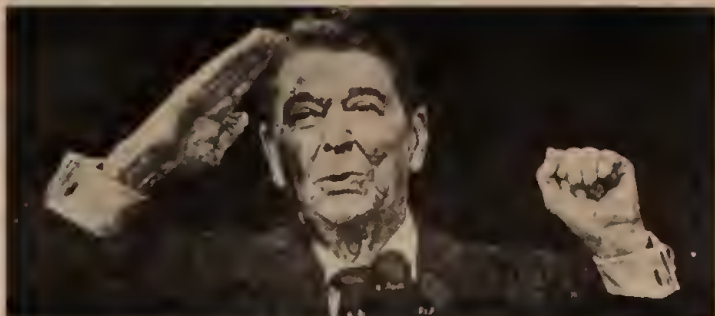


All Roads Lead to the Contra in Chief



Grace/Newsweek



Johnston/Washington Post

Democratic Party-controlled committee to "investigate" Contragate is out to contain the damage, covering up Reagan's crimes...and theirs.

Reagangate: Democrats Cover Up

"Live, from Washington, D.C., it's the Iran/Contragate hearings." It's billed as high TV docudrama, elaborately staged with soft cop/hard cop routines, Country 1 and Country 2 code names, "Follow the Money" and other trivial pursuits. All supposedly to track down the overt/covert funding of the CIA's contra mercenaries in contravention of various Congressional prohibitions, U.S. laws and other impediments. "When did you tell the president about this? And what did you tell him?" intoned Senate investigative committee chief counsel Arthur Liman, tossing off his Watergate line he's been practicing for weeks. Former National Security

Adviser McFarlane said he'd written it on a 3x5 card, which was returned with expressions of presidential satisfaction and pleasure. How did investigators discover "Reagan knew" about the Iran-contra funds diversion? "They must have found the memo," Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North is said to have replied, remarking something to the effect that he must have "missed one" in his "shredding party." In spite of the attempts at obliteration, it's clear that all roads lead to the Contra in Chief.

But the TV "investigation" being played out by the Congressional Democrats is cover-up city. Committee chairman Inouye declared that it will

not be done "in a way that suggests to our adversaries that we are a nation divided." No indeed. North and a couple of sidekicks now safely outside the Reagan administration are being set up as fall guys, pleading guilty to tax fraud for having solicited contra arms money from wealthy right-wingers for ostensibly tax-deductible "educational" purposes. (Reagan says he thought the dough was for contra commercials.) This is part of a plea bargain, not in return for their testimony against higher-ups but in return for their silence. This is not going after Al Capone but after a pair of his capos on income tax charges. They'll show that Reagan's the

one, all right—"intensely aware" of the secret contra aid, said Republican Senator Cohen; "very knowledgeable," said Inouye. And then...nothing, because the "threat to the presidency" is too great. Who could expect any different?

Some of the key players will naturally stonewall. Conveniently for the administration, William Casey's lips are sealed forever: the day before he was to testify before the Tower Commission, the ex-CIA chief had a seizure and had half his brain removed, so he couldn't talk (or mumble) to Congressional investigators; he expired the very day General

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CIA's Contras Murder American Volunteer

Salute Ben Linder

On April 28 Benjamin Linder, an American volunteer working in Nicaragua, was executed by a contra hit squad. He was the first American killed by the counterrevolutionaries who have slaughtered more than 15,000 Nicaraguans in their dirty war. Linder's murderers—armed, paid and directed by the United States government—are engaged in a last-ditch drive to loosen Congressional purse strings with an orgy of bloodletting. Even as the contra killers carried out their crime, Washington was undertaking the largest-ever war "maneuvers" in Central America, targeting Sandinista Nicaragua. Benjamin Linder gave his life in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. His heroic example and internationalist commitment must inspire class-conscious workers and militant youth to dedicate their lives to the struggle for an American

revolution that will put an end to Yankee imperialism and its bloody crimes.

Ben Linder was a mechanical engineer working on hydroelectric projects in the mountains near the Honduran border. Killed along with him were two Nicaraguans, Paulo Rosales and Sergio Hernández from San José de Bocay, who were helping Linder bring electricity to their village. In the last five years thousands of Nicaraguan peasants and workers have been killed by the contra cutthroats. Hundreds of teachers, doctors, technicians and professionals, including nine *internacionalistas*, have been assassinated. But it was Linder's death at the hands of U.S.-directed mercenaries which has brought the war home to many Americans. His older brother John denounced the authors of the crime: "The United States

Benjamin Linder working on Nicaraguan hydroelectric project.



NICAT

government killed my brother. The contras killed my brother, and Reagan says he is a contra."

This was cold-blooded murder. Contra disinformation claimed Linder was caught in a crossfire. But his father, David Linder, a pathologist, released a medical examiner's report showing that his son survived the initial barrage, immobilized by rifle fire:

"He was then killed by a gunshot wound to his head. The powder then suggests that he was shot at very close range,

possibly two feet away or less. What I am telling you is they blew his brains out at gunpoint, there as he lay wounded at the site."

They did it by the book: this execution is a page taken straight from the CIA's murder manual, which called for "neutralizing" Sandinista officials and development workers. The FDN contras vowed to continue the assassinations. And the White House blamed Linder for his own death, saying that he had put

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Bush in the Bushes?

Bedroom Snoops Sink Gary Hart

American politics is awash in sleaze. Gary Hart's forced withdrawal as the front-running Democratic presidential contender—they're calling it "campaignus interruptus"—has the Republicans oozing glee. "I can't deny that it has been a great media diversion," smirked presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. They've had plenty of problems lately on their side of the aisle: the vicious lying moron Reagan crippled and his whole crew of incompetent wild men and contra murderers stonewalling in Congress, Meese's dabbling in Wedtech, the Deaver and Donovan deals, etc. It's a sign of these hypocritical Moral Majority times that it only took a couple of well-placed "anonymous tips" to set the entire press corps on Hart like a pack of wolves.

It wasn't the *National Enquirer* that did Hart in. The *Miami Herald's* "Miami vice" act, turning its reporters into stakeout snoops hoping to catch Hart in the act, or at least in the presence of a leggy blonde model, was despicable. The *Washington Post* got in a final blow, telling the beleaguered Hart campaign it had its own '87-model "Deep Throat," complete with documents, ready to reveal a Hart liaison with a Washington society lady. All the "responsible" media smarmily defended their prying into politicians' private lives by claiming "public interest." But



Carl Iwasaki

Reagan's legion of indecency strikes again, hounding Gary Hart for seeing model Donna Rice. Government, media snoops out of the bedroom!



Peter Borsari

according to a *Newsweek* (18 May) poll, 70 percent of the American public is opposed to media spying, and two out of three think Hart got a raw deal.

It was a new low when a reporter actually asked Hart, "Have you ever

committed adultery?" For many past presidents, this was simply treated as a fact of life. Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Kennedy come to mind—Roosevelt even mobilized the Secret Service to ensure privacy for his meetings with his mistress. It used to be they waited until they were dead before the "now it can be told" stuff came out—and they certainly weren't about to sing about Jack Kennedy's affair with a Mafia moll.

As we've said many times, government has no business interfering in private life, which means basically sex. The corollary is that the private life of people in government should be nobody's business either. Interesting, perhaps, but a little screwing around is no crime against humanity, unlike the vicious imperialist wars—both open and secret—against everyone and everything that interferes with capitalism's profits. As for Hart's "character," what we've got to say is he's a dangerous "more bang for the buck" Cold Warrior. Like every other Democratic and Republican candidate in a field scattered with second-rate nonentities, certified fanatics, war criminals and CIA spies, Hart wants to preside over a system that exploits and oppresses just

about everybody not born into the "Fortune 500."

Is it an accident that this scandal exploded just the day before the Iran-Contra Congressional hearings opened? For an administration in what former CIA chief George Bush would call "deep doo-doo," it couldn't have come at a more convenient time. Talk about "dirty tricks": at Hart's fund-raiser kicking off the '88 campaign, federal marshals came in and seized the funds (supposedly for back '84 debts). Back in 1972 there was a group known as the "White House plumbers," who brought us Watergate, a program of sabotage, break-ins and smear jobs against the Democrats. Interestingly, part of the intention of Nixon's hatchmen was to ensure the nomination of George McGovern, who they calculated was seen as so far out the Democrats were guaranteed to lose, as indeed happened. McGovern's campaign manager: Gary Hart.

So now Gary Hart's been got. If it wasn't G. Gordon Liddy, we wonder: was there a Bush lurking in the bushes outside that Washington townhouse? What tips did dirty trickster Nixon really give Reagan on how to handle Contra? The *New York Times* titled a boxed chronology of Hart's political demise "Eight Days in May," an obvious takeoff on *Seven Days in May*, the movie about a secret generals' coup plot against the U.S. government.

Whether or not Gary Hart "courted danger," had a political "death wish," or was a "pantless chump" (in the words of the *London Guardian*) is irrelevant. That he obviously felt himself susceptible to this campaign of sexual blackmail by "anonymous" smear jobs abetted by the whorish media is a condemnation of the vicious hypocrisy of this society. Why don't they just tell the witchhunters to go to hell, as former Nixon flack William Safire suggested? Because the Democrats have tried to out-Reagan Reagan on everything from the drug witchhunt to Meese's sex police (not to mention voting for contra aid). Eight-plus years of "Moral Majority" crusades, beginning under Jimmy "lust in the heart" Carter, have created a climate of hysteria in which nobody's safe. What's next—mandatory chastity belts for declared candidates (to be removed only for periodic obligatory urine drug tests)? ■



TROTSKY

Fighting Fascism in France

Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933 and the world depression plunged France into social crisis. Mounting fascist terror gave rise to a bonapartist government resting on the state and military bureaucracy. Radicalized workers moved to the left of their Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships, who twisted their keenly felt need for united-front action into a bureaucratic straitjacket. From his precarious exile in France, Trotsky wrote:



LENIN

...if the united front, assuring its rear and its flanks against the fascist bands, opens up a broad political offensive under the slogan of conquest of power, it will awaken an echo so powerful as to exceed the most optimistic expectations....

There is no need of inventing means of struggle. They are provided by the whole history of the world working class movement.

Concentrated campaigns in the working class press pounding steadily on the same key; real socialist speeches from the tribune of parliament, not by tame deputies but by the leaders of the people; the utilization of every electoral campaign for revolutionary purposes; repeated meetings to which the masses come not merely to hear the speakers but to get the slogans and directives of the hour; the creation and strengthening of the workers' militia; well-organized demonstrations driving the reactionary bands from the streets; protest strikes; an open campaign for the unification and enlargement of the trade union ranks under the banner of resolute class struggle; stubborn, carefully calculated activity to win the army over to the cause of the people; broader strikes; more powerful demonstrations; the general strike of toilers of town and country; a general offensive against the Bonapartist government; for the workers' and peasants' power.

—Leon Trotsky, *Whither France?* (October 1934)

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France: For Workers Action to Smash the Fascists!

PARIS—A wave of racist attacks is spreading around France as storm-troopers set out to "conquer the streets." In the space of a week thugs of the fascist National Front (FN) militarily occupied the center of Marseille and terrorized a neighborhood in Lyon for hours, both times under the protection of the police of "Socialist" president Mitterrand and conservative premier Chirac. On May 7, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the office of a Communist-led union in Rouen. That same night a fascist commando sacked the offices of an organization of immigrant youth in Lyon and stole its membership list. They left behind a portrait of Klaus Barbie, the Nazi "Butcher of Lyon" whose trial started May 11.

In Paris, more than 10,000 National Front supporters marched on May 10, the day commemorating Joan of Arc and a traditional rallying point for French reaction. In addition to saluting the FN *Führer* Le Pen and launching his candidacy for the 1988 presidential election, they applauded the portrait of Marshal Pétain, leader of the Nazi-collaborationist Vichy regime in World War II. The next day, a bomb was thrown at an immigrant cultural center in Marseille, wounding three. Meanwhile, Barbie's trial has provoked the resurgence of tracts peddling the Nazi Big Lie that the murder of six million Jews never happened. This proliferation of fascist provocations and attacks is an alarm signal for the entire working class.

Last December hundreds of thousands of workers joined students demonstrating in Paris alongside immigrant families and youth against the racist murder of Malik Ousseki. And in a strike wave this winter, the most powerful since May '68, French workers forced the reactionary government to backtrack on a number of proposed retrogressive social measures. Since then the proletariat has remained ready for action. A working-class counter-offensive to this escalation by the fascists is now a burning necessity. But it has run up against the barrier of the bureaucratic misleaders who hamstring any real workers mobilization with their class-collaborationist politics. The struggle against fascism is above all a struggle to forge a new revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Le Pen Gangsters in Action

On April 4 in Marseille, France's "segregation city," Le Pen put himself at the head of some 20,000 "demonstrators" screaming racist insults. Their goal—"recover the Canedière"—was an outright racist provocation. The Canedière, the main avenue of Marseille, is adjacent to the predominantly North African immigrant neighborhood of Belsunce. In an earlier mass rally Le Pen demanded "resistance against decadence and foreign occupation" as his shock troops made ready to act on these calls to racist murder. Unfortunately, they found only a few hundred combative immigrant youth and not thousands of the city's dockers and railwaymen in their path: the CGT and CFDT trade-union federations (controlled respectively by the Stalinists and the social democrats) refused to mobilize in defense of Belsunce.

Le Pen's thugs went berserk, sending several anti-racist demonstrators or simple passers-by to the hospital. One rabid fascist even fired a pistol shot at a window from which an anti-Le Pen slogan had been shouted! The govern-

ment's CRS riot police turned their tear gas grenades against the immigrants, then launched their own racist anti-immigrant riot. A few days later at Vitrolles, near Marseille, a local leader of the National Front fired his P-38 at a Jewish youth—demonstrating again that Arabs are not the only intended victims of the fascists' program for genocide.

In Lyon after another of Le Pen's rallies a commando of 40 fascists invaded the Croix-Rousse neighbor-

tively posed in the form of the defense of our immigrant class brothers and all those who the fascists consider as 'degenerates' and 'subhumans' and want to exterminate."

The Fascist Danger and How to Fight It

In 1934 Trotsky characterized French fascism as follows:

"It is still too weak for the direct struggle for power, but it is strong enough to attempt to beat down the

"left" austerity program on the petty bourgeoisie, but also from the anti-Soviet and anti-immigrant policies of the Mitterrand government that rendered his program of racist and anti-Communist terror increasingly respectable. Today he offers up his shock troops to the bourgeoisie as a spearhead of social reaction. Some members of Chirac's shaky parliamentary majority, eager for revenge on the working class and frustrated by the government's paralysis after the shock of the railway-

Mitterrand's popular front paved way for fascist Le Pen (left), whose thugs (right) beat immigrant workers in Marseille, April 4.



AFF



AP

hood on the night of April 10-11, armed with clubs, iron bars and pistols. For two hours they attacked immigrants and youth, besieging neighborhood residents in North African cafés and vandalizing the offices of community groups, a theater and mailboxes with Arab names. The Lyon FN gloried in this assault, calling on the population to drive out "leftist committees, gangs of hoodlums and the foreigners that they organize." Croix-Rousse was not chosen by accident: it is well known for being racially integrated and a center of leftist activity.

