutionary integrationism—the fight for the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. There can be no social revolution in this country without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party, and there is nothing short of a workers revolution which can at last open the road to freedom for black people.

The Spartacist League has fought for mass labor/black defense against the racist onslaught. In New York City in the wake of the *Howard Beach* lynching, militant transit workers called for union defense squads to mobilize labor's power to make the city a place where every working person, every black and Hispanic, can live in dignity and walk the streets without fear. Following the November 1979 Klan/Nazi massacre of five leftists, blacks and labor organizers in *Greensboro*, North Carolina, under Democrat *Jimmy Carter*, the SL initiated successful labor/black mobilizations that brought to bear the power of organized labor to interdict the fascists in cities from *Detroit* to *San Francisco*. These culminated on 27 November 1982 when over 5,000 overwhelmingly black workers and youth stopped the Klan from marching in *Washington, D.C.* These actions were all built in struggle against the Democrats, like *D.C.* black mayor *Marion Barry* who threatened massive cop repression to prevent the black masses from running the lynchers out of town.

Reagan on the Rocks: Now is the Time to Hit Back!

After getting re-elected in '84 Ronald Reagan declared, "What I want to see above all else, is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich." Well, in Reagan's America you can always get poor, and not having a roof over your head is called a "human right." There are 3 million homeless in the streets, 20 million go to bed hungry at night, 21 million adults are unable to read and write. The industrial Midwest has been turned into a rust bowl recalling the agricultural dust bowl of the '30s. Deep into the epoch of capitalist decay, the imperialist rulers are raving with war frenzy, and when their delusions of grandeur are shattered they threaten to bring the whole world down with them. Hitler's Thousand-Year Reich lasted only 12 years. The "American Century," proclaimed as the U.S. established its imperialist hegemony in World War II, sank in the rice paddies of Indochina. Now the "Reagan Revolution" has foundered after only six years.

Contemplating this spectacle and comparing it to an apparently reinvigorated Soviet regime which certainly has a lot more international credibility than the present U.S. administration, Reagan's dragon lady *Jeanne Kirkpatrick* asked recently, "Is the Soviet Union under *Gorbachev* really in control of the international agenda?" She added:

"It is never easy to know when one historical epoch ends and another begins. It is time, however, to think about it. Most Americans do not believe, and do not want to believe, we have entered a period of historical decline."

—*Newsday*, 29 March

Behind this pessimism is the worldview of the people who "lost" China, Korea, Vietnam and worry about "losing" Central America next. They are haunted

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Wall Street...

(continued from page 4)

the stagnating economy at home. At the end of last year, outstanding loans to Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela ranged from 70 to 125 percent of the capital of the six largest U.S. banks.

Since the commodity price boom was broken with the world depression of 1981-82, the flow of capital has gone the other way. From 1985 through this year, a net \$100 billion will have flowed out of impoverished Latin America and into the coffers of Wall Street and the City of London. A few years ago the Brazilian ambassador to Washington remarked this was like taking blood from an ailing patient to give to an Olympic athlete. From Cape Horn to the Rio Grande, per capita income has fallen 10 percent, investment plunged by a third and in many countries unemployment soared to about half the labor force. There is thus enormous pressure on Latin American governments to suspend interest payments, if not to repudiate the debt altogether. Already, Bolivia and Ecuador have stopped paying. But these are small potatoes.

In late February Brazil, perhaps emboldened by Yankee imperialism's disarray over the Iran/contras crisis, suspended interest payments on \$68 billion of its \$108 billion foreign debt. This deprived Western and Japanese banks for the time being of some \$6 billion a year in income. Last year Brazil accounted for about 20 percent of the entire profits of Citibank, Chase Manhattan and Manufacturers Hanover. Trying to offset their Brazilian losses was a major reason these banks recently raised the prime lending rate. So mortgage holders and car buyers as well as corporate investors in the U.S. are supposed to bail out Citi and Manny Hanny since they can no longer bleed Latin American workers and peasants as before.

Junk-Bond Junkies

Since the Latin America lending spree came to a screeching halt when Mexico suspended payment on principal in 1981, Wall Street has turned inward, fueling the corporate takeover mania. The *Economist* (14 December 1985) observed: "There has been an especial reason in America why much of the new money has sloshed into stock markets. American banks have burned their fingers lending to Latin America and on rural real estate, so they are now burning them lending to small compa-

**"Black Tuesday,"
1929—
Speculative boom
on Wall Street
ends in Great
Crash. Even
financiers and
bourgeois
economists see
parallels today.**



nies which want to swallow bigger companies up." In other words, having bled Latin America white, U.S. banks are now out to bleed American companies.

The main financial instrument for a hostile takeover is the so-called junk bond, whose collateral is the assets of the targeted company. Using junk bonds, raiders like Carl Icahn and T. Boone Pickens buy up the stock of large corporations and then milk their assets to pay back the banks. Some half a million employees have been thrown into the street in the "restructuring" following such hostile takeovers. To stave off such takeovers, the established management piles up debt in order to buy out shareholders—in effect, emulating the raiders by milking their own companies. The bids and counterbids are the main driving force behind the current stock market boom.

The so-called "insider trading" scandal on Wall Street is just part of the infighting surrounding hostile takeovers. Those in the know have always made a killing buying a company's stock before a merger is publicly announced. Only in the old days on the Street there were fewer insiders and they were more inside. *Business Week* (2 March) noted that in the 1960s:

"The game was dominated by a handful of firms and conducted in carefully cultivated obscurity. Although the practice was only marginally legal at best, deal information flowed freely within and among investment banks. It was the old-buddy system," said Steven Sherman, a former arb [speculator] who worked at Goldman Sachs at the time. "It was people gossiping, but it was very good gossip."

So the prosecution today of operators like Ivan Boesky and Martin Siegel for "insider trading" is basically an attempt by the Wall Street old boys network to use the state against the upstart raiders. A major target is the maverick investment bank of Drexel Burnham, king of the junk-bond market.

The overall effect of the takeover mania is to further gut the American economy. Billions of dollars are spent and most managerial energy expended in wrangling over which capitalist and which bank will rape a given company. Pat Choate, an economist with the TRW conglomerate, exclaimed: "How can anyone concentrate on doing what is needed for long-term competitiveness—spending for plant and equipment, R&D, and job training—when they're so busy battling for survival?" The answer is they can't. More fundamentally, the capitalist system, which has become so *parasitic* that even Wall Street financiers and business economists are appalled, does not deserve to survive.

The Danger of a New Great Crash

An increasing number of financiers and bourgeois economists, for example, Felix Rohatyn and Henry Kaufman on Wall Street, have pointed to the parallel between the present financial situation and that which led up to the 1929 crash. MIT professor Charles Kindleberger, author of the standard academic history of the Great Depression, calls attention to similarity between the international financial position of the U.S. today and Britain's in the late 1920s. Britain,

formerly the dominant economic power in the capitalist world, was then running consistent, large balance-of-payments deficits. A financial crisis was postponed only by the willingness of foreign investors (mainly French and British colonials in South Africa, Australia, etc.) to hold large sterling balances in the City of London. Britain, formerly the lender of last resort, had become a debtor nation.

Likewise, the United States today. Kindleberger links the danger of a new Great Crash to America's loss of hegemony in the capitalist world:

"The most alarming analogy I see between the Great Depression and the present day is in the organization and leadership of the world economy."

"My explanation why the earlier difficulties were so wide, so deep and so prolonged was that no country took charge as the economic and financial leader. None was prepared to organize last-resort lending to financial institutions and countries threatened with financial collapse...."

"Today, the leadership of the United States that has been exemplary from 1945 to some date of choice (1965 during the Vietnam war?, the 1971 Nixon-Connally shock?) is faltering, and there is no other country ready and willing to pick up the burden." (emphasis in original)

—"Depression Ahead?"

Tocqueville Research
Parallels, December 1986

Now that even Wall Street financiers and respected bourgeois economists are worrying about another world depression, it is vital for workers in this country to understand the political lessons of the 1930s. The impact of the Depression and the evident bankruptcy of capitalism impelled the American working class to organize itself for the first time in mass industrial unions. However, thanks in large part to the Stalinists and social democrats at the head of those unions, the incipient radicalization of American labor was channeled into FDR's Democratic Party. The notion that Roosevelt's New Deal got the U.S. out of the Depression is a liberal myth. The American economy did not recover its pre-1929 level until the imperialist slaughter of World War II set the war industries running at high gear.

Today once again economics is driving U.S. imperialism toward war—this country's rulers may have inferior products to push in the world market, but they have a fat military machine to push them with. The current anti-Japanese hysteria points to new Hiroshimas. There is not much time for the working class to sweep away the rotten structure of world capitalism before it sinks all humanity into barbarism. ■

by the string of "failed" imperial presidencies: JFK assassinated, LBJ driven out by the Tet Offensive, Nixon ousted over Watergate, Ford who "couldn't walk and chew gum at the same time," Carter slinking off after the Teheran embassy seizure, and now Reagan brought down by doings in the White House basement. Six in a row, and the last two (post-Vietnam) administrations riven by deep conflicts between State Department, Pentagon and White House, as U.S. rulers no longer can play the hegemonic role they view as their manifest destiny. But this doesn't make them any less dangerous. Today, the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism reflects its desperation in decline. Like a wounded beast, it's deadly dangerous.