The Lyon local of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, issued a leaflet April 14 calling for mobilizing the power of the working class in Lyon's industrial suburbs "to protect this neighborhood by defense groups based on the trade unions and supported by neighborhood residents. The defense of the organized workers movement which Le Pen dreams of crushing under an iron heel is impera-

working class organizations bit by bit, to temper its bands in its attacks, and to spread dismay and lack of self-confidence among the ranks of the workers. ... Nothing increases the insolence of fascists more than 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as much as temporizing, passivity, and the absence of the will to struggle."

—Whither France?
(October 1934)

Fascism mobilizes and arms the lumpenproletariat and petty bourgeoisie hit by the economic crisis and driven to a frenzy by the impotence of parliamentary democracy and the reformist workers parties to resolve the crisis. Designating "Jewish capital," immigrant workers and "communist agitators" as scapegoats, fascism aims at nothing less than the physical destruction of the organized workers movement, and the liquidation of all democratic rights.

After 1981 Le Pen benefited not only from the impact of the popular front's

men's strike, are beginning to take this offer seriously.

Today's reformist saboteurs of the anti-fascist struggle, after having decided to "ignore" the fascists as insignificant, now argue that the National Front has grown too strong to permit successful workers mobilizations against these scum! But it is not too late to turn the situation around.

On a small scale in Elbeuf, a working-class suburb of Rouen, a de facto united front of left organizations mobilized several dozen worker militants, including from the nearby Renault-Cléon plant, against the fascist thugs. Their action successfully prevented a repeat of the February 28 fascist attack on left newspaper salesmen at the local market in which a member of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) was sent to the hospital. The LTF played an important role in this mobilization, as it is well known for having initiated the 11 December 1981 Rouen demonstration under the slogan "Stop the fascists!" which drew support from several trade unions and other organizations, mobilizing some 400 persons including a number of trade unionists. It is this kind of workers action which is now needed on a much wider scale to sweep the fascist scum off the streets.

But recent "protest" demonstrations organized by the Communist Party (PCF), the Socialist Party or "SOS Racisme," supported by the "far left," put the defense of the victims of racist terror in the hands of the class enemy by calling on the cops to intervene! Workers and immigrants can only rely on their own strength, their own organization and their own mobilizations to defend themselves.

The leadership of the main workers party, the PCF, bears the main responsibility for the lack of response to the fascist provocations. A leading PCF spokesman, Charles Fiterman [ex-minister in the Mitterrand government], actually attempted to "unmask" Le Pen as unpatriotic (!) for his support to the Common Market: "He is ready to liquidate French independence and

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Cochin/Keystone

Student strikes rocked France last winter, protested cop murder of immigrant youth.

Victory to Midwest Meatpackers Strikes!

No More Hormel Betrayals!

CHICAGO—Two thousand five hundred packinghouse workers in Sioux Falls, South Dakota honored a roving picket line on Friday, May 1, the working-class holiday, and they've been out on a sympathy strike ever since. The roving pickets were sent by Local 1142 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) at the John Morrell & Co. plant in Sioux City, Iowa. Local 1142 hit the street March 9, more than a month after Morrell unilaterally imposed a contract "agreement" that slashed wages by \$1.25 an hour—this on top of the more than \$3-an-hour cut forced on the 750 members of this local three years ago. Up in Sioux Falls, Local 304-A members know what's at stake. "When they've crushed Sioux City like a peanut, they're going to come here," explained business agent Jim Lyons, adding, "good union people honor picket lines" (*Des Moines Register*, 2 May).

Across the Midwest during the last six years packinghouse workers, particularly in the pork industry, have been given the shaft with almost 20,000 jobs washed down the drain and wages cut to the bone—and then some. In addition to the Morrell strikes, 850 members of UFCW Local P-40 in Cudahy, Wisconsin have been on strike for four months, as 700 scabs cross their lines. Iowa Beef Products (IBP), the notorious anti-labor subsidiary of Occidental Petro-

scabs!" As the march passed the 99-year-old Cudahy packinghouse, unionists chanted "Scabs Out, Union In!" P-40 hit the bricks January 3 after rejecting Cudahy's demands for massive wage cuts, benefit reductions and work rule changes. The company's arrogant demands are the final straw for P-40 members, who have already been through the concessions mill twice in the last six years, losing over \$3 per hour.

Unionism itself is on the chopping block, as non-union outfits pop up and older companies try to give recalcitrant locals the "Hormel treatment," imitating the way Hormel (and the UFCW International tops) wiped out the combative Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota last year. A workers offensive must be mounted to organize the non-union houses and win a decent uniform industrywide wage scale and benefits. Labor can bring the packinghouse bosses to their knees only by reviving the weapons of militant working-class solidarity—mass picket lines that no one crosses, "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) struck products, plant occupations, and an industrywide meatpackers strike.

UFCW Tops—Labor Cops

The misleaders of the UFCW International, who act as labor cops for the packers, have sent one isolated local after another to the giveback kill floor.



Cudahy, Wisconsin: 3,000-strong labor rally backs striking meatpackers, April 12.

until June 3!

Cudahy bosses have exploited the desperation of blacks in Milwaukee, as the state unemployment office provides scabs from the disproportionately black unemployed. In recent years, plant shutdowns and layoffs have hit Milwaukee hard, and black Milwaukee hardest: the city's official unemployment rate is 28 percent, second only to Detroit (*Milwaukee Journal*, 16 January). Meanwhile the capitalists and their government have enforced a system of metropolitan segregation with the Milwaukee ghetto surrounded by white suburbs like the company town of Cudahy. The significant number of black P-40 members employed at the packinghouse face housing discrimination if they try to live in the city where they work. Cudahy is one of two dozen towns currently resisting a Milwaukee Board of Education lawsuit that would allow inner-city black students to transfer to suburban schools. Even this minimal integration measure is too much for the racists who killed busing.

The racial antagonisms fueled by the company's move to take hundreds of blacks across P-40's picket lines erupted in the second week of the strike, when, according to Local P-40 secretary-treasurer Ken Toepel, backward white pickets taunted the scabs with racial slurs. This kind of disgusting racist crap has no place on a union picket line, and threatens the survival of the integrated union! After the racist slurs, the P-40 leadership dished out liberal lectures on the plight of the strikebreakers and ordered its pickets not to interfere with them. Later, union spokesmen at the April 12 rally denounced Cudahy and the capitalist press for attempting to foster racial divisions in the strike. But it is the refusal of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy to fight this deeply racist system that allows the bourgeoisie to set up the working class for race war.

The disastrous consequences of letting the bosses play the race card can be seen in the decimation of the 1919 Chicago meatpackers strike (see our review of the TV film *The Killing Floor*, "Chicago 1919: Racism and Union-Busting," *WV* No. 422, 20 February). What's needed now is integrated mass picketing to stop the scabs and shut Cudahy down tight—inextricably linked to putting the power of labor in the vanguard of the fight against black oppression. Union locals like P-40 must take the lead in organizing labor/black power to break down the walls of segregation in education and housing, against racist cop and Klan attacks, and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to end unemployment at the bosses' expense. Black unionists as militant labor fighters linking up with the oppressed ghetto poor will play a

leading role in waging class struggle against racist capitalism.

Dump the Bureaucrats— Break with the Democrats!

Both the UFCW International labor traitors and their "progressive opponents" in the union (like the former P-9 leadership) are lined up behind the strikebreaking Democratic Party. Featured at the Cudahy rally was black Democrat Jesse Jackson, darling of the reformist left, which brought him to Austin during the Hormel strike. Jackson gave his now-familiar presidential campaign speech tailored to the mainly white farm belt communities of the Midwest. He explicitly counterposed "economic violence" to racist terror as the "real" issue in America today. What's needed, he said, is a coalition to get rid of Reagan and bring about "new corporate behavior" based on "sound economic morals." Preaching "morals" to the class that takes food stamps from the poor to pay for its anti-Soviet war drive, that butchers thousands of workers from the kill floors of the Midwest to the coal mines of West Virginia? Jackson, who pointedly met with the Cudahy bosses and scabs in the plant, went to Cudahy and Austin to bury class struggle by chaining the working class to the Democrats.

The liberation of working people and oppressed minorities will only come about through a revolutionary struggle to overturn the decaying profit system, in which Wall Street barons pocket the billions they make ripping the industrial heart out of America. The only answer to this imperialist rot is a nationalized planned economy administered by a workers government. Worker militants must unchain labor and blacks through a fight to oust the labor fakers from the unions and build a class-struggle workers party. With Reagan on the skids, now is the time for some good hard class struggle to rout the packinghouse bosses and their flunkys! Victory to the Cudahy, Morrell and IBP strikes! ■



National Guard broke militant Iowa Beef Processors strike in 1982.

leum, meantime, is going all-out to smash a strike by UFCW Local 222 at its Dakota City, Nebraska beef slaughtering plant (just across the state line from Sioux City).

IBP's union-busting is notorious: in the 1969, 1977 and 1982 strikes they ran scabs into the plant under the guns of state troopers or National Guardsmen. Workers at the plant are slaughtered along with cattle, as over one-third of the workforce is injured annually on the job. "The union says the lost workday rate was 43 percent higher than the average for the meatpacking industry, which is already one of the most dangerous manufacturing industries in the country.... In 1986 alone, more than 1,500 employees quit work at the plant" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 March). IBP has recruited 800 Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese (out of a workforce of 2,900), in an effort to find replacements for the workers it has maimed.

On April 12, three thousand unionists from southeastern Wisconsin converged on the Milwaukee suburb of Cudahy to back the P-40 strikers. Leading the march was an integrated motorcycle squadron organized by Allied Industrial Workers Local 409 from the Harley-Davidson engine plant in Milwaukee. Black and white Milwaukee transit workers chanted "We hate

When P-9 tried to fight back, UFCW chief William Wynn helped Hormel smash the local and then organized the scabs into the union! Now the International uses the P-9 defeat to peddle more betrayals—from Dakota City to Cudahy. UFCW official Lewie Anderson recently told the *New York Times* (18 January), "We examined the Hormel situation very carefully and we concluded that to follow the tactics that they did of putting large numbers of people on the picket line to try and stop scabs from working was a disaster."

This time, at Cudahy, the strike is being run by the UFCW tops—right into the ground. At the April 12 rally, P-40 president Mark Rosenbaum attacked the courageous P-9 strikers for dividing the union! P-9 battled a "united front" of cops, courts, National Guard, Democratic Party politicians and the UFCW tops. But their leaders diverted strikers from the crucial fight to shut down the plant, and into a useless consumer boycott to "Cram Your Spam." It is the pro-Democratic Party union tops who are setting up Cudahy workers to be slaughtered, by placing their faith in another toothless consumer boycott and an unfair labor practice charge against the company issued by the National Labor Relations Board—with the next hearing not scheduled

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New York on the Edge

From Howard Beach, Queens to Columbia University, the racist terrorists are running wild in New York. Attacks on blacks are mounting week by week and everyone knows the city could blow up at any time. Black police commissioner Benjamin Ward warns about an "agenda for this summer" with "more taking to the streets and more demonstrations." A *New York Times* (19 March) editorial voices NYC rulers' worry about a "long hot summer." Ward ought to know. For years it's been Mayor Ed Koch and the murderous NYPD whose "official" onslaught against blacks has whipped up the racist bigots. And what is Koch's message to the ghettos today? Under the new proposed city budget, 2,000 more killer cops will be put on the street. The city is at the brink of a racial explosion and there are sinister forces trying to push it over the edge.

With New York already at the flash point, on April 27 the trial of Bernhard Goetz opened in Manhattan State Supreme Court. The skinny white bespectacled electronics nerd made headlines worldwide as the "subway vigilante" when he shot four black teenagers trying to rip him off on the IRT downtown express on 22 December 1984. Goetz is



Francisco Gonzalez
"Subway vigilante" Bernhard Goetz (left) and lawyer Slotnick.

charged with four counts of attempted murder, assault, reckless endangerment and unlawful weapon possession in the incident. Goetz was immediately hailed as the "IRT avenger" by forces of racist reaction, such as Rupert Murdoch's *Post*, out to fan the flames of vigilantism, while limousine liberals sermonizing about gun control denounced him for "taking the law into his own hands." Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau initially gave Goetz kid-glove treatment, but switched tack as the rulers realized something had to be done to defuse black outrage over police murders of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs.



Spartacists, militant workers protest hideous cop murder of Eleanor Bumpurs. Capitalist courts let killer cop Sullivan walk.



Brooklyn, April 11: 2,000 riot-equipped cops seal off Crown Heights.

Now the people who run things in this city are going after Goetz, the *Post* included, precisely because he's not a cop. Above all they're concerned to protect the state's monopoly of armed force. As the trial began, Goetz' lawyer Slotnick leveled a barrage of racist filth against the black youths in court, railing about "savages" in suits. Outside the court, assorted radicals and liberals picketed on opening day with signs reading "Racist Rambo" and "Bernhard Goetz/KKK: Different Names, Same Game." In contrast, we have insisted from the beginning that the Goetz case is rent with contradictions. The man was some kind of a law-and-order freak, "a loner turned vigilante," we wrote, yet he was also a walking "mark" who "had mug me written all over him."

"Goetz certainly violated the formal police rules of engagement; by any humane standards he responded with excessive violence. Very possibly a valid defense would be temporary insanity, as a result of his previous mugging. On the other hand, one of the youths is paralyzed for life, and his life presently hangs in the balance. That, too, counts for us."

—NYC "Subway Vigilante": On Contradiction, W/V No. 371, 25 January 1985

If Goetz' response was excessive, his fear was justified. His statement in the New Hampshire police videotape that when somebody turns to you on a New York subway and says "How are you?" this can be a "real threat" is flatly true—especially when they "ask" for \$5! At the same time, the tape showed Goetz as a real sociopath, a concentrated expression of the social pathology of New York City, as are the menacing black criminals who cornered him. While the liberals and fake-radicals close their eyes to it, lumpen crime is an ugly reality in New York, particularly for black people—which is why there was substantial black support for Goetz. We stand for the right of armed self-defense, and actively defended black subway

token clerk James Grimes who the Brooklyn D.A. and the TA tried to frame up for defending himself against a gang of muggers. To deny or ignore this fundamental right is to leave blacks utterly defenseless in the face of criminal and racist attacks and to push whites into the arms of the racist mobs.

Racist Rampage

Since the Howard Beach lynching last December, when 23-year-old black construction worker Michael Griffith was savagely beaten (along with two black companions) by a mob of white thugs outside a pizza parlor and then murdered, there has been a wave of racist attacks in NYC. And the cops have been leading the pack: witness the case of black transit worker Wajid Abdul-Salaam who died in a police holding pen February 12 after being arrested and hogtied. On March 22, two dozen Columbia University football jocks and frat rats screaming racist epithets set upon any black male they could find (the *New York Times* called it a "brawl" between blacks and whites). But these are only some of the most publicized incidents—this spring there has been one racist attack after another. Among the reported cases:

- On March 9, at 3 a.m., Brooklyn cops beat and arrested a pregnant black woman and her mother outside their home, then charged inside to club other family members and another pregnant woman.

- On March 18, three black youths on their way to play basketball were attacked by six whites shouting "Remember Howard Beach!"

- On March 20, Hispanic worker Alberto Flores was clubbed senseless by the cops on the Upper West Side; unknown to the cops a neighbor had filmed the entire assault from his apartment window—later thousands of horrified New Yorkers watched the videotaped beating and heard the screams as this graphic example of the cops' standard M.O. was played on TV.