Fifteen years ago, hundreds of thousands marched in antiwar "peace" parades whose politics were indistinguishable from this year's April 25 "mobe." They didn't stop the Vietnam War—it was the Indochinese masses who beat the U.S. Army on the field of battle. The massive antiwar movement triggered by the dirty, losing Vietnam War was headed by liberal Democrats (and opportunist "leftists") who preached

patriotism and the idea that this country is fundamentally a defender of "freedom" and "democracy" but was making a "tragic mistake" in Vietnam. The last thing these people wanted was for antiwar youth to understand the connection between imperialist war crimes in Vietnam and the system of racist capitalism at home. The massive antiwar activism of the 1960s-1970s never challenged the real power of the capitalist rulers of this country, and today we confront the same greedy, war-crazy ruling class as it drives toward new wars.

The Vietnamese did their job, but we haven't done ours. So today we witness the spectacle of Nixon and other Watergaters on the TV talk show circuit offering sage comments about how Reagan can get out of his Iran/Contragate pickle. Meanwhile, their victims are dead or still in prison, like former Panther leader Geronimo Pratt. And the Vietnam War losers are trying to get even by laying waste to Central America. As Lenin polemicized against the opportunist Kautsky—"who refuses to regard imperialism as a 'phase of capitalism' and defines it as a policy"—imperialism will not fall of its own



accord, it must be brought down through socialist revolution.

The Russian October Revolution demonstrated that the key to the fight for socialism is building a Bolshevik party, a vanguard party of the proletariat; not a parliamentary party but a combat party that mobilizes the working people in the streets and the factories; a party that is the tribune of the people, championing the cause of the oppressed, a party that serves as the

memory of the working class, drawing the lessons of past battles. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building an internationalist communist party to lead the American proletarian revolution, to bring down the imperialist colossus from within, in alliance with the oppressed around the world; to liberate the workers and oppressed of this country and get the U.S. imperialist jackboot off the necks of the toiling masses of the world. Join us! ■

Class War in the Shipyards

The 1945 Bay Area Machinists Strike

The mass ILWU picket which ran the scabs off the dock in Redwood City, California sparked the current strike of 1,800 Bay Area shipyard workers, in open opposition to the strikebreaking pleas of their "leaders." In 1945 a strike by thousands of machinists rallied the Bay Area labor movement. Then as today, the strikers faced not only the employers, but the capitalist state and its loyal lieutenants in the labor bureaucracy.

The 10 November 1945 *Militant*, newspaper of the then-revolutionary

imperialist powers for the plunder of colonies and the division of markets. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy kept the working class chained to war production—and they had plenty of help from the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which labeled coal miners "Nazi fifth columnists" when they struck during the war. The CP even applauded the hideous atom bombing of the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

By the end of the war, the pent-up anger of millions of workers was ready

ment, the California Metal Trades Council (employers' association), the AFL bureaucrats, and the Stalinists have been unable to stifle. During the war Lodge 68 refused to surrender any of the hard-won terms of its agreement. It was necessary for the government and employers to place the shops under Navy control in order to break the strike. From early 1944 to the present, the members of Lodge 68 have been working without a written agreement....

"Despite the solidarity of the rank and file of both the AFL and CIO, the Stalinist union leaders have combined with the AFL bureaucracy and the boss press in an attempt to undermine the strike. They have tried to minimize the machinists' demands, denigrate their leaders and arouse sentiment against the picket lines, so far without success....

"Under the lead of the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, dominated by Stalinist Harry Bridges, the other maritime unions were enjoined to support a treacherous '6-point program'....

"This 'program' contains two main proposals: (1) The establishment of a 'joint strategy committee' comprising representatives of unions directly or indirectly affected by the strike; and (2) Guarantees that there would be no more interference with the movement of troop ships and troop supply ships. In return the Stalinists agreed to 'support' the strike.

THE JOKER

"One joker in this 'program' is that ALL ships can be classified as troop ships or troop supply ships. An

working both sides of the street: appealing to the widespread anger in the army and working class that American troops were being kept in the Pacific and Europe (where U.S. imperialism was targeting the Soviet Union), while showing their loyalty to U.S. rulers by vowing, "We have duties to fulfill in the armies of occupation" (*Daily Worker*, 8 January 1946). In contrast, the SWP brought to the machinists strike a consistent class-struggle program that flowed from their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war.

Exemplifying the militant labor solidarity in the strike, on 28 January 1946 more than 3,000 AFL and CIO unionists defied a court injunction limiting pickets and shut tight the scab-operated Bethlehem Alameda shipyard. Squads of women workers kept out office personnel. The *Militant* of 16 February reported that when a scab superintendent insisted on driving through the lines "his car tipped over." The unionists also defied an ominous police presence, and ultimately the Alameda cops and riot squad reinforcements "moved off in a long caravan as the picketers waved and cheered them."

The strike lasted for 120 days, despite strikebreaking attacks of the IAM International and the knifing by the CP. In early March, IAM president Harvey Brown stepped in to place the Lodge 68 leadership on trial for "disloyalty," and later expelled them from the union. Lodge 68 responded by withdrawing from the IAM and establishing an independent local, which later affiliated with United Steelworkers Machinists Local 1304. On 17 March 1946 both the AFL and CIO machinists voted to accept an 18 percent wage increase and return to work.



Executive Board and officers of Machinists Local 1327 in August 1945. Ed Lee seated left.

attempt on the part of the machinists to prevent the repair of ANY vessel could be construed as a violation of this program, thus providing the Stalinist union leaders a pretext for ordering their members to work on ships with scab machinists.

"The proposal for a 'joint strategy committee' is a scheme of the Stalinists to take control of the strike out of the hands of the striking unions and scuttle it, because Bridges and his pals are fearful that the unions they control may be swept into militant action despite the Stalinist agreement with the employers for 'peace'."

—*Militant*, 10 November 1945

The CP's betrayals in the service of the Democratic Party were opposed by veteran Communists in the IAM. These militants, including leaders of IAM Lodge 68 such as Ed Lee, fought the CP's order to organize a "back to work movement" and its demand that troop ships continue to be worked—a ploy to defeat the strike. The Stalinists were

The Communist Party proceeded to break up its machinists club in San Francisco and purge scores of militants. An article by Oleta O'Connor Yates in the CP's *Political Affairs* (December 1946) states:

"Action was finally taken against this 'left' factional grouping. Vern Smith, Walter Lambert, Ed Lee and a number of their followers were expelled from the Party for participation in an anti-Party, 'left'-sectarian factional grouping, and the membership was warned against further association with these expelled people."

After unsuccessfully attempting to create a left-Stalinist organization with other expelled CPers, Ed Lee soon joined the Trotskyist SWP. In later years he contributed to the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League (see our obituary for comrade Lee in *WV* No. 251, 7 March 1980). The struggle of the Bay Area machinists four decades ago against the bosses and their agents atop the unions holds vital lessons for labor militants facing the same unholy alliance today. ■

THE MILITANT
AFL-CIO Massed Pickets Defy Alameda Injunction
By J. Marshall

Machinists Strike In San Francisco
Special to THE MILITANT
SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 31 — A joint AFL and CIO machine strike, begun October 29, has closed approximately 200 plants here, put 12,000 workers on the picket lines and broken the labor 'truce' in the Bay Area. The striking unions' appeal to the Bay Area labor movement and 55,000 other workers affected by the strike to respect their picket lines has been complied with in all but a few instances.

San Francisco Machinists Solid In Strike
Special to THE MILITANT
By Robert Chester

Striking Machinists March On Capitol In California
Special to THE MILITANT
SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17 — Today 1,000 AFL Trade Unionists invaded the State Capital, Sacramento, protesting the refusal of the State Unemployment Insurance Commission to pay those unemployed benefits.

San Francisco Machinists End Bitter Four-Month Strike
SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17 — Today 1,000 AFL Trade Unionists invaded the State Capital, Sacramento, protesting the refusal of the State Unemployment Insurance Commission to pay those unemployed benefits.

West Coast Longshoremen Call Strike Referendum
SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17 — Today 1,000 AFL Trade Unionists invaded the State Capital, Sacramento, protesting the refusal of the State Unemployment Insurance Commission to pay those unemployed benefits.

Against flag-waving and betrayal by AFL lops and Stalinists, the SWP's *Militant* fought to shut down waterfront.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP), described the opening of the battle:

"A joint AFL and CIO machinists strike, begun October 29, has closed approximately 200 plants here, put 12,000 workers on the picket lines and broken the labor 'truce' in the Bay Area. The striking unions' appeal to the Bay Area labor movement and 55,000 other workers affected by the strike to respect their picket lines has been complied with in all but a few instances.