- On March 12, white racists, one with a gun, surrounded three black men whose car had broken down in Canarsie. Luckily, one of the black men was a retired cop. "The only thing that saved our lives was that I identified myself as an officer," he said.

The assaults have grown increasingly bold. On the afternoon of April 13, at the busy intersection of Avenue N and Utica in Canarsie, Brooklyn, a bus crowded with mostly black passengers stopped to let off riders. Suddenly 20 white punks charged the bus with ax handles, baseball bats, spiked clubs and tire irons. Screaming racial epithets, the mob rocked the bus, smashed the window and almost ripped the door off. The attack lasted for 15 minutes before the thugs fled in pickup trucks and vans; no cops arrived. This story was reported by Peter Noel in the *Daily Challenge* (24 April) but was not "fit to print" in the

Times or the tabloids.

And on April 20, racist homeowners in Flushing, Queens torched a house which the city had leased to house black and Latin foster care infants. (There's also been a violent backlash in the boros about setting up shelters for the homeless.) Unlike Columbia, where Koch sent his cops wading into demonstrations, arresting black victims of the racists, burning down a shelter for minority babies was so socially explosive that the mayor went out to Flushing to say he wouldn't stand for this "terrorist act." But everyone remembers how he earlier called the Howard Beach murder a "lynching," only to drop it after getting the heat from his racist constituents in Queens.

When they let off killer cop Sullivan, the triggerman in the eviction-by-death of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, the cops knew they had a green light for racist terror. The day of the verdict, February 26, the Bronx court was turned into an armed camp, with police cordons and dogs in the corridors, hundreds of cops ringing the block, sharpshooters on the rooftops, a police helicopter overhead and a veritable army camped out at nearby Yankee Stadium. Two days later police executed black Muslim street vendor Nicholas Bartlett at 125th and Lenox in Harlem—now Morgenthau's grand jury has declared that no cop will stand trial for this crime. In March, when the MTA announced it would back minor perjury charges against one cop in the chokehold murder of black artist Michael

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Newsday

From left: Black preachers Herbert Daughtry, Calvin Butts, Lawrence Lucas and Wendell Foster support racist mayor Koch's campaign to put 2,000 more killer cops on the streets.

Stewart, while refusing to bring charges against ten other cops, a mob of 500 armed transit police furiously swarmed outside TA police headquarters.

Reagan Wants Race War

With this show of bonapartist cop power, the police are itching for an excuse to move in and use their murderous arsenal. Repeatedly they have mobilized hordes of cops against demonstrators: at a March 10 protest at Police Plaza over the killing of Bartlett, cops everywhere, surrounding NYPD headquarters and City Hall as if prepared for an assault; on March 20 at the UN, hundreds of police face off against 300 demonstrators; on April 2, again hundreds of police on rooftops, in unmarked vans, at a demo against "Dr. Death," NYC coroner Elliot Gross. But, ominously, there are forces which

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Garbage Doesn't Walk By Itself

What Makes BT Run?

Here's something that is positively weird and getting weirder. It goes under the heading of the Bolshevik Tendency (BT), which formerly styled itself the "External Tendency" of the Spartacist tendency. These people mainly individually quit our organization during the "Reagan years." When people quit an organization, they generally don't want to have anything more to do with it; they have other fish to fry. But the ET/BT has always pursued an unnatural obsession with the SL. A BT forum to be held in New York is devoted solely to the topic: "Spartacist League: From Trotskyism to Political Banditry." The BT has spent five years bemoaning our "degeneration." Are we that important? Not according to the BT: in the pages of its bulletins and its 1917 magazine, the SL is "over the brink," on a "plunge toward political irrelevance," "can no longer be considered, in any sense, a revolutionary organization."

To camouflage its obsession with us, the BT sought to pass itself off as having an orientation toward the SL. Mimicking historically familiar language, they put themselves forward as critical supporters of the international Spartacist tendency, prior to its "degeneration" of course. Thus, they claimed to be dissidents unjustly excluded, external factionalists seeking to return the SL to a correct course or, at least, win its remaining healthy elements to a new group refounded upon former principles. But this is transparently a fraudulent posture. Far from being expelled, the BTs mainly quit, as a trickle of individuals, with relief, and mainly admitting to long-standing differences they hadn't fought for. Subsequently, in every way imaginable, the BT has approached the SL in a manner calculated to *harden* organizational lines and *repel* party members—and ex-members retaining the least shred of loyalty to us or admiration for our work. The BT sneers at everything SL members hold dear. The most elementary tactics of critical support aimed at "setting the base against the top" are *exactly* what the BT eschews.

How would one express an orientation toward an organization? Well, you find a supportable party campaign and you support it. You get involved in the work, creating a sympathetic environment for pointing out to other campaigners how the party's inconsistencies undermine its best work, how the bizarre or opportunist sides of the degenerated party are in contradiction to survivals of its revolutionary past. Of course you welcome the obligation to defend the party against victimizations. And to share with its remaining decent supporters those emotionally charged moments when, despite your differ-

ences, you can stand shoulder to shoulder as the cops decide it wouldn't be safe after all for the Klan to try marching down this street today.

Not the BT. Whenever the SL has engaged in the exemplary work that our members are proudest of, the BT was never there. But any time our party was under attack they were always there, to add their own slanders and provocations. And like a garbage dump attracting flies, this outfit has predictably attracted only the most hostile, embitt-

edly obsessed with us and devoted to our destruction.

Fraudulent Politics

The BT continues to claim to hold many positions in common with the Spartacist League, like our opposition to the Solidarność counterrevolutionary power bid in Poland in 1981. This should be anathema to the anti-Soviet swamp in which the BT mingles, where "Solidarity with Solidarity" is the *sine qua non*. But of course the British



Renegades' gallery: "Raf on the Waterfront" Howard Keylor chatting up cop. Ex-Berkeley radical Bob Mandel feeling "Big Chill"? BT heavy Fred Ferguson.

tered ex-members and elements expelled for gross violations of proletarian morality. Talk about "degeneration"—this group has some genuine items.

Of course the SL has had some problems during the past ten years or so, because it hasn't been the easiest time to be a communist; many-sided bourgeois reaction has intimidated the workers and oppressed from undertaking struggles, increasing the pressure on our small party of up-front American communists. We have neither been shattered by internal crisis nor have we gone forward toward our goals; most comrades have stood at their posts while some weaker elements have dropped away. History will no doubt show that the cadre has acquired some deformations. And the BT is the degeneration product of the SL, the quintessence of every flinch and every deformation that these years have brought out, with something sinister added that gives the BT a pathology all its own. Craven, virulently anti-Soviet, openly scornful of issues of racial oppression, the BT has big points of similarity with garden-variety American popular-frontists. But whereas the latter wouldn't cross the street to spit on us unless we encroach upon their "turf," the BT is single-

Workers Power group recently invited the BT to participate in its propaganda bloc of Trotskyoids. Because everyone knows that the BT's positions on Poland and Afghanistan, for example, are not seriously held. And that is why the BT is *never* excluded from any of the pro-Democratic Party pop front meetings or demonstrations, like the April 25 "Spring mob" for which the BT mobilized so heavily. Compare this to the treatment the rad-libs and reformists have dished out to the SL.

So here we have a very unusual situation: a group which continues to devote all its time and energies to the SL contrary to their own obvious political interests of sucking up to the pro-Democratic popular front. And the outfit the BT hangs around with do think it's weird. The Morenoites in a 1985 article, "ET: Forget 'Home,'" urged Bob Mandel, Howard Keylor & Co. to renounce Spartacism root and branch if they expected to make it as opportunists (*Working Class Opposition*, July 1985). Now Mandel has apparently followed this advice and split from his BT comrades, seemingly reverting to his New Left adolescence. But the BT goes right on with its main business: anti-Spartacist provocation.

At the same time the BTs joined with their cohorts in Germany circulating a petition proclaiming that our German section had violated the "democratic rights" of one Uli Sandhaus by expelling him as a dangerous proto-Nazi. This scum surrounded himself with the regalia of the Third Reich, like a steel helmet with a swastika on it, and was drawn to the beat of fascist skinhead punk music. (By the way, B.Ter Ursula once complained that people made too much of the Nazis' genocide against the Jews while presumably underplaying their persecution of German social democrats.)

The following year the BT aided a bureaucratic union witchhunt against Stan Gow, at the time a member of the executive board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and an SL supporter. Keylor rebaited Gow and other members of the Militant Caucus. When local ILWU bureaucrats put Gow on trial, Keylor stood aside when caucus supporters were dragged out and the cops called in.

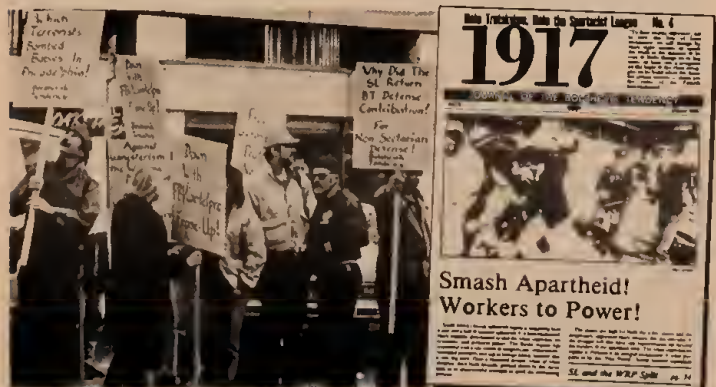
Over the past year the BT's activities have become more sinister. On September 19, the BT staged a violent premeditated attack on an SL forum at the University of California at Berkeley. The campus cops, notorious for their Gestapo-style attacks on student protesters, were on the scene in record response time. Two months later the BT's attempt to stage a larger version of this provocation at an SL forum on the same campus was averted by our change of the meeting's locale. The Morenoite paper reported: "On November 21 the Spartacists are holding another event in Berkeley. The BT is planning to form a bloc of different groups to 'teach the Spartacists a lesson' at that forum" (*Working Class Opposition*, December 1986). In the latest issue of 1917 the BT claims that the intention was simply to engage in "a political debate." If that was the case then why did a simple change of locale and a weapons search dissuade them from attending? Why didn't they come to the same forum the next night in San Francisco?

Bloodthirstiness in Whose Service?

While the BT clearly stands to the right of us, on occasion they have struck a posture as anarcho-crazies grooving on violence, reminiscent of the 1960s Weathermen, in order to attack us from the "left." Thus they accused us of selling out to U.S. imperialism because we didn't hail the senseless killing of 240-plus Marines in Lebanon in 1982 (many of whom were black and sent there in the first place because they were "expendable"). They claimed this was an act of "anti-imperialism." But in Lebanon no side was fighting imperialism—as the sequel has amply and hideously shown (in the one case when there was an anti-imperialist stand, when the Palestinians resisted the Israeli blitzkrieg in Lebanon, the BT denounced us for hailing this resistance). As we said in "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984): "We are for the victory of just causes... the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers." Why doesn't the BT also accuse us of selling out to the Argentine junta when we decried the sinking of the *Belgrano* during the Falklands/Malvinas war, a gratuitous act of mass murder personally ordered by Britain's Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher?

The BT has even argued that the SL flinched on the defense of the Soviet Union because we were not happy that the passengers aboard KAL 007 were killed in Reagan's Cold War spy provocation. The Soviets took the only

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BT journal 1917, a "political" flg leaf for provocations like their bizarre stunts at Oakland Geronimo Pratt rally (left). This issue of 1917 available from SL as No. 4 of our "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" series.

BT: A Profile of Provocation

In 1982, when the then-ET had come together outside the SL as an "external" "opposition," the reformists and rad-libs were engaged in a frenzied "Big Lie" violence-baiting campaign against us. At the same time, the Reaganites were equating political opposition with "violence" and "terrorism." Did the BT defend us against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its fake-left camp followers? In fact, they were on the other side. In a provocation worthy of the FBI's COINTELPRO, they ran an international petition campaign accusing us of assaulting Mandel. This was a complete fabrication. The BT's only "witness" said he'd seen no physical attack, just loud yelling. Months later Mandel admitted he had *not been assaulted* but was worried that he might have been!



Castro's rebel army enters Havana, New Year's Day 1959.

The following article is adapted from Le Bolchévik No. 73, May 1987.

More than 100,000 people poured into the streets of Managua on 19 July 1979 to celebrate their overthrow of the bloody Somoza dictatorship in an insurrection led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). It was the first victorious popular revolution in Latin America since Fidel Castro's guerrilla army marched into Havana 20 years earlier, and a serious defeat for Yankee imperialism. As in Cuba, a corrupt and universally hated tyrant installed by the United States was replaced by radical nationalist guerrillas in power. The Carter administration worried that Nicaragua would "follow the Cuban model internally and also become a base for trying to export subversion to other parts of Central America and the Caribbean," in the words of the *Washington Post* (25 July 1979). Today, in Year Eight of the Nicaraguan Revolution, with its outcome hanging in the balance, the U.S. bourgeoisie is still haunted by the spectre of "another Cuba."

Throughout the Reagan years, Washington has linked Nicaragua with Cuba. Despite tactical differences, Democrats and Republicans alike share the 1984 Kissinger Commission report's obsession with the "use of Nicaragua as a base for Soviet and Cuban efforts to penetrate the rest of the Central American isthmus." In opposing aid to Reagan's "contra" mercenaries last year, North Dakota Democrat Byron Dorgan emphasized: "I do not want another Cuba in this hemisphere. If the Soviets were to decide, and the Nicaraguans were to decide to accept, to move MIG fighters into Nicaragua, I would support a blockade, I would support getting those airstrips wiped off the face of the map."

Yet the Sandinistas have never claimed to be building a "second Cuba." And Fidel Castro himself advised them against following the "Cuban road," urging the FSLN to avoid "premature frontal attacks on the bourgeoisie." The FSLN comandantes have taken Castro's advice. In an interview with *Time* (11 August 1986), Daniel Ortega said of Nicaragua's future: "it's not going to be a Cuban model. We had elections five years after our triumph. We have not promoted state collectives.... The revolution



Spartacists say: Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Cuba, Nicaragua and the Permanent Revolution

lution is most like the Mexican Revolution when it started." Even today, faced with new threats of imperialist attack, the Sandinista regime is wedded to the trinity of "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment," recently codified in a new constitution (see "U.S. War Maneuvers Target Nicaragua," *WV* No. 425, 3 April).

So if Castro and the Sandinistas (and the Soviets) all agree that Nicaragua will not be a "second Cuba," what's Washington railing against? The rad-lib "solidarity with Nicaragua" crowd, including a host of self-styled socialists,

workers to thwart these plans by sharp class struggle in the heart of U.S. imperialism.

"Institutionalizing the Revolution"

As the crisis-racked Reagan administration tries to distract attention from Iran/Contra by revving up its war machine and the contra scum prepare for one last try to lay waste to the country, the battle over Nicaragua is coming to a head. Saner voices of U.S. imperialism, such as the *New York*

Castro advises Sandinista leaders Ramirez and Ortega against following the "Cuban road."



Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

say it's simply a Reaganite red herring. Yet the imperialists have made Central America the front line of their anti-Soviet war drive. For U.S. rulers, the road to Moscow goes through Managua. From the November 1981 NSC directive authorizing the CIA to set up its contra army and plans for "a petroleum quarantine and/or retaliatory air action against Cuban forces and installations," to the current U.S. Caribbean maneuvers, including a "simulated evacuation" of the American base at Guantánamo, Cuba as part of a scenario for a blockade, the Spartacist League has declared "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!"

For the imperialists understand, even if the reformists and nationalists do not, that there is a global contest between capitalism and socialism. The FSLN came to power on a program for a political revolution with social reforms. But by overthrowing a one-family dictatorship they began, willy-nilly, a social revolution. Today that revolution is still stuck in midstream, its survival threatened by the refusal of the Sandinistas to complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution. The contras and their masters in Washington are fomenting bloody counterrevolution that would make the tyrant Somoza look like a "moderate authoritarian" indeed. It is the duty of American

Times (12 April), are seeking to tie down the Nicaraguan leadership with negotiations, appealing to their "self-interests that could breed restraint." The Sandinista leadership, meanwhile, has sought to codify its "middle road" in a new constitution as part of "institutionalization of the Revolution," as Daniel Ortega declared in signing the document before tens of thousands of supporters in Revolution Plaza. And in an interview with the Cuban press agency *Prensa Latina* last July, reputed FSLN hardliner Tomás Borge stressed that "we have accepted the existence of a mixed economy and political pluralism just as Norwegians have accepted the existence of low temperatures."

Yet while the FSLN is forever seeking an alliance with a "patriotic bourgeoisie," the economy has gone to hell as the black market overwhelms the "official" sector, capitalists refuse to invest and the hard-pressed working class is in danger of dissolving, unable to make ends meet. The future of the Nicaraguan Revolution requires an authentically communist vanguard to lead it forward to socialist revolution. Yet two of the small so-called leftist parties in the country—the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) and Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN), both pro-Moscow Stalinists—are so wedded to the dogma of "two-stage revolution" that they have



Victorious Sandinista guerrillas celebrate in Managua, July 1979.

actively joined with the right-wing bourgeois parties against the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN. The Sandinistas' program for "national unity" with the nonexistent "patriotic" bourgeoisie is not enough for them—they want a "popular front" with the Somozaist National Guard! But then the PSN and PCN called the FSLN-led insurrection which toppled Somoza "adventurist!"

The latest ploy of this right opposition to the Sandinistas was a February 5 document by the Liberals, Christian Democrats and the PCN together with the "Democratic Coordinating Committee" formerly headed by CIA/State Department contra "leader" Arturo Cruz, calling for a cease-fire, a general amnesty for all political crimes, new elections at all levels, and a "permanent process of national dialogue." This would mean nothing less than calling off the revolution, consolidating a bourgeois state, including the murderous contra leaders, and capitulating to Washington. These people are indeed ready to "cry uncle," as Reagan demanded. The headline of the Sandinistas' *Barricada Internacional* (12 February), "Parties offer White House a helping hand," is right on target. Yet a couple weeks later, Ortega expressed willingness to discuss with other Central American leaders the "peace plan" put forward by Costa Rican president Arias calling for the very same demands!

The only left opposition in the National Assembly against the FSLN's constitution came from the two deputies of the Marxist-Leninist Party (PML—formerly MAP-ML). MAP-ML won a certain following among workers and peasants through the active participation of its militias in the struggle against Somoza, and its leadership of land takeovers and strikes following the victory (which landed them in Sandinista jails). In 1984, MAP ran in the Assembly elections on a platform calling for a workers and peasants government. And last fall a PML radio program declared that "the draft constitution is a carbon copy of any liberal bourgeois constitution, guaranteeing that capital continues exploiting and oppressing the working people" (*Prensa Proletaria*, October 1986).

Yet while declaring that the Sandinista constitution represents the "juridical birth of a bourgeois state," they call on workers "to demand a revolutionary Constitution from the National Assembly!" As if this bourgeois-style parliament, in which capitalist parties hold almost a third of the seats, could be a vehicle for socialist revolution! In frequently contradictory terms, the general orientation of these "Marxist-Leninists" has been to push the FSLN to the left. Thus PML deputy Carlos Cuadra said in an interview, "we have never raised the anti-Sandinista banner, only the anti-bourgeois one. We reject the Sandinista proposals to the extent that they are proposals for class conciliation" (*Envío*, November 1986).

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Young Spartacus

Columbia University

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Racist Protesters!

"If you don't move, I'm going to crack your fucking head open," barked a New York City cop to an anti-racist protester at Columbia University. On April 21, for the first time since the 1968 Columbia student strike, the NYPD was brought onto the campus in an effort to end through brute force protest by students, workers and Harlem residents. This year's protests at Columbia began in response to a vicious attack in the early hours of March 22, when a white lynch mob of 20 fraternity members shouting racial epithets assaulted Mike Jones, a black student, and chased eight blacks onto a busy street. It recalled the gruesome Howard Beach murder—only this time no one happened to be killed. Shortly thereafter, a Confederate flag was displayed from a dorm window and Ku Klux Klan pamphlets appeared in classrooms.

Racist cop and mob attacks at Columbia occur in a context of an ominous tide of provocations and assaults against blacks, gays, Jews and Asians on campuses across the country. Emboldened by a Klan-endorsed president whose administration is committed to rolling back every gain of the civil rights movement, sections of the white middle class whose own economic position has gone to hell with the rest of the American economy are lashing out against minorities from Amherst to Ann Arbor to Austin. This eruption of open, raw racism on the campuses has not been seen since the 1920s, when the Klan had five million members nationwide. But today, every racist provocation has met immediate resistance by integrated student mobilizations, indicating the potential to crush the racist scam.

The attacks at Columbia are fueled by the system of racist terror in New York City, from the murder of a black man in the white Howard Beach enclave, to the acquittal of the cop who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, to "Gross the Ghoul," the city coroner who covers up every racist atrocity by the NYPD. There is widespread anger in this city and a burning desire in the ghettos and black working-class neighborhoods to avenge the victims of the racist onslaught.

On April 21, Columbia's administration issued an outrageous whitewash report on the March attack, charging one anonymous frat rat with "verbal" harassment, accusing the black students



Deborah Autor

of lying, and denouncing them for failing to cooperate with this hoax of an "investigation." Students responded by chaining the doors to Hamilton Hall shut and forming a human blockade outside the building. The Concerned Black Students at Columbia (CBSC), an ad hoc group formed in response to the racist attacks, challenged the university's cover-up, announcing that they had word from a source in the "justice" system that university president Michael Sovern directly asked police commissioner Benjamin Ward *not* to arrest the four fraternity members the black students had identified and filed charges against.

By midday, 80 students had joined the blockade, and Sovern unleashed his cops. In a deliberate move to decapitate the leadership of the protest, the cops singled out Mike Jones and several other prominent militants. Jones was dropped on his head on the pavement and taken to the hospital in handcuffs to be treated for an open gash on his forehead. Marcellus Blount, one of the very few black faculty members at

Columbia and a public supporter of the black students, was hauled off to jail on the say-so of Columbia security chief Dominick Moro. As word of the arrests spread across campus, dozens of shocked and angered students joined the blockade.

By 8 p.m., the university had amassed 80 New York City cops on Amsterdam Avenue and gave the go-ahead to Koch's cossacks to storm the blockade. Students were pushed down the steps, choked, dragged and dropped repeatedly on the concrete. Over 50 were busted. When the editor of the *Columbia Spectator* showed her press card to a cop, he said, "I'm press too," and slammed his nightstick into her rib cage. One student spent 20 hours in jail and sent a note out which read, "I've been kicked, bit, twisted and mangled. I've had handcuffs on so tight that my black skin is turning purple from blood clots." All arrested students face possible criminal prosecution by the state and disciplinary action, including expulsion, from the university. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: Drop the charges



Young Spartacus

Mike Jones, leader of Columbia student protest, mauled by burly security chief and cop, April 21. Campus workers' rally on May 4 protests administration/cop attacks on students.

against the anti-racist protesters! Cops off campus! Abolish the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the university!

Columbia students have reacted courageously to the university's coordinated and cruel attacks on the victims of racist violence. But it will take more than courage alone to beat back the racist attacks. What's necessary is militant, united strike action by students, labor and the Harlem community to shut down Columbia! If labor flexed its muscles in defense of the black community, the "stars and bars"-waving frat boys would be history! President Sovern, who serves on Koch's task force for the homeless, might deepen his understanding of their plight if some of the Harlem residents who've been evicted by slumlord Columbia seized Sovern's office and, backed by unionists and students, turned him out on the street for a few days!

The ingredients for such united action are already apparent. Campus workers held a support rally on May 4 for the black students, noting the connection between Columbia's union-busting and institutionalized racism. Students have gone into Morningside Heights to protest Columbia's evictions and Harlem residents have come to the campus to take a stand in defense of the victimized students. But the social power of labor, on campus and beyond, has yet to be mobilized on a

Cops Off Campus!

Not One Penny, Not One Man for the Imperialist Army!

Letter

[received 21 April 1987]

Dear Comrades,

I have for a long time disagreed with the Spartacist League's policy of attempting to run ROTC and Marine recruiters off college campuses.

Given the servility of the mass media and the barrage of propaganda coming from the government, college campuses are about the only place in this country where ordinary people can be exposed to left-wing thinking and left-wing ideas. Any college student, no matter how right-wing or privileged, cannot attend a university in this country without gaining at least some awareness of American imperialism's crimes in Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines, or South Africa.

As Trotsky said, a Communist party fights not so much against the army as for the army. Because of this it is very valuable indeed for future Army, Navy, and Marine officers to be exposed to left-wing ideas. Many of these young men are not hardened reactionaries but merely middle-class students who have

never been exposed to alternative political thought. In addition, the ROTC program offers working-class and black men a chance to become officers. To take ROTC and others off of the campuses would be to completely cut future officers off from these ideas, leaving their political opinions to be formed by their drill instructors.

In addition, mobilizations and confrontations between young Communists and ROTC men only hardens the ROTCers' anti-communist opinions. By contrast, in my own experience I have found that on an individual basis fraternization can be extremely effective in changing the political thinking of ROTC personnel. ROTC and other such programs give the left the unique chance to be able to familiarize army personnel with our ideas.

The Marines and the ROTC are not the KKK. Whereas mass mobilizations are the necessary tactic when dealing with the CIA or the KKK, when dealing with ROTC or Marine recruiters they merely smack of gangsterism.

I suggest that we follow Trotsky's advice and fight for the army instead of against it.

Sincerely,
Glenn S.

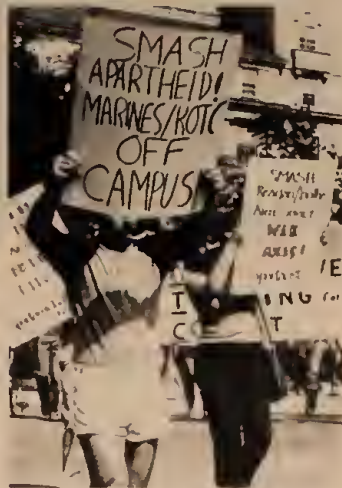
Young Spartacus replies: For Marxists there is a fundamental distinction between the rank-and-file soldier and the bourgeois officer corps, as well as a distinction between the volunteer army and an army of forced conscripts. In his letter, Glenn S. overlooks this, misrepresenting Trotsky's views and the necessary attitude of Marxists toward the armed fist of the bourgeoisie state.

The armed forces are the core of the state, what Lenin called the "special bodies of armed men" who are separated from the population as a whole and constitute the main tool of suppression and control for the bourgeoisie. The armed forces are the international police force of U.S. imperialism, and have been deployed domestically as the front line of defense of capitalist property relations against striking workers, to occupy the ghettos and barrios, and gun down anti-Vietnam War and civil rights protesters at Kent State and Jackson State. Unless one entertains notions of reforming the army, one must oppose the state's methods of building and

strengthening that apparatus. As Lenin wrote:

"We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, 'not a penny, not a man,' not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc." —"The Disarmament Slogan" (1916)

As Marxists we are opposed to working-class youth being used as cannon fodder for imperialist war and oppose the direct use of the universities for military training and recruitment, which is what the Reserve Officer Training Corps is all about. ROTC is the government's main vehicle for generating a killer elite: the top brass and career "lifers" like Lieut. William Calley, the sadistic butcher of My Lai. During the Vietnam War, fully half of the officer corps came from ROTC. And before these professional soldiers ever saw combat, they were used by J. Edgar Hoover as a direct conduit to the CIA for surveillance of antiwar militants.



Young Spartacus
Spartacist youth activists protest ROTC at University of Wisconsin, Madison.

"ROTC Off Campus!" became the rallying call for a generation of anti-imperialist militants who targeted the military presence on campus to protest America's genocidal war in Vietnam. Well before these protests hit the mainland, tens of thousands of youth at the University of Puerto Rico mobilized against ROTC, understanding that they had no interest in fighting a dirty war for their own colonial oppressor. Between 1967 and 1969, large-scale antiwar protests drove ROTC off 100 college campuses and 141 out of 161 schools with compulsory ROTC training were forced to eliminate the program.

ROTC is now returning to the campuses as part of the biggest "peacetime" military buildup in U.S. history and an integral part of the anti-Soviet war drive. Today ROTC provides some 70 percent of the officer corps for the imperialist army and trains for military maneuvers to "roll back Communism" from Sandinista Nicaragua and Soviet-backed governments in preparation for the big one, the USSR. Glenn S. argues that we should "expose" these junior butchers to left-wing ideas, and outrageously charges students who mobilize against ROTC with "gangsterism." Today's ROTC represents militant anti-communism on American campuses. They've not only been "exposed" to but have actively mobilized (at Harvard,

e.g.) against leftist protests of the American invasion of Grenada, the U.S. Marine presence in Lebanon, and military and CIA recruiters.

Marxists never volunteer for the capitalist armed forces. In the absence of mass conscription, a call to work from within the armed forces is akin to telling people to become world cops and gives direct support to the anti-Soviet war drive. In this regard, it is no accident that Progressive Labor Party, which considers the Soviet Union a "fascist state," calls on its members to join the army and the National Guard! A draft army is different. We are not petty-bourgeois pacifists who hide behind student deferments or other special class privileges, but stand with the working class, which does not have ready access to such advantages. Revolutionaries, if drafted, bring an understanding of the class differentiation within the armed forces that can win the soldier ranks (and even sympathetic officers) to the side of the workers and the oppressed. The real enemy is at home!

Army life magnifies the race and class oppression inherent in American capitalist society. Today's army is disproportionately black and Hispanic youth who join mainly out of sheer economic desperation. In a combat situation this represents the Achilles' heel of American imperialism, because minority youth are not exactly gung-ho about slaughtering Cubans in black Angola, Nicaraguans or Russians for a government that's deprived them of every democratic right at home. Our policy is to exploit this class differentiation between the enlisted men who are pushed out front and the predominantly white officer corps who stake out cushy positions in the rear.

The struggle to win the army is not simply or primarily a question of organization within the army ranks. The army is won to the side of the proletariat when the working class shows itself as a contender for power on the basis of its own independent organizations. As Trotsky wrote in 1905:

"Only when the soldiers become convinced that the people have come out into the streets for a life-and-death struggle—not to demonstrate against the government but to overthrow it—does it become psychologically possible for them to 'cross over to the side of the people.'"