"AFL Machinists Lodge 68 and CIO Steelworkers East Bay Machinists Local 1304 are demanding a 30 per cent wage increase. When the employers refused anything above a 10 per cent raise, the militant machinists voted to strike, ignoring the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act provision for a 30-day 'cooling-off' period."

Struck were 15 shipyards, five major yards in San Francisco and seven in the East Bay, as well as at least 185 other foundries, machine shops, marine engine, rubber and other plants and some warehouses.

The machinists strike came after four years of imperialist war, where the capitalists and the phony "friend of labor" president Roosevelt ground down wages, brought out troops to break strikes and targeted revolutionary socialists and other militants for their working-class opposition to the imperialist slaughter. Roosevelt's "war for democracy" was in fact a war among the

to explode. Workers who had forged industrial unions through sitdowns and general strikes in the 1930s were eager to reclaim what they had lost during the war years. The AFL and CIO machinists in the Bay Area fired the first shot in what became the largest strike wave in American history. One after another, CIO unions demanded a reduction in the workweek with no loss in pay—"48 hours pay for 40 hours work." In the fall of 1945 oil, lumber, dock, glass and textile workers launched strikes. They were joined on November 21 by 225,000 General Motors workers. In January '46, 800,000 Steelworkers struck. Two million union members were on strike.

But the CIO leaders were pledging "Industrial Peace for the Postwar Period," and the slavish CP was calling for a permanent no-strike pledge! The CP had earned the hatred of militants for its groveling before the waterfront employers and the government. In contrast to the SWP, which sought to extend the 1945 machinists' action into a Bay Area-wide waterfront strike, the Stalinists feared above all that it might spark a fight in longshore where ILWU president and long-time CP supporter Harry Bridges rammed through a sell-out the next spring. Bridges tried to dismantle the machinists' picket lines, even ordering ILWU members to cross! The ILWU ranks stood with the machinists and refused. The SWP's *Militant* reported:

"IAM-AFL Lodge 68 has a tradition of militancy that the govern-

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Racism Deadly Threat to NYC Labor

Racist killers in and out of uniform are on a rampage in Koch's New York. What's urgently needed is powerful, integrated workers action to crush the racists. But the absence of labor struggle ominously opens the door to sinister demagogues like Louis Farrakhan and other reactionary black nationalists, who seek to fan the flames of race-hate in this city on the brink. Who benefits? Who loses? Reagan wants race war, to unleash the forces of deadly repression against the ghetto, and cut off the

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

Black transit worker Wajid Abdul-Salaam was hog-tied, beaten and killed by Koch's cops on Feb. 12th. Militant strikes by citywide labor and mobilized defense guards could have put a stop to the long list of blacks killed by cops! But this union leadership did nothing; they are even on record for more cops!

The killing goes on. On Feb. 26 the courts sanctioned eviction by shotgun murder by clearing Stephen Sullivan of wrongdoing in the Eleanor Bumpurs killing. Only two days later, the cops celebrated their reaffirmed license to kill by publicly executing Nicholas Bartlett on Harlem's Main Street, 125th. Just



no credit
Former soldier Nicholas Bartlett, executed by NYC cops on 125th Street.

possibility of integrated class struggle (while whacking out the Democrats). The Committee for a Fighting TWU seeks to unleash the power of the 37,000-strong Transport Workers Union Local 100 and all NYC labor to make this city a place where every working person and minority can live in dignity and walk the streets without fear (leaflet reprinted below). This is inseparable from forging a class-struggle workers party, dedicated to revolutionary integrationism, to lead the fight for all the oppressed.

last Sunday, taking their cue from Howard Beach, a mob of 30 white racist Columbia Univ. students attacked black student Mike Jones and eight other black students chasing one into oncoming traffic on Broadway. Having white-washed the killers of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs, the racist justice system demonstrated that the strategy of the Democrats, the labor fakers and the nationalists of relying on the courts is an *obstacle* in the fight against racial oppression.

Six years of increasing race-terror, union-busting and anti-Soviet war drive under Reagan is enough. Now is the time for labor and the minority populations to stand as one and strike back against the entire rotting, racist capitalist system. With Reagan on the ropes over Contragate, the ruling class is worried about the "Reagan legacy" and damage to the "imperial presidency." But for the working class, the smashing of PATCO, the massacre of Philly MOVE, and the rape of black Grenada are the hot brands of Reagan reaction. They must be avenged! And now is the time!

Militant workers know that the power of labor, when mobilized and brought to focus by a determined leadership, can win victories. The Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 militants stopped the race-terrorist KKK from

marching in Washington, DC in 1982. Closer to home were the successful class-struggle defense mobilizations led by the Committee for a Fighting TWU to get the charges dropped against TWU Brother James Grimes. Taking the lead in both these campaigns militant black workers represented the living link between the power of organized labor and the minority populations.

Recently several initiatives have been made to enlist the power of labor in the fight for black freedom. We applaud the initiative taken by a group of black track workers in calling for union action on behalf of Abdul-Salaam. Collections for the family were made by these brothers in several locations. Transit militants in Chicago, ATU Local 308, last year fought for a union defense of Ramona Africa, the only adult survivor of the racist bombing of Philly MOVE. As a result, Local 308 sent an official telegram to the authorities demanding she be set free. Last month here in Local 100 the Committee for a Fighting TWU collected money and protest letters for the defense and freedom of Geronimo Pratt, an ex-Black Panther leader, imprisoned for 16 years in an FBI/COINTELPRO frame-up.

Armed with a class-struggle program that concretely addresses the needs of the working class as a whole, militant black workers must take the lead in forging a new leadership that will sweep aside the pro-capitalist labor traitors of the Sonny Hall ilk. The pre-condition for winning the last social revolution in this country, the Civil War, was not only the enlistment and arming of black soldiers, but also the purging of pro-slavery officers from the leadership of the Union Army.

The chains of racism will not be broken by putting just another black face in a high place, like Uncle Tom Ben Ward or Wilson Goode. The black lackeys and labor misleaders must be swept aside by workers ready to make a



WW Photo
Militant NYC transit workers, Labor Black League demand justice for Eleanor Bumpurs.

determined fight against the race-haters from Howard Beach to City Hall. With the reins of leadership firmly in grasp, militant black workers can initiate the organizing of union defense guards and powerful job actions backed up by the strike weapon. When black workers rise to the task of leadership, white workers will follow. Militant tactics used by labor to smash racist terror can be used to win a big wage increase, a shorter work week with no loss in pay, a 100% cost of living adjustment and union enforced job safety. Only a real reactionary nut would put his highty before his belly. An injury to one is an injury to all and the labor movement must mobilize to smash racist attacks!

If Local 100 had taken up the call of the Committee for a Fighting TWU for powerful, integrated union defense guards at the time of the lynching of Brother Willie Turks and again with the murder of Michael Griffith, Brother Wajid Abdul-Salaam might be alive today.

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU
26 March 1987

Bay Area Waterfront...

(continued from page 16)

decimation of U.S. shipyards predated the decline of the "rust bowl" industries such as steel and auto. And the Pentagon's drive for a "war-fighting, 600-ship Navy" has left the U.S. Navy as the source of shipyard revenue.

Just-resigned Navy Secretary Lehman threatened that the Navy will quit letting contracts to West Coast shipyards because workers' wages are too high. Between 1983 and 1986 the West Coast-wide shipyard contract was destroyed, as the bosses whipsawed unions against those in yards in the South and East. In the Pacific Northwest, Lockheed Shipbuilding in Seattle locked out 900 workers last November (following another useless slowdown campaign) and has hired 500 scabs. Todd Shipyard in Seattle imposed its "final offer" in December after workers there refused to accept givebacks. Yards in Tacoma and Portland imposed wage cuts after threatening bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, in the Tidewater region of Virginia 1,250 workers were laid off in November at Newport News Shipbuilding Co., site of a militant strike by heavily black Steelworkers Local 8888 in 1983. And with the scheduled completion of the aircraft carrier *Dwight D. Eisenhower* this month, another 2,000 jobs are threatened. Workers are being blackmailed with the threat of work being moved to low-wage yards like Ingalls in Pascagoula, Mississippi, or the scab Avondale Shipyards in New Orleans. The maritime bosses



Communist leadership was key to 1934 San Francisco general strike. It will take reds to win today.

used the same tactic to break the coastwise ILA contract, by shipping through scab ports on the Gulf.

"National security" is frequently invoked to break waterfront strikes. Last week, ILWU and IBU leaders agreed to unload "military cargo" from one of the Crowley barges which were struck by the ILWU in Redwood City March 20. (An IBU picket reports that they had already allowed one barge to be towed up to Portland to be unloaded by ILWU longshoremen.) Reportedly, the issue of working military cargo was a hot dispute at a March 17 IBU meeting, with ILWU president Jimmy Herman and other top ILWU and IBU officials threatening strike committee members and insisting that they would run the IBU strike.