For American Trotskyists, the tasks of defending the Soviet Union and fighting for black liberation are completely intertwined. Our job is to mobilize youth against all forms of militarism by the capitalist warmakers, to build a party that will lead a proletarian army to victory over a system which has brought only death and destruction from Harlem to Hanoi. ■

class-struggle program.

Aspiring black capitalist politicians like attorney C. Vernon Mason (a former contender for the top-cop position of district attorney in this city) have cynically channeled the anti-racist outrage into pointless appeals for action by the capitalist state. While the university is suing Mason for interfering with "Columbia's right of property" by defending evicted tenants, Mason has filed suit to make Koch's cossacks "responsible" and "do what is required of them." In this he's joined by the demagogic nationalist reverends like Daughtry and Butts who are "all fired up" to get black youth to join the racist police force!

The CBSC has grossly capitulated to these right-wing pseudo-nationalists, undercutting the mass, integrated support evidenced in the first 1,000-strong protest. At a rally on April 4, CBSC spokesman Tanaquil Jones told anti-racist whites to butt out and go "raise consciousness" in the racist fraternities. This separatist crap plays directly into the hands of the racists who are trying to



Young Spartacus
Columbia University, March 26: Mass protest against Ivy League racists. Spartacists say: "Students Ally with Labor to Stop Racist Attacks!"

segregate the campus under the banner of the Confederate flag of slavery!

The Communist Party distributed a leaflet at Columbia which calls on the state to "Outlaw Racist Violence," premised on the same absurd notion that the ruling class can be persuaded to "give up" its racist brutality. In late April, a black student from Medgar Evers University was beaten by the police after asking three cops why they

were thrashing a defenseless black man. Handcuffed and in the squad car, the student was threatened by a racist cop who pulled a noose out of the glove compartment and said, "This is what we have for you niggers who fight the police." This is the scum the reformist Communist Party would have enforcing their new laws against racist violence!

Racist terror won't be stopped by

prayers, candlelight vigils, boycotting white businesses, voting Democrat, liberal pleading with cops and administrators, calling on the state to "Ban the Klan," confrontations with the cops when the relationship of forces is overwhelmingly in their favor, idealistically ferreting out racism in our hearts, or any other backward and ineffective strategies. What's needed is hard class struggle. What's needed is an understanding of who our friends and our enemies are. The administration, the cops, the courts, and the political bosses who run them are the class enemy of working people and the oppressed. Facing a particularly brutal, racist, capitalist society in decay, the struggle for black liberation requires overcoming the false program and dead end of nationalism. Anti-racist militants must be won to the Marxist program of revolutionary integrationism, to take their place alongside the working class mobilized in struggle to smash racist terror at its root—the capitalist system. Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Permanent Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

The pro-Albania MAP/PML, which has frequently been mislabeled Trotskyist, calls for a "Nicaraguan proletarian revolution," implicitly rejecting Stalin's dogma of "two-stage revolution," at least at home. But they remain Stalinist, still evidently believing in building "socialism in one country." Above all, the Russian question is the stumbling block for these ex-Maoists. The PML's *Prensa Proletaria* is silent on the class character of the Soviet Union, referring only to Kremlin "revisionists" and elliptically to "the superpowers." Mainly, they try to duck the issue, to the point that they don't even mention where Nicaragua's SAM missiles come from. And they're virtually silent on Cuba. It is impossible to wage a genuinely revolutionary struggle in this front line of imperialism's global war drive without having a clear position in defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba against imperialism.

Four years ago we asked, would the Sandinistas respond to Reagan's war as "Cuban Castroites or Spanish Loyalists"? ("Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!" *WV* No. 329, 6 May 1983). As the Spanish workers valiantly defended Madrid against Franco during the 1930s Civil War, they chanted "¡No pasarán!" (They shall not pass!), a favorite slogan in Nicaragua today. But the Francoists *did* pass, because Stalin & Co. erected the Popular Front as a barrier to proletarian revolution, in order to "win the war" and "not frighten the democratic bourgeoisie." The Popular Front of class collaboration, the consequence of Stalin's nationalist line of "building socialism" in the USSR alone, was proclaimed by the Kremlin in 1935, spelling the liquidation of the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky. It doomed the Spanish Revolution to defeat, as the FSLN's trinity today threatens the survival of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Morenoites for the Cuban Road

The other left tendency opposing the Sandinista constitution is the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), affiliated with the International Workers League of the recently deceased Nahuel Moreno. The Morenoites are the largest ostensibly Trotskyist current in Latin America, and the PRT grew out of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, organized by Moreno & Co., which rushed to the scene during the FSLN's final offensive in 1979. The Brigade, which marched under the Sandinistas' red-and-black colors, was rounded up by the FSLN police shortly after the triumph when they attempted to organize a workers demonstration in Managua demanding "Power to the proletariat." The non-Nicaraguans in the Brigade were expelled to Panama where several were beaten by the police of nationalist strongman Omar Torrijos, a Sandinista ally.

On the sixth anniversary of the revolution, the PRT published a bulletin entitled "Where Is Nicaragua Going?" (*Cuadernos de El Socialista* No. 1, July 1985) ending with an 18-point "Program of Struggle Against Imperialism and the Capitalists." The program called for support for a military victory of the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador, opposition to the Contadora negotiations, for defeating imperialist aggression through militant solidarity with the workers of the world, "especially the workers of the United States and the USSR," and for a revolutionary federation of Cuba and Nicaragua. The PRT called as well for workers control of production and supply, nationalization of the factories and haciendas, and a workers and poor peasants government



Left: Cuban militia guards former U.S. oil refinery, nationalized in 1960.
Right: CIA terrorists blow up oil depots at Corinto, Nicaragua in 1983.



based on a national assembly of democratically elected worker, peasant and "popular sector" delegates.

The PRT pamphlet, however, refers to the Sandinista government as a "bourgeois government" and as a "bonapartist regime *sui generis*" (of a unique type). This latter characterization was used by Trotsky to refer to the Cárdenas government in Mexico, which was indeed a bourgeois regime, albeit one that sought the support of the workers and peasants in its conflict with U.S. and British imperialism. In the Mexican case, a new capitalist state was indeed reconstituted following the defeat of the radical peasant forces of Zapata and Villa in the civil war which saw the triumph of a bourgeois "constitutionalist" army led by large landowners. That is precisely what hasn't happened in Nicaragua, where the Somozaist army was sent packing and the present Sandinista Army is firmly controlled by the FSLN. The petty-bourgeois Nicaraguan regime is certainly bonapartist, but it has not reconstituted a bourgeois state, i.e., the executive committee to enforce capitalist class rule. If it had, the present contra war wouldn't be taking place.



Albania-line Stalinists of MAP/PML in Nicaragua call for "Workers and Peasants to Power," but refuse to defend the Soviet Union and Cuba against imperialism.

A year later, the PRT published a second pamphlet, "The Revolution at the Crossroads" (*Cuadernos de El Socialista* No. 3, July 1986), containing its presentation to the special constitutional commission of the National Assembly. The PRT representatives called for a constitution "capable of solving the concrete problems of the Nicaraguan revolution; to end the war of aggression and solve the economic crisis." A "Constitutional Motion of the PRT" issued in September calls for expropriating the imperialist-owned companies, the large factories and haciendas, arming the workers, and imposing workers control. Yet they present these demands to the parliament of what they call a bourgeois government! Such demands can only be realized through the independent mobilization of the workers at the head of

the exploited and oppressed masses.

But most noticeably absent from the PRT's programs is the key element for a successful proletarian revolution—the forging of a Trotskyist party. In the 1986 "Crossroads" document, this glaring omission becomes a positive program of pressuring the Sandinistas. The PRT concludes:

"We are faced then with two major alternatives: either the FSLN advances, breaking all its political and economic ties to the bourgeoisie and imperialism...; or ultimately the bourgeois counterrevolution can prevail, in one or another of its variants...."

"In Cuba, Fidel Castro was forced by the blockade and the pressure of imperialism to nationalize the principal means of production and to construct a bureaucratic Workers State."

Yet in Nicaragua, unlike Cuba, there was a large-scale insurrection that mobilized the urban masses to bring down Somoza; today, there are 300,000 armed workers and peasants ready to defend the revolution. And again unlike Cuba, in Nicaragua despite the FSLN's bureaucratic control, one can name numerous factories in which leftist opposition parties are strong: FANATEX, METASA, IMEP, ENAVES, TEXNICA, plus various sugar mills, state farms, etc. What is needed above all is revolutionary leadership to mobilize the working masses to complete the revolution and extend it.

Increasingly, the Morenoites have identified the fate of the Nicaraguan Revolution with the Cuban "model." A resolution by Moreno's International Workers League dated 19 July 1986 speaks of "transforming Nicaragua into a new Cuba, that is to say, into the second free territory of America." It goes on: "The Sandinista leadership is at a crossroads. Hopefully it will choose this road, the same taken by Fidel Castro more than 25 years ago when his country too was under attack by imperialism. Castro expropriated the bourgeoisie, converting Cuba into a workers state. Thanks to this it was able to resist the aggression. The best defense of Nicaragua is to make it a new Cuba" (*Working Class Opposition*, October 1986). And in one of his last documents published before his death Moreno wrote: "We must demand from the Sandinistas that they carry out that expropriation measure, indispensable for ending imperialist aggression" (*Working Class Opposition*, December 1986).

At various stages in his multicolored career, Moreno masqueraded as a Peronist, Maoist, Guevarist, black nationalist, Sandinista, even a Khomeinist, and recurrently on the Argentine terrain he flew the banner of social democracy. Yet through all his gyrations and support for one Third World strongman after another, Moreno's "anti-Stalinism" has really been anti-Sovietism. The IWL's claim in its 1985 congress that there is a "Holy Alliance of Washington, the Kremlin, the Vatican" (*Working Class Opposition*, May 1985) could come from a "state capitalist" group which denies any conflict between the Soviet Union and imperialism. Authentic Trotskyists are the best

defenders of the conquests of the October Revolution. From Afghanistan to Poland to Nicaragua, the Morenoites' line can only lead to support for Yankee imperialism.

Castroism or Trotskyism

The Cuban Revolution was an acid test for Trotskyism. The British Healyites and French Lambertists denied the existence of a social revolution in Cuba. On the other hand, the American Socialist Workers Party's Joseph Hansen declared Castro's Cuba a "workers and peasants government" which evolved into a "healthy" workers state, albeit "not yet possessing the forms of workers democracy," and led by "the unconscious Marxist, Fidel Castro." It was this support for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Castroites which provided the basis for the SWP's "reunification" with Ernest Mandel, and the creation of the "United Secretariat." Contrary to Moreno's self-serving claim of a "Castroite turn" under Hansen's epigone Jack Barnes around 1979, the USec was wholeheartedly pro-Castro from its inception. It is the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) which has uniquely upheld the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution in characterizing Castro's Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

Already in 1961, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, forerunner of the iSt, declared that "Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China" (Minority resolution to the 1961 YSA convention, reprinted in the Spartacist League's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory"). While hailing the revolutionary expropriations of both the imperialist and Cuban capitalists, and defending Cuba against U.S. military and economic aggression, the RT insisted on the need for a struggle for workers democracy and an internationalist revolutionary policy against the bureaucratic and nationalist straitjacket imposed by the Castro regime. Above all, it emphasized the need to forge "a mass revolutionary-Marxist party" in which the small Trotskyist groups have a vital role to play in politically combatting the influence of non-proletarian leaderships.

Today, 25 years after Castro proclaimed the Cuban Revolution "socialist" following the U.S. Bay of Pigs invasion, the social and economic achievements of Cuba, limited to a single Caribbean island besieged by Yankee imperialism, are a beacon to the poor and working people of all Latin America. Cuba is the only country of the region where there are no festering slums and no one goes hungry, where infant mortality has dropped to 15 per thousand live births, life expectancy at birth is 74.2 years, 96 percent of all adults have achieved at least a sixth-grade equivalency, education is free, and after graduation there are jobs for all. In Cuba, 37 percent of the workforce are women, as are more than half the

Ben Linder...

(continued from page 1)

himself "in harm's way." But as Congress "investigates" the Contragate conspiracy that financed this Murder Inc., David Linder pointed to the perpetrators of his son's death: "He was killed by someone, they were hired by someone, and they were paid by someone, and so on down the line to the President of the U.S."

Two weeks before he was killed, Benjamin Linder told the *Washington Post* that he and the other members of his crew were on a contra death list. Two Nicaraguans associated with such projects had been killed the previous month. Asked how he felt about the danger of attack, he replied with the Sandinista slogan, "For our dead, we swear to continue with the revolution." Linder was part of a lawsuit filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights last fall which sought to halt U.S. funding of the contras on the grounds that it threatened American citizens. In his affidavit Linder wrote, "The danger to my physical safety is immediate, and unless an injunction is issued, I may suffer irreparable physical harm as a result of the unlawful activities of the U.S. government." A U.S. district court judge threw out the suit, calling it a "political question" for Congress and Reagan.

Many Nicaraguans knew the popular young volunteer, who also used his talents as a clown to encourage children to participate in a vaccination campaign. Thousands lined the streets in the



Benjamin Linder's family, joined by Sandinista president Daniel Ortega (left) in funeral procession in Matagalpa, Nicaragua.

provincial capital of Matagalpa for Benjamin Linder's burial. Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega joined dozens of other Nicaraguans, Americans and other *internacionalistas* in the guard of honor, carrying his coffin and burying him in Nicaraguan soil as he had requested. The Sandinista government decorated Linder with its highest civilian citation, the Order of Commander José Benito Escobar, the first time it was awarded to a foreigner. International volunteers vowed that rather than being intimidated they would continue to stand alongside the Nicaraguan people. In the U.S., a candlelight vigil of 2,000 people was held in Linder's home town of Portland, Oregon and a thousand came out to honor him in San Francisco.

In 1983 Benjamin Linder decided to

use his technical skills to support the Nicaraguan Revolution. Recently graduated from engineering school at the University of Washington, he joined thousands of European and American *brigadistas* in Nicaragua. International assistance, especially Cuban teachers and technicians and Soviet military and economic aid, has to some extent offset the U.S. imperialist siege. Linder worked for the Nicaraguan Energy Institute, courageously building small power plants in the contra-infested northern provinces. He brought electricity for the first time to the remote hamlet of El Cúa, where he lived. Benjamin's father spoke his epitaph:

"He had a commitment to the revolution. And by the revolution, he defined it as giving people schools, giving them medical care, giving them a little respect, giving them a little land,

and he was trying to give them a little electricity. That's what he called the revolution, and that's what they're trying to destroy."

In Washington, D.C. at the April 25 "peace" crawl, liberal Democrats called for a "negotiated solution" in Nicaragua. But there is nothing to negotiate with the psychopathic killers who murdered Linder along with thousands of Nicaraguans. There will be no peace in Central America until the contras and death squads are crushed, their capitalist masters expropriated and their imperialist patrons driven out. Defense of Nicaragua means completing the revolution and extending it throughout the region. The example of courageous individuals like Ben Linder, who has now been martyred, points to the need for international brigades, including American volunteers, fighting to defend Nicaragua against the contras and a possible U.S. invasion. The government has already "brought the war home" with its witchhunting and hounding of volunteers connected with TecNica and other groups.

We salute Benjamin Linder. We also know that his fate could have befallen one of the number of Spartacist comrades who have visited Nicaragua in solidarity and to witness firsthand a revolution under way. Anti-imperialism abroad means sharp class struggle at home, including labor strikes against U.S. war moves. It will take the revolutionary victory of the proletariat to provide the conditions for the Ben Linders of the world to effectively fight to improve the lives of the planet's poor and oppressed. ■

country's technicians. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (9 July 1986) admits:

"When Fidel Castro marched into Havana in 1959, one of his first moves was to abolish segregation in Cuba's deeply racist society. Twenty-seven years later, blacks continue to be among the foremost beneficiaries of his revolution, as race increasingly fades as a barrier to social mobility."

In fact, by many social indexes, Cubans are better off than Americans. And there is no comparison with the mass misery next door in Haiti. This is the night-and-day difference a social revolution makes.

But Cuba is still a poor country, living off the subsidy provided by an estimated \$4 billion in Soviet aid annually, and a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The leadership is a tight group consisting of Castro and his immediate associates; who happens to be riding alongside the *líder máximo* on his jeep ride is still more important than any vote by the empty "people's power" assemblies or even a Communist Party congress. In more than a quarter century under Yankee guns, Havana has undertaken internationalist missions from Grenada to Angola, where Cuban troops have held off South African invaders for more than a decade. But following the nationalist logic of Stalinism, they have also supported bloody butchers like Ethiopian strongman Mengistu, who has slaughtered Eritreans, Somalis and a generation of Ethiopian leftists. And while Cuba has sent teachers and military trainers to Sandinista Nicaragua, the State Department's wild claims of vast Cuban aid to Latin American guerrillas, particularly in El Salvador, are unfortunately a myth.

For Permanent Revolution in Central America!

At the heart of the Nicaraguan question is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Not even the limited gains won in the overthrow of Somoza, much less a workers revolution, can be defended in a Nicaragua surrounded on all sides by Yankee neocolonies. To survive, the Nicaraguan Revolution must break out of this vise, inspiring and aiding revolutionary class struggle throughout Central America—in the first instance, El Salvador—and extend it to the many million-strong Mexican proletar-



Sandinistas pursue suicidal policy of "political pluralism" and a "mixed economy."

iat, groaning under IMF-imposed austerity. Above all, to transcend the incredible poverty of this region of banana and coffee republics, the revolution must be taken to the imperialist heartland. This is the special responsibility of North American communists.

Yet just as under the watchwords of "political pluralism" and "mixed economy" they have allowed a pro-contra bourgeois "fifth column" to operate inside the country, in the name of "nonalignment" the Sandinistas have refused to aid the Salvadoran guerrilla struggle, at least since the Reagan administration put on the heat in early 1981. And they will do nothing to upset their ties with Mexico, even as the latter increasingly capitulates to Washington and the possibility for explosive class struggle mounts in the land ruled by the "Institutional Revolutionary Party." This only underlines the need for forging an authentically communist party openly fighting to complete a socialist revolution. As Leon Trotsky wrote in summing up the lessons of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (and their negative confirmation in the failed Chinese Revolution of 1927):

"No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party...."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably

and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a permanent revolution."

—*The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

In Nicaragua today, a Leninist-Trotskyist party must fight for a genuine agrarian revolution, expropriating in particular the large landowners (the backbone of the internal contras), who produce almost all of the country's exports. Such measures, as Trotsky wrote, would directly pose the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

But in response to enthusiasm for the Nicaraguan Revolution, various ostensibly Trotskyist outfits have openly renounced the program of Trotskyism. Most notorious is the American SWP of Jack Barnes, who in a December 1982 speech dismissed Trotsky as "ultraleft" (see our Spartacist pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary*). Barnes is just putting the final touches on the SWP's anti-Trotskyist course which began with its capitulation to Castro. Yet most of those who have claimed to defend Trotskyism against the renegade Barnes have taken a line toward the FSLN indistinguishable from the SWP's. Usec superstar Mandel, for instance, whips off a 30,000-word document "In Defense of the Permanent Revolution," while the

Usec's 1985 world congress resolution on "The Central American Revolution" declares that "power passed into the hands of the workers" on 19 July 1979, and says nothing about defending the right to strike or about organs of workers power; rather than a Trotskyist party, the Mandelites call for "building the Sandinista revolutionary party!"

The lessons of the Cuban Revolution for proletarian Marxists are quite different from the liquidationist conclusions of these anti-Trotskyists. As stated in the 1963 RT resolution, "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," one of the founding documents of the Spartacist tendency:

"Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat."

The road to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution is the road of Lenin and Trotsky, of permanent revolution and the reorganizing of the Trotskyist Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Reagangate Cover-Up...

(continued from page 1)

Secord named him as the chief conspirator. But they wouldn't even let him rest in peace. At Casey's funeral, Bishop John McGann denounced "the violence wrought in Central America by support of the contras." Occupying a front-pew seat, President Reagan must have longed to give His Eminence the Archbishop Romero treatment—where's a death squad when you really need one? He had to settle for the closest substitute, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who rose to condemn the troublesome priest's "mean-spirited and ill-informed comments." But Bishop McGann concluded with a prayer that Casey "will now live forever in the presence of Creation's central intelligence"—the great DCI in the sky.

You don't have to be a canary to sing—sometimes pigs squeal. As Congressional hearings were about to open, former U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica Lewis Tambs said he was just following orders. Ambassador Tambs set up a contra "southern front," arranged for a secret airfield to be carved out of the jungle, provided logistical aid for contra arms flights and threatened the Costa Rican president. But when Tambs found out some of his contra pals had targeted him for assassination to facilitate their Colombian drug connection, the same ones who carried out a bomb attack on "Comandante Zero" Edén Pastora when he fell afoul of the CIA, it loosened his tongue. "Now the people who gave us the orders are trying to paint us as running amok," he complains.

Fawn Hall knew all, while other secretaries in Washington (like State and War) are pleading ignorance. Maybe they didn't want to know, but the Reagan gang conducted their conspiracy pretty openly, and now they're being hit with it. Tambs' orders came from the "Restricted Interagency Group" headed by Elliott Abrams (about whose denials of U.S. involvement with "private" contra supply operations Republican Senator Durenburger remarked last fall, "I wouldn't trust Elliott Abrams any further than I could throw Oliver North"). And what they did in Iran was fairly shocking, by their own standards. Here was a half-colonel going around telling people: My name is Lt. Col. Oliver North, I believe deeply in Jesus Christ, I work for the president and I will get you a tax exemption if you will pay to send arms to the ayatollahs. Texas billionaires, Israeli arms merchants, Saudi princes and Brunei sultans bought it, but saner minds in Washington decided it was time to cart some of these characters off to the looney bin. That was the job of the Tower Commission.

The Congressional hearings show what we all knew all along—that the Great Prevaricator was the No. 1 unindicted contra co-conspirator. Secord takes the stand as the patriotic American, just carrying out the president's policy: "There's no question that the covert operation was designed to be concealed from Congress." Everyone in Washington politics was in on the "secret," including Congress and the press. The managed media buried the story until Meese handed it to them on a platter at the November 25 news conference. The *Wall Street Journal* (1 May) now admits that it and other papers "delayed stories about the Contras naming Lt. Col. Oliver North" from 1985 on. Congressional intelligence committees asked for details of North's operation, then dropped it on White House assurances that laws were not being violated. And Congress bought all the fairy tales the administration concocted to sell contra aid, and as the PBS *Frontline* (21 April) TV special on the

"War on Nicaragua" said flat out, "The so-called Boland Amendment has the effect of ratifying the secret war—not curbing it." CIA director Casey himself supported the Boland Amendment.

The Democratic-controlled "investigation" is a cover-up in part because it is their own crimes they are camouflaging, and partly because as committee chairman Inouye stressed: "In the last quarter century, we have seen how foreign perception of weakness in the Oval Office contributed to crises for three Presidents." Damage control is the name of the game. And meanwhile the U.S. war on Nicaragua goes on, "Stinger" missiles are sent to Afghan mullahs so they can shoot down civilian airliners, and the U.S. is still secretly shipping arms to Khomeini, all for the anti-Soviet war drive, a bipartisan enterprise of the partner parties of American capitalism.

Crisis of the Imperial Presidency

At the heart of the affair is the war drive against the Soviet Union, aiming at the overturn of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. In his May 11 testimony, McFarlane put forward the basic



Washington Post
Reagan (far right) and Lt. Col. North with Nicaraguan contra leaders. North associate Carl Channell's TV commercials were front for gunrunning to counterrevolutionary terrorists.

rationale of the operation, to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome":

"...if we could not muster an effective counter to the Cuban-Sandinista strategy in our own backyard, it was far less likely that we could do so in the years ahead in more distant locations. There's a corollary to that proposition: For if we did prevail in Nicaragua, the President might go far toward inhibiting Soviet pursuit of this strategy in other areas.... We had to win this one."

But now this gang of crusaders against the Soviet "evil empire" is going down and their desperation is showing. Jeane Kirkpatrick, formerly Reagan's favorite Dragon Lady, asks "Is the Soviet Union under Gorbachev really in control of the international agenda" and wonders if the U.S. has "entered a period of historical decline" (*Newsday*, 29 March). And now with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, things Soviet are the rage in the U.S. as T-shirts sporting Lenin's portrait, "CCCP" and hammers and sickles are "in."

The unraveling of the Reagan regime exposes a broader crisis of leadership at the helm of American imperialism's "ship of state." The White House couldn't find a new head of the CIA with clean hands, so the Senate had to settle for ex-FBI boss William Webster, despite his claims to have "lost" the report of a 1985 investigation into North's contra operations. And several top Reaganites have turned down the directorship of the FBI, which for half a century under red-hunter Hoover was a key position to blackmail anyone including presidents. The Democrats are faring no better, and could even snatch defeat from the jaws of victory in '88. For the first week in May, the Gary

Hart sex scandal pushed Reagangate into second billing as some "anonymous" tips to an easily manipulated press knocked out the Democratic front-runner. This left a field of barely-knowns (except for black Democrat Jesse Jackson) derisively known as the "Seven Dwarfs." The response was a lot of hand-wringing over how U.S. capitalism selects its leaders.

Scandals over sex and secret wars are a staple of American bourgeois politics in recent years, just as endless affairs over financial swindles and the mercenary press marked the French Third Republic in the 1930s. Until the 1960s, Americans uniquely among Western "democracies" believed "their" government; today the presumption of public prevarication is so widespread that TV ads for imported cars feature blatant lies with grandmothers struck dead by lightning. But beyond the national differences in subject matter, the prevalence of such debilitating affairs reflects the sapping of the strength of the respective bourgeoisies. They've been running a not-so-secret war in Nicaragua because after the "American Century" went down to defeat in Vietnam, the



Der Spiegel

American population and large sections of the ruling class have no appetite for getting bogged down in another Third World military adventure. And the business blows up because the contras are losers.

Democrats and Republicans alike are up to their eyeballs in the Iran/Contragate conspiracy, but the present ruling clique have a distinct quality. The fervor of the Reaganites when they took office was similar to when Nixon came in, except "Tricky Dick" was less an ideologue than a simple crook. There was also something of the flavor of when the Nazis took over, a righteous political (not social) revolution that took over (rather than smashed) a state machine they were at odds with. This created quite a contradiction, and on top of it they tried to carry out the "Reagan revolution" without much of a majority in Congress. As liberal Vietnam historian Frances FitzGerald noted in an essay on "Reagan's Band of True Believers" (*New York Times Magazine*, 10 May), they had Reaganite fanatics heading offices whose functions they oppose: put someone in charge of mine safety who doesn't believe in mine safety, and the same for environmental protection, air safety, civil rights, human rights, education, arms control, etc. And from the day they took office, they were finagling to get around legislative and bureaucratic restraints. As their field of maneuver narrowed, the gang in the White House basement saw the rest of the administration as part of the obstacle. In the code language of Secord's "enterprise" North was "Mr. Good" and the State Department

was "wimp."

A number of the chief operatives in the affair were military men who were passed over for promotion or resigned under fire. Secord didn't make it to Lieutenant General because of his association with Edwin Wilson, one-time U.S. superspy now sitting in jail for selling explosives to Qaddafi. Another top Contragate, General Singlaub, was cashiered for opposing Carter's planned reduction of U.S. troops in Korea; now he's head of the "death squad international" (the World Anti-Communist League), while still sitting on a Pentagon "advisory committee" on "low-intensity warfare." The prevalence of veterans of the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the U.S.' "secret wars" in Laos and Vietnam in the Iran-contra operation is reminiscent of the role of former paratroopers from the Algerian dirty war in French fascism today. Such sorts easily go over into a Nazi-like mentality over frustrations with the "restrictions" of bourgeois democracy, however limited. So they were out to line their own pockets: Göring also grew quite rich off his crusade.

But while Reagan is discredited and widely hated, and the administration in disarray, the U.S. imperialist state is immensely powerful...and dangerous. Capitalists intend to keep on taking back union gains, cops think they have a green light to terrorize the ghetto, and frustrated "neo-conservatives" would like to revive McCarthyite witchhunting to strike at the "enemy within." Thus around the April 25 "peace" crawl, there was a burst of redbaiting, from the Moonies' *Washington Times* (which accused the Sandinistas and Qaddafi of financing the protests) to Cold War liberals such as *Washington Post* columnist Stephen Rosenfeld, who denounced this supposed "Mobilization Against Democracy," and William Randolph Hearst, Jr., who bellowed about a "communist-sponsored propaganda stunt." Similar ravings came from teachers union president Albert Shanker and AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland.

Anti-Reagan liberal James Ridgeway hoped (*Village Voice*, 5 May) that the April 25 march "could eventually be a spinal transplant for the Democrats in '88." The Democrats want to return to the White House to administer "rational" Reaganism with a populist face. In Washington, Jesse Jackson called for protectionism (in the guise of fighting "slave labor"), for a "Camp David" style accord with the Sandinistas (to negotiate away the "danger" of revolution in Central America), for "all foreign troops out of Angola" (removing the valiant Cuban forces who for the last decade have prevented the South African apartheid army from reestablishing colonial rule), and proclaimed, "we must not only march together and pray together, we must coalesce and vote together." And the reformist left tail on the Democratic donkey tags along repeating the "Rainbow" rhetoric. In the Atlanta convention, Jackson will try to turn this support into some "clout," perhaps in exchange for delivering a block of delegates to some Dixiecrat warmonger like Georgia Senator Sam Nunn.

Imperialism is not a policy, but a system—capitalism in its epoch of terminal decay. By itself, the effect of a Watergate or Contragate crisis will pass as the personnel directing the imperialist state machine are switched. What's needed is a class-struggle workers party to mobilize the proletariat and its allies, leading all the oppressed—all the victims of Reaganism and their Democratic partners in crime—in a struggle for socialist revolution that will sweep out the White House, the Pentagon, Wall Street and the capitalist class. The aim of the Spartacist League is to put an end to their increasingly despotic, wantonly vicious and capricious rule, that brings untold misery to the planet. ■

Navy Gunning for Maritime Strikers

ILWU: Shut Down Coast Ports!