The bureaucrats took down the picket lines and unloaded the container to

demonstrate their loyalty to the capitalist state and determination to rein in the IBU strike. (The "military cargo" on the barge was the personal effects of servicemen!) And the "militant" head of the IBU strike committee, Jack Heyman, was there to "observe," bowing to the rotten deal to unload the "military cargo" from struck barges! The very next day Heyman cynically lectured the shipyard workers to "defy injunctions."

Class Struggle Against the War Drive

Reagan has run aground, but the capitalists are grabbing what they can, continuing to wage the war on blacks and labor with a vengeance. At the same time there are plenty of unionists and minorities who see that Reagan's been put in receivership, and know this is a

good time to fight. When the capitalists invoke "national security," it's their "security" to *exploit* that they are talking about. Reagan and the Democrats are targeting every gain of the working class—from union conditions on the waterfront to the planned economy of the Soviet Union. They want to use those 600 Navy ships for the anti-Soviet war drive—from the coasts of Nicaragua to the USSR's Kola Peninsula.

A powerful waterfront strike will do more to spike Reagan's war plans than a thousand peace crawls like the upcoming April 25 demonstration. And if there is a direct U.S. assault on Nicaragua, there should be labor political strikes, in which maritime workers would be strategic.

ILWU members have been watching the shipyard and IBU strikes closely. They know the maritime bosses want to bring back the shape-up, destroying the hiring hall, and want to rip up union jurisdiction. But Herman is already dismissing the longshoremen's contract demands as a "wish list" and is scared stiff of a strike. The ILWU was forged in the hard class struggle of the 1934 general strike. It took communist leadership to break the bosses' "open shop," forge the industrial unions and win union control of hiring. To *win* the coming class battles requires a class-struggle leadership that can *politically defeat* the labor misleaders who are tied in a thousand ways to the defense of capitalism.

Longshoremen: now is the time to put the ILWU's muscle behind the IBU and shipyard workers and beat back the maritime bosses. For a Bay Area waterfront strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to Tug, Shipyard Workers!

For a Bay Area Waterfront Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 14—Labor battle has been joined on the Bay Area waterfront. Six shipyards and ship repair facilities were struck March 30 by workers battling wage cuts imposed by the employers. For a week the labor misleaders denounced the shipyard strike as "illegal." Then they "authorized" it on April 7—in order to bring it under their thumb. Given the chance, the union tops will knife it in the back.

As we go to press, shipyard union officials are trying to ram through a settlement at Service Engineering, one of the smaller shipyards, in order to put the men to work on the nuclear attack carrier USS *Carl Vinson*, presently at the Triple A yard in Hunters Point. The bosses and the union bureaucrats are attempting to scuttle the strike by destroying the solidarity of the shipyard workers in the name of "national security." This is exactly how the 1983 shipyard strike was defeated, when the Navy towed its ships out of Todd to the Alameda Naval Air Station and subcontracted the work to members of the same Metal Trades Council.

The shipyard strike was sparked by the Bay Area-wide ports shutdown, ten days earlier, by members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who chased seabs off a Redwood City dock to aid their brother tugboat workers in the ILWU-affiliated Inland Boatmen's Union. The IBU has been on strike against the giant Crowley shipping conglomerate for more than 60 days. The Redwood City action should have occurred at the beginning of the IBU strike, not as a one-shot deal, but shutting down *all* ports. With their own contract expiring June 30 and the maritime bosses out for blood, the



Shipyard workers hold strike rally, April 3.

predominantly black and Hispanic ILWU members must not let the IBU strikers or the long-beleaguered shipyard workers stand alone.

Action by the ILWU is decisive to win these battles. Longshoremen have the power to shut the ports down tight, and link up with workers in rail, trucking and airlines—nothing moves on or off the waterfront. One out—all out! Shut down the waterfront!

After seven years without a wage increase and nine months without a contract, 300 pipefitters finally told the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, which represents the ten shipyard craft unions, to shove their useless "work-to-rule" slowdown. Early in the morning on

March 30, they set up picket lines at the largest shipyard, Todd, and immediately won the support of hundreds of other shipyard workers.

The union tops furiously denounced Plumbers and Pipefitters Local 38 president Joe Mazzola for calling the walkout. Carpenters piecared and Metal Trades spokesman Rick Anderson fumed. "The pipefitters are trying to thrash everybody. Nobody can reason with Joe Mazzola" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March). Anderson tried to break the strike from the start, as he led a handful of workers up to the pipefitters' picket line carrying a large American flag and a "Solidarność" banner, singing "Hi-ho, hi-ho, it's off to

work we go." But this company cop, with the banner of Reagan's favorite "union," turned tail when he met some workers playing hardball.