OAKLAND, May 11—A concerted effort is under way by the Navy, maritime employers, Democratic Party politicians and the union bureaucrats to tighten the screws on the Bay Area shipyard and West Coast Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) strikes. On May 8 the Navy threatened to cancel its contract with Todd Shipyards, the largest of the struck yards, fueling rumors that it will be permanently closed. In Seattle, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) tops ordered boatmen to take down their picket line against Crowley Maritime so that scabs could tow a barge to Alaska with DEW-Line anti-missile materiel for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

While Todd floats shutdown rumors, another struck yard, Southwest Marine, is using scabs to work the USS *Wichita* at the Alameda Naval Air Station. And the union bureaucrats on the Metal

Trades Council, who have fought to crush the shipyard strike ever since it began six weeks ago, "voted unanimously to not consider work aboard the [amphibious transport USS] Vancouver 'struck work' if the Navy decides to move the ship" from dry dock at Todd ("Bay Cities Metal Trades Council Strike Update," 7 May). The backstabbing union tops have already allowed Pacific Dry Dock, a subsidiary of Crowley, to bring in scabs.

The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses have targeted the ILWU. They long to replicate the two-tier wage-slashing agreements and erosion of union jurisdiction in the Atlantic and Gulf ports. Already Alaskan cargo has been taken away from the ILWU in Seattle and Puget Sound, and the PMA has the union hiring hall in its sights.

West Coast maritime workers are being ripped up because they are saddled with a leadership which has



Striking boatmen at the Port of Oakland, February 22. For a coastwise maritime/waterfront strikel

chained them to the Democratic Party and the bosses' courts, and bows down before the capitalists' "national security." The bureaucrats' "friend of labor," San Francisco mayor Dianne ("Confed-

erate Flag") Feinstein, is echoing Todd's threats that "it would be cheaper to close the yard" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 May). And the pattern for the massive cuts sought by the Bay Area shipyards was set in Seattle and Portland when the union tops capitulated to a court-imposed wage cut at Marine Power and Equipment Co. in July 1986. The Navy is gunning for shipyard workers from Norfolk to Seattle. They want to break the unions, just as the bipartisan war drive is aimed at smashing the Soviet workers' conquests in the 1917 October Revolution.

The union tops are doing everything in their power to isolate the maritime and shipyard workers and make them take on the bosses and the capitalist government alone. This is how strikes are lost. To win, the social power of all the maritime workers must be combined. Longshoremen, whose contract expires June 30, must take the lead in a coastwise shutdown, welding together shipyard workers, the IBU and related transport workers in a fight against the years of concession takeaways. Victory to the shipyard and IBU strikes! Bring out the power of the ILWU! ■

What Makes BT Run?...

(continued from page 6)

defensive action they could have in shooting down what looked to be a military aircraft. We and the Russian government deplored the loss of innocent lives, victims of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. But not so the BT.

The BT's theoretical bloodthirstiness has always been extremely vicarious and in direct proportion to their distance from where the blood was being shed. The BT's "live like pigs, die like pigs" slogan for the Marines in Lebanon hardly fits in with its sidling up to the social-patriotic "No More Vietnams" crowd. And how does its KAL 007 position square with the "third camp" swamp in which the BT is so comfortably ensconced? We surmise that the BT would love to push us into hailing the gratuitous spilling of blood, the better to feed the anti-communist fantasies of government witchhunters, perhaps. Except for such a twisted purpose, why should the BT seek to paint us as social-patriots and take up themselves a bloody-minded posture? Particularly after the departure of Mandel (about which the BT has provided no word of explanation), the BT's leading light is unquestionably Howard Keylor, a man who to this day supports the U.S. imperialist side in World War II!

BT Spits on the Black Oppressed

Obscenely the BT has called our work to mobilize against racists "ghetto" work. They declare that by mobilizing the biggest anti-fascist demonstration in decades, in Washington, D.C., in November 1982—based squarely upon the power of organized labor—the SL was abandoning "union work." Indeed, the fight for black liberation is counterposed to the BT's idea of union work: conciliating the racist labor tops.

The SL raised the biggest outcry we could over the hideous government murder of eleven black people, including five children, incinerated in the 1985 bombing of Philly MOVE. The BT's response was to smear MOVE supporter LaVerne Sims as a cop fink and denounce the SL for offering her a platform at our meeting honoring the MOVE martyrs.

When we mobilized over 5,000 blacks

and unionists to stop the Klan from marching in Washington, the BT didn't bother showing up. Instead they wrote us a letter accusing us of selling out to Stalinism because we called one of the buses to the demonstration the "Yuri Andropov Brigade." Of course the BT could have no appreciation of the pleasure of deeply alienated blacks, infuriated that the White House in-

ate flag, the BT called it an adventurist stunt.

And what about Geronimo Pratt? The BT tried a real provocation to get on the platform of our rally in defense of this framed-up Panther leader. Why? They had shown no interest in the case. They didn't even endorse the rally until we observed that supporting the case was a precondition for speaking there!



"We Stopped the Klan!" said 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League, 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. Where were the BTs?

tended having the Klan parade through the nation's capital, at the idea of a contingent named for their enemy's chosen enemy, the head of the "Evil Empire." Meanwhile the American apologists of the Soviet bureaucracy, the CP, were like the BT nowhere near the anti-fascist mobilization, being engaged in the counterposed strategy of preaching reliance on federal courts, black mayors and the Democrats' "Rainbow Coalition" to "ban" the Klan.

The BT whines that the SL has accused them of being racists. Well, if the shoe fits... We can simply empirically show that the BT doesn't give a damn about the oppression of black people. The latest 1917 says not a word about escalating racist terror from Howard Beach to Forsyth County. When our supporter Richard Bradley scaled the flagpole in the S.F. Civic Center to rip down the hated Confeder-

The lousy one dollar bill they tried to give us as a "statement" of "support" was an insult to a man who has been behind bars for 17 years. And then the BT speaker resurrected FBI lies about "factionalism" that were used to set up Panther leaders for jail and assassination. The BT spits on the victims of racist state terror, from MOVE to Geronimo Pratt. Anybody the BT can recruit from us based on such a posture is somebody we don't want.

BT Dancing to Whose Tune?

The latest issue of 1917 says that the Spartacist League believes "in a gigantic web of intrigue connecting most of the organized left to various police agencies in a sinister conspiracy aimed at—what else?—the Spartacist League." No, most of the left are surely not cop agents. We point out that when the popular-front leftists call us cops while calling the cops

to keep us out of "their" demonstrations, they run point for repression against the left. But the reformists and rad-libs who hate our politics aren't obsessed with us. Their appetites lead them in another direction; they just wish we would go away.

But how can one explain the BT? Writing on the BT two years ago ("ET: New Name, Same Game?" *WV* No. 388, 4 October 1985) we observed:

"Those who are guided by intense subjective malice as a political program are just asking to be someone's tool, willing or unwitting (sometimes both)... But applying the criterion *cui bono* (who benefits) to the ET/BT suggests answers ranging from the merely unsavory to the downright sinister."

The whole tone of the BT recalls nothing so much as the insinuating style associated with the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO. The aforementioned Mandel petition urges people to condemn a presumed act while admitting they have no idea if it actually took place: "While I did not witness the assault... I condemn this and any use of physical violence within the workers movement." Or take the comments from the first issue of 1917 on the spectacular implosion of the Healyite tendency. Noting that the Healyites are notorious for beating up internal opponents, the BT opines that "This is something which the SL is not guilty of to our knowledge," adding that "intimations of such appetites are increasingly common." This is like asking, "When are you going to start beating your wife?"

Ex-members of the socialist movement do sometimes bear malice toward the organizations that "failed" them. But people who voluntarily leave even very bad organizations normally find that their grievances recede as they go on with their lives. Hostility doesn't make a program and ex-membership in a party doesn't provide a sufficient reason for publishing a newspaper or crossing North America and Europe year after year seeking others similarly inclined. The BT is manifestly an assemblage of garbage, a heap made up of worse than worn-out people, the worst of those who have departed from the SL, which we think is a pretty good revolutionary organization. But to take that refuse heap and make it move like a loathsome living thing requires something more, an animating principle like the electric charge Dr. Frankenstein used to imbue his monster with life. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

laager (camp). As even the *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) noted, the "spiritual and intellectual molds of this nation's elite...are being rent by debate and doubt about the wisdom of apartheid." At Stellenbosch University, the center of Afrikaner nationalism and the political elite, comparable to Harvard or Oxford, a group of senior faculty resigned from the ruling party in a bitter protest of Botha's failure to institute "reforms." There is a developing split in the Afrikaner ruling class—reflected as well in the courts, which this week briefly relaxed press restrictions on coverage of the unrest, while Pretoria ordered the police to ignore the court rulings in



Apartheid cops attack integrated student protest which shut down University of Witwatersrand, May 3.

many places.

Far more significant is that anti-apartheid protest shut down Witwatersrand University. Even after the police attacked the largely white protesters with tear gas, beat them with whips and batons and arrested 120 students and teachers, the crowd defiantly regrouped with the help of sympathetic faculty. "Dancing, chanting students cheered professors wearing academic gowns as a faculty spokesman, Prof. Doug Hindson, said they would back the students' call for a two-day closure of the university to protest the white election" (*New York Times*, 5 May). Clearly many South African white youth do not look forward to living in Botha's police state. There is even a growing "End Conscription Campaign" which opposes the drafting of youth for the oppressive army.

This development provides opportunities for revolutionary proletarian class struggle in South Africa. Guaranteeing a place for white South Africans in a black-centered workers government could assist in neutralizing the dangerous military machine of apartheid which threatens a genocidal slaughter. Moreover, whites can provide technical and cultural skills which will help secure a decent life for all in a socialist federation of southern Africa.

But instead of making use of the polarization among privileged whites to press for workers revolution, the 600,000-strong COSATU is shackled by the nationalist-reformist perspective of seeking to pressure the (increasingly less) "liberal" wing of the ruling class.

Free South African Black Unionist!

Moses Mayekiso Must Not Die!

Moses Mayekiso, head of the 61,000-member Metal and Allied Workers Union in South Africa, is under threat of execution by the vicious apartheid regime. Accused of having tried to "overthrow, usurp or endanger the authority of the state," Mayekiso is being tried on treason charges. Four others are also facing the death penalty for their political activism in the black township of Alexandra: Mayekiso's younger brother Mzwanele Mayekiso, Paul

Tshabalala, Richard Mdakane and Obed Dapela. In Britain, National Union of Mineworkers leader Arthur Scargill, Labour MP Tony Benn and others have called for his release. The international workers movement must be mobilized to demand freedom for Mayekiso and all victims of apartheid repression. Messages of support may be sent to: MAWU, Fourth Floor COSATU House, 268 Jeppe Street, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

Before the elections, the ANC had correctly ridiculed the upcoming vote, but after PFP member of parliament Helen Suzman attacked the ANC's comments as "sinister" for "not giving us a last chance," Winnie Mandela came out for a "vote against apartheid" at her planned speech at the University of Witwatersrand. This could only mean a vote for the PFP, the political arm of the mammoth Anglo American mining and industrial conglomerate.

This is in keeping with the ANC's traditional strategy of seeking to pressure the English-speaking bourgeoisie, and Anglo-American imperialism, to

move against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. Such a strategy can only lead to disaster by politically disarming the black proletariat and fostering illusions in their exploiters. As we wrote in our last issue: "Class exploitation is the motor force for the disenfranchisement of apartheid's victims; their emancipation requires a *social revolution*. What is urgently needed in South Africa is an integrated revolutionary workers party, a Bolshevik party, committed to the expropriation of South Africa's wealth by its producers in a black-centered workers government. Smash apartheid—For workers revolution!" ■

New York...

(continued from page 5)

seem to be seeking confrontations with the cops in which the demonstrators can only lose. At the Bumpurs trial, with black demonstrators sandwiched by an army of police, nationalists began taunting the cops with the chant "Today's pig is tomorrow's bacon!" On April 4, they marched on a Harlem station house and then to Columbia, baiting trigger-happy cops with chants of "Pigs have got to pay!" and trying to drive white students away from integrated anti-racist protests.

Behind the provocative "off the pig" hype and poisonous race-baiting are the likes of Sonny Carson (whose "Black Men's Movement Against Crack" is an anti-drug vigilante squad Reagan would love), Al Sharpton (who led racist rallies against Arab storekeepers in Harlem), Calvin Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church (whose "National African Youth Student Alliance" looks to the politics and methods of the anti-Semitic bigot Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead). Who benefits from their antics? If New York City is engulfed in race war, Ronald Reagan would be the winner, unleashing the forces of deadly repression against the ghetto and cutting off the possibility of integrated class struggle (while whacking out the Democrats in the elections). *Black people* would be the biggest losers. But that is exactly the logic of ethnic nationalist politics.

In Crown Heights in particular the stage is set for a repeat of the 1978 clash between blacks and Jews, when Herbert Daughtry deflected black outrage over the cop murder of black community leader Arthur Miller into pogromist marches on Hassidic synagogues. This February, the home of a black woman, Willic Mae Reddish, was firebombed; witnesses saw two Hassidic youth running from the house into a dormitory for rabbinical students, but the police didn't pursue it. Meanwhile, a vigilante patrol run by the synagogue has been beating and harassing blacks, trying to run them out of the neighborhood. On April 11, the sabbath before Passover, black leaders massed 600 people to march through the Hassidic area to the home of the Lubavitcher Grand Rebbe,

Massive show of police force at UN against demonstrators protesting attacks on black community, March 20.



Some 2,000 riot-equipped cops moved in, sealing off the neighborhood and preventing a march on the synagogue where an estimated 10,000 people were celebrating the rabbi's birthday. It would have been West Beirut in Brooklyn...and the only force between blacks and Jews was Koch's killer cops!

Who are these "leaders" working for? One answer was provided in early May when 22,000 posters went up around the city in a Police Department recruiting drive for black cops. Bearing a photograph of four prominent black clergymen—Herbert Daughtry, Calvin Butts, Lawrence Lucas and Wendell Foster—the poster bore the slogan, "We are New Yorkers looking for 'The Finest'." What an obscenity in Reagan's America, in Koch's New York, where the names of black people murdered by the police are witness to the deadly system of racist capitalist terror! This is

no fluke. Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan has linked himself with the KKK, inviting California Klansman and Democratic Party candidate Tom Metzger to his anti-Semitic tirades in Los Angeles. After the Howard Beach lynching, "former" KKK "Imperial Wizard" David Duke showed up at the pizza parlor to recruit for his latest racist hate group. Borrowing a line from Democrat Jimmy Carter, Duke said, "Communities in this country should have the right to maintain their ethnic purity" (*Daily Challenge*, 2 March).

Break with the Democrats—Forge a Workers Party!

Black people in this country are kept in thrall through their leaders' ties to the racist Democratic Party. In New York, black lawyers Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason have championed the cause of black victims of police brutality and murder, and been themselves the target of racist threats of disbarment. Yet they channel the just anger of the ghetto into illusions in Mario Cuomo's "special prosecutors." And meanwhile, Maddox whips up racism with his despicable racist-baiting of young white model Marla Hanson, the victim of a hideous razor slashing, for identifying two black attackers.

Nationally, Jesse Jackson is now the Democratic Party front-runner. But behind his populist Rainbow rhetoric, Jackson will be brokering black votes for racist Dixiecrats like Sam Nunn in '88, just as he sat down to tea and pecan rolls with Alabama governor George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace in the '84

election. As Malcolm X said, if you vote for the Democrats, you're voting for the Dixiecrats, and Jesse Jackson is determined to prove him right.