The Metal Trades leaders were nowhere to be seen, hoping that Todd's threats of firings and NLRB injunctions would force the strikers back to work. These labor traitors are mouthpieces for the Democratic Party politicians, the bureaucrats' "friends of labor" who broke the 1976 San Francisco city workers strike.

With the Metal Trades bureaucrats despised by the ranks, an ad hoc group of assorted reformists and ex-leftists has stepped in to do their donkey work. At an April 7 rally at Pier 50, this "United Shipyard Workers" outfit uttered not a word against the treachery of the labor tops.

Shipyard workers are looking for a program to win. Hundreds of workers snatched up Spartacist leaflets which hit the yards and the docks on the morning of April 1. Entitled "Strike to Win—Shut Down the Port!" it called for a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike. The SL leaflet demanded: "Parity for all shipyard workers with the highest paid union building trades! To hell with injunctions—For mass picket lines that *nobody* better cross!" A waitress at a waterfront cafe taped a copy up as pickets eagerly read them.

"War-Fighting, Union-Busting" Navy

The draconian cuts Todd has imposed are typical of the shipbuilding industry nationwide, as the employers have sought to bolster their dwindling profits out of the workers' hides. The

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Feds, Drug Companies Bleed AIDS Victims

AIDS is a "global problem of tragic proportions," says World Health Organization director Halldan T. Mahler. Yet inside the Reagan administration AIDS is a "giggling factor," according to Vice President Bush (*Boston Globe*, 1 April). For these reactionaries this terrible, fatal disease has been an opportunity to exploit fear, ignorance and anti-homosexual bigotry.

Now the Reaganites have finally thrown a small sop to AIDS victims, rushing through Food and Drug Administration approval of the drug AZT. Though not a cure, it has been found to prolong life in some patients, though with serious side effects. But the outrageous price tag—some \$10,000 a year for one individual!—is an obscenity. The vast majority of AIDS victims, disproportionately poor, black and Hispanic, can't afford treatment. Every potential remedy should be made available *free* to desperate AIDS victims!

As of March 30, the Centers for Disease Control report over 33,000 AIDS cases in the U.S., of whom 19,394

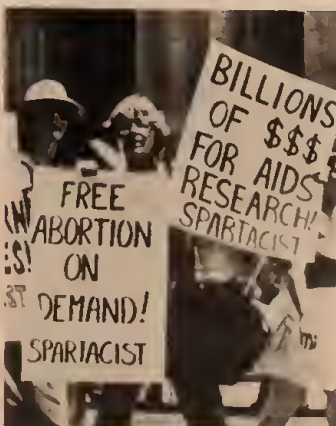
Free, Quality Health Care for All!

have already died. In big cities, hospitals are overflowing with sick and dying patients. AIDS continues to ravage both the gay community and intravenous drug users. Most painful is the projection that in New York in 1987 as many as 800 babies will be born infected with the AIDS virus—and 90 percent will be black or Hispanic.

After seven years of avoiding the question, Reagan finally forced his lips to utter the "A-word." On April 1 he gave a speech detailing his program to fight AIDS: "Just say no." Was this a loathsome April Fool's joke? No indeed. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, a vicious anti-abortion bigot, kicked off a months-long debate in the administration when he urged a public sex education campaign including the proper use of condoms. He was promptly denounced by anti-ERA crusader Phyllis Schlafly for promoting "safe sod-

omy," while Education Secretary William Bennett screamed that Koop was undermining morality among the nation's children. The White House gagged Koop pending a settlement of the dispute: education should stress no sex except in "a mutually faithful monogamous relationship" (*Los Angeles Times*, 31 January). Did they have Jim Bakker in mind?

The U.S. "health care" system with its medicine for profit is a market in death. The pharmaceutical giants eye potential profits, while insurance vultures deny coverage to those judged "bad risks" for AIDS. Burroughs Wellcome, AZT's manufacturer, retains complete control over the drug, while its stock soars. Further testing of AZT and other medications has been criminally sabotaged by drug company greed and willful government red tape. These bloodsucking corporations are a men-



Spartacists support gay and women's rights, New York, June 1986.

ace to public health: their "secret" formulas and research ought to be made public *now* to all scientists in every country. Expropriate the drug companies! Billions for AIDS research! ■