The fight against the racist terrorists requires a sharp break from the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism. Key to liberation of the black masses is forging a multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. With racist terror on the rampage in New York City, powerful workers action is urgently needed to stop the killers cold. After Howard Beach, militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU called on their union brothers to fight for integrated union patrols to make the streets of New York safe for every decent person! Outside the Bronx courthouse where the dead victim Eleanor Bumpurs was on trial instead of the cop who killed her, on the Morning-side Heights campus where city police haul off anti-racist protesters while the "Heil Columbia" racist punks go free, the Spartacist League and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense have called for labor/black mobilizations against lynch mob terrorists and Koch's killer cops.

Had the transit powerhouse of NYC labor mobilized defense guards at the time of the 1982 lynch mob murder of black union brother Willie Turks, Michael Griffith and Brother Wajid Abdul-Salaam might be alive today. It is the absence of integrated labor struggle against the racists which opens the doors to those who seek to fan the flames of race-hate in this city on the brink. The "long hot summers" of the 1960s were massive outbursts of rage and frustration following the failure of the liberal civil rights movement to change the conditions of black people in the Northern ghettos. Twenty years later, the black condition in America has worsened by every indicator, from infant mortality to youth unemployment to the hundreds of blacks on death row. Now more than ever, it is urgent to win the ranks of labor, the youth, the black and Hispanic masses to the program of socialist revolution. When thousands of black workers take their place as proletarian leaders in the revolutionary vanguard party, the days of the racist terrorists will be numbered. ■



Rev. Al Sharpton's "crack-down" campaign: anti-drug vigilantes Reagan would love.

Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 16)

because he symbolizes the best of the millions who participated in the civil rights and antiwar activism of the 1960s and 1970s. And the heinous denial of freedom for this innocent man is once again openly political. He is "still a revolutionary," raged Los Angeles deputy district attorney Diane Vezzani at the parole hearing (*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 6). Pratt survived a 1969 murder attempt by the state, when police death squads laid siege to the L.A. Panther headquarters. Because he survived, Pratt was framed on a murder rap in a travesty of a trial in which the star witness was a paid police and FBI informer who perjured himself by denying his relationship to those agencies. FBI wiretaps proving Pratt was 500 miles away from the scene of the crime were suppressed and then "lost." A retired FBI official, Wesley Swearingen, later testified: "Pratt was set up." He has endured 17 long years in prison including eight in solitary confinement. He has withstood the attempts to break his spirit and assassinate his character. Unbowed, like Nelson Mandela in

that described Pratt as a "principled individual and an idealist and supporter of human rights" whose "prognosis for parole should be excellent." The board cites Pratt's courageous refusal to perjure and frame himself, to "jump through hoops," in his words, by walking into the trap of "admitting guilt" for a crime he did not commit. They smear this highly decorated Vietnam veteran as a "walking time bomb."

The parole system which keeps Pratt in prison just caused a storm of public outrage when it released one of California's most brutal real murderers: Lawrence Singleton, a (white) psychopath who savagely raped a 15-year-old girl, cut her arms off with an ax and threw her in a ditch to die, just walked out of prison a free man after serving a little over half of a 14-year sentence. No one wants Singleton in their community. But a senior editorialist at the *Oakland Tribune* wrote on the day of the hearing that Pratt "sounds like a model citizen to me." Meanwhile, the same Edwin Meese who scrambles to save his "legacy" of repression by keeping Pratt in prison just went all-out trying to protect Nazi war criminal Karl Linnas from extradition to face justice in the Soviet Union. Such is racist "justice" in capitalist America.

Who sits on this parole board, accountable to no one but their capitalist masters, seeking to do their dirty work in the dark like the star-chamber inquisitors of the Middle Ages? Appointed by California's staunchly Reaganite governor George Deukmejian and approved by the state senate, the board that denied Pratt's parole was chaired by Edmund Tong, a former member of the Democratic Party's National Committee. The other two members are deputy commissioner Robert Roos, a professional "civil servant," and Maureen O'Connell. O'Connell, in particular, stood out as a vicious witchhunter. For ten years O'Connell was a sheriff in the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, which works hand in glove with the Alameda County district attorney's office—a historic recruiting ground for Reagan reaction that spawned Edwin Meese and his protégé Lowell Jensen, the D.A. who directed the reign of terror against the Panthers in the 1960s.

At a protest called by the Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt before the May 5 hearing, Pratt's attorney Stuart Hanlon noted that the rogue's gallery of frame-up artists who railroaded Pratt used his case as a steppingstone: Jensen became a top official in the Justice Department and was recently rewarded with a judgeship in San Francisco; trial prosecutor Stephen Trott is now head of

Pratt: "I Intend to Keep On Struggling"

The following statement from Geronimo Pratt was read by Ashaki Pratt to the rally called by the Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt on the morning of his hearing before the California parole board.

I want to thank everyone for your active support—the letters, the petitions—and your presence here today.

I want you to know that whatever the Parole Board decides today, I intend to keep on struggling—not only for my own release—but for the release of all the political prisoners and prisoners of the war of injustice, incarcerated in the dungeons of the U.S.

All around the world, human beings fight against injustice and for their people and their nations—in Azania, in Ireland, in El Salvador, in Chile. And all around the world governments lock up and criminalize people who resist oppression, racism

and COINTELPRO-type repression. No matter what they do to me, I will always affirm the right to resist, the right to struggle for freedom. This is something that they can never take away. I am 100 percent innocent of the charges for which I have spent 17 years of my life in prison. But I am and always will be a freedom fighter for African people—and for all people.

In the spirit of Nelson Mandela and Leonard Peltier, and also Anna Mae Aquash, Haydee Torres, Marilyn Buck and Watani Tychimba, I wish to thank you again for your support, and encourage you to join hands and form a solid bastion against the evils of oppression that starve and murder us and make us suffer so.

Asante,
A luta continua,
geronimo ji Jaga



Partisan Defense Committee joins protest demanding Pratt's freedom May 5 outside parole board.

South Africa, Pratt remains deeply committed to the cause of the oppressed in fighting for his own freedom.

At the May 5 hearing, the parole commissioners displayed a vindictiveness and an open hatred for what Pratt represents that shocked even prison guards and newspaper journalists covering the case. They especially went after Pratt's honorable political past as a Black Panther and humanist. The board arrogantly dismissed the latest in a long series of reports praising Pratt from San Quentin's own prison counselors and from staff psychologist Randall Bruce

the Justice Department's Criminal Division; Michael Nash, who fought Pratt's appeal, is now a California judge; Richard Wallace Held now heads the FBI's San Francisco office. All of them share with their godfathers Meese and Reagan a deep, vested interest in keeping Pratt behind bars. As Hanlon said, the parole hearing was "rigged from the beginning in a very ugly racist and political manner."

What James P. Cannon, then leader of the International Labor Defense, wrote in 1927 of the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti applies fully to those who rob Pratt of his freedom:

"They want to know if...they can wreak their revenge upon these rebels, who have not feared to defy them, by burying them alive and at the same time liquidating the movement which must free them!"

—Notebook of an Agitator

At the parole hearing Assistant D.A. Vezzani lashed out at the many who have come forward in the cause of Pratt's freedom: "He has a network of people who will assist him in any way he wishes," she railed.

This frenzy is indeed testimony to the breadth of support for Pratt's cause. Newspaper journalists like the *S.F. Chronicle's* Jack Viets are among those who over the years have prevented the case from being buried away from public view; *Examiner* columnist War-

ren Hinckle and *Tribune* editorial writer Austin Long-Scott wrote powerful pieces calling for his freedom. More than 100 trade-union, civil rights and community organizations endorsed the February 21 labor/black demonstration called by the Labor Black League and the Partisan Defense Committee. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Radio Moscow covered the demonstration, noting that Pratt is among the prominent "dissidents suppressed by the United States." At a February 27 Oakland news conference former Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale urged support for a letter-writing campaign demanding freedom for Pratt. Over 2,000 individuals and organizations across the country responded to appeals from the PDC and others to send letters to the parole board, and more than 1,000 letters have so far been sent to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals where Pratt is fighting for a new trial.

The government's efforts to isolate Pratt from his supporters will backfire; more and more enemies of social oppression and racist injustice must make his cause their own. Step up the fight—all out for "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!" ■

France...

(continued from page 3)

national sovereignty by locking up our country in this European and Atlanticist conglomerate" (*L'Humanité*, 28 April). This is a revolting attempt to rival the fascists in French chauvinism.

Fitterman ducked the central question: anti-immigrant racist terror. Appealing to the white labor aristocracy and trying to hold on to its municipal offices, the PCF won't touch the burning issue of racial oppression. Even worse, the Marchais leadership grotesquely tried to prove its "responsibility" to the bourgeoisie by attacking African workers in an immigrant hostel at Vitry in December 1980! The social-chauvinist PCF tops pretend to counter the fascist threat by simple economic struggle, as if any such struggle actually capable of wresting significant gains from the bourgeoisie would not have to be physically defended from the fascist bands!

The so-called "renovateurs," the heterogeneous opposition inside/outside the PCF (now being frantically courted by the LCR), postures as an "anti-



French Trotskyists initiate united front, Rouen, 1981: "Popular Front Disarms the Working Class! Crush the Fascist Vermin! For Workers Self-Defense!"

racist" alternative to the Marchais leadership. But while criticizing the social democracy for not combatting Le Pen from the beginning, these liquidators line up behind Mitterrand's SP and cover up the racist police terror under the Mitterrand popular front which paved the way for the fascists' current success. Even today the "Socialists" are the organizers of racial segregation in Marseille and Lyon (where the aspiring Bonaparte Charles Hernu, Mitterrand's ex-minister of war who was responsible for the murder of a Greenpeace activist,

regularly expels immigrants from his municipality).

The current trial of Klaus Barbie, the bloody butcher of Lyon, should be a reminder of the horrors of fascism... and of the virulent anti-Semitism which went far beyond the open collaborators. The working class must mobilize now against fascist terror. This means opposing the new popular-front alliance being pushed by the reformists aimed at putting Mitterrand back in the presidential palace in 1988. Today Le Pen's strength lies only in the cowardice of the

proletariat's treacherous misleaders. And the fascist killers wouldn't even exist if it hadn't been for the Stalinists' betrayal of the revolution in 1945, when the French workers rose up in arms against the retreating German occupiers and their Vichy fascist puppets. But the PCF disarmed the workers, politically and physically, on the altar of the popular front with General de Gaulle.

A militant and massive counterattack could check the fascist offensive and galvanize the entire working class, particularly its immigrant sector. For the final victory against fascism—the product of decaying capitalism—the proletariat needs the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party armed with an internationalist program which poses the fight against racist terror and racial discrimination as a strategic question for socialist revolution in France. No platform for fascists! Abolish the CRS and other special police forces specializing in anti-working-class and anti-immigrant repression! Cops out of immigrant neighborhoods! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Worker/immigrant defense guards based on the trade unions! Fight for workers power! ■

Former Black Panther Steadfast in Freedom Struggle



WV Photo
Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.

Outrage! Pratt Parole Denied

OAKLAND—On May 5 the California Board of Prison Terms summarily denied parole to former Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner. A government conspiracy, spearheaded by Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese, locked Pratt away 17 years ago for a crime he could not and did not commit. Because this courageous black fighter for freedom refuses to deny his political commitment and

upholds his innocence, the state keeps him in bondage today. Pratt was a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program"), the government's murder machine that killed 38 of his Panther comrades. Meese used this frame-up to launch himself into the big time as Reagan's sinister attorney general. Now this Contragate co-conspirator stands exposed to the world as a liar and one of the foremost criminals of the

Reagan gang, a prime candidate for the jailhouse. To shore up the completely tarnished reputation of Meese & Co., the state treats Geronimo Pratt like the fugitive slave Dred Scott, who the Supreme Court decided in 1856 "has no rights that the white man is bound to respect." COINTELPRO is alive and well on the California parole board.

Pratt was framed and imprisoned
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South Africa Student Revolt

Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid Election

One and a half million black workers and students shook the foundations of apartheid capitalism on May 5-6 in a two-day nationwide stayaway from work. South African president P.W. Botha had planned to bolster the racist Pretoria regime by conducting another racist "election" among the 2.5 million white voters—entirely excluding the country's 25 million blacks. (The fake parliaments for three million mixed-race coloureds and one million Indians were not up for a vote.) "If voting could change the system, it would be illegal," was a telling comment on a button in Cape Town, noted South African trade-union organizer David Lewis (*Nation*, 25 April).

But the massive display of black proletarian power that day exposed the election as a futile exercise in white supremacy. On May 5, for instance:

"More than half of the black workers in the Witwatersrand industrial area around Johannesburg refused to go to their jobs, and in the eastern Cape Province region, the walkout of blacks was 98 percent effective, according to the independent Labor Monitoring Group.

"Three-quarters of the black public transport workers here and in Natal Province stayed home....

"The Durban area reported 60 percent absence of black factory workers in one of the most sweeping strikes in the region in years."

—*Washington Post*, 6 May

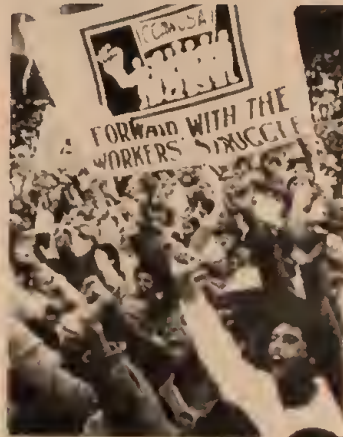
For almost three years the South

African state has been racked by massive black resistance in the face of savage police-state terror and repression. White support to these anti-apartheid struggles has, however, been pretty much limited to a small number of courageous individuals. But this time, significantly, students and faculty at the predominantly white Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg joined the stayaway protest against the racist elections. Police using tear gas attacked 3,000 Wits students who had gathered to hear African National Congress (ANC) leader Winnie Mandela.

The whites-only "elections" took place in the aftermath of a militant six-week strike by black railroad workers which paralyzed the apartheid state's

commercial center. Rail transport is far more strategic to South Africa's economy than to the American. The strike was only suppressed with massive police raids, in which several strikers were killed, followed by the mass firing of 16,000 strikers who defied a back-to-work order. The police also raided the downtown Johannesburg headquarters of the black-centered labor federation COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions).

Yet on May Day, even though the regime banned 20 protests, mass defiance of the police continued as the workers dared to celebrate the traditional proletarian holiday with demonstrations. In Cape Town 10,000 people came out for a May Day rally, "the



Miller/Impact Visuals

Founding rally of COSATU, 1985. Massive May "stayaway" shows combativity of South African black proletariat.

largest anti-government gathering since emergency rule was imposed in June" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 May). The success of the two-day stayaway of May 5-6, called by COSATU and the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, proved again that the combativity of the black proletariat continues unabated.

Fissures in the Laager

Within the confines of the ever-more-constricted apartheid white "democracy," the elections registered a shift to the right—particularly among the English-speaking voters—no doubt the product of the racial hysteria generated by the ruling National Party of P.W. Botha. The "liberal" Progressive Federal Party (PFP), political arm of the English-speaking bourgeoisie, lost seven of its 26 seats in the all-white parliament, while the diehard reactionary Afrikaner Conservative Party emerged as the main parliamentary opposition to the ruling National Party.

But at the same time, major fissures to the left have appeared in the white
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Cops fire on University of Cape Town students protesting apartheid army raid into Zambia.