

Avenge PATCO and Philly MOVE!

Labor: Sock It to Reagan!

Reagan Hates Everybody

When 30,000 longshoremen hit the bricks at 12:01 a.m., October 1, a knock-down, drag-out class battle was shaping up. East Coast dockers were fighting for all American labor. The maritime bosses were taken by surprise: they weren't expecting a walkout. They figured the dock workers would come crawling, do anything to avoid a strike. But the longshoremen said, "No more givebacks!" Tens of thousands of tons of cargo were left sitting idle in the ports. Militant mass pickets shut down New York's key containerized facilities tight, and for a change it was the scabs who were on the receiving end (one reportedly broke his legs). It started off as the biggest labor confrontation since the coal miners strike in 1978-79. Even though within three days the leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) called it off, much to the disgust of militant strikers, it's not over. Contracts were extended, "cooling out" the situation for 45 days.

At the same time, on the West Coast Boeing aircraft workers were overwhelmingly rejecting a proposed contract. Twenty thousand workers packed into Seattle's Kingdome on October 3: seething mad, they shouted down union bureaucrats of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), demanding "Strike, strike, strike!" Militants wore T-shirts with the slogan, "The war is on!" One press account graphically depicted the massive anger and disgust for the gutless IAM tops:

"...machinists who assembled in the Kingdome to vote on the proposal... booed their negotiating team, they booed the priest who gave the invocation and they especially booed the tyke who sang the national anthem, 'America,' and 'God Bless America' and led them in the Pledge of Allegiance... then hooted derisively as the union's general



Delaware County Daily Times

Workers fed up. Above: Steel workers block deliveries at USX Fairless plant near Philadelphia. Top right: Longshore strike shut down East Coast ports. Bottom right: Angry Boeing workers in Seattle voted down giveback contract.

vice president, Justin Ostrow, said, "This is the best contract we can bring you short of a strike."

—Seattle Post Intelligencer, 4 October

Ostrow reportedly remarked later that when your membership boos a priest and the national anthem, you know you're in trouble. You bet! But the bureaucrats would rather be in trouble with the membership than with the companies.

Later that day a majority of Boeing workers in the Puget Sound area voted with their feet, refusing to show up for the graveyard shift. With Reagan pumping billions into his anti-Soviet

war drive, the aerospace corporations are rolling in profits: Boeing made \$566 million last year alone, up 45 percent from the previous year. But all that the workers have gotten is massive givebacks. The company's latest offer is to maintain the two-tier wage system while buying off the labor fakery with a union shop (i.e., increasing their dues base). The contract has been extended on a day-to-day basis, as tens of thousands of Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas workers (whose contracts expire later this month) are looking to Seattle to set the pace. Shut down Boeing now! Smash the two-tier wage system! For a nationwide aerospace strike!

As wildcat fever was at its height in Puget Sound, just across the border in Vancouver, 4,000 Canadian longshoremen were threatening to strike. Even the beleaguered United Steelworkers striking USX were flexing a little muscle: on October 2 at the Fairless plant outside Philadelphia some 1,200 USWA members and supporters blocked a scab steel shipment by massing on the railroad tracks. Despite a series of recent union defeats and sellouts, the strike action is continuing. And now it's spreading to the heavy battalions of labor. Aircraft workers have got some muscle—use it! When ILA longshoremen—whose business union leadership is so conservative that it backed Reagan—and workers in defense plants are ready to walk, that spells bad news for the White House and the bosses.

Six years of Reagan reaction have systematically attacked virtually every sector of the American population. Blacks and other minorities had few illusions with the KKK's favorite "Kandidate" in the White House. The limited civil rights gains of the '60s have been under attack, busing rolled back in Norfolk and elsewhere. The brutal

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Why U.S. Feared Trial for "Journalist"

The Daniloff Dossier

When the Soviet KGB first arrested Nicholas Daniloff, "correspondent" for *U.S. News & World Report* in Moscow, on espionage charges August 30, the Reagan White House started shrieking that he was an "innocent hostage," imprisoned simply to be exchanged for Soviet UN employee Gennadi Zakharov, who had been arrested by the FBI in New York the previous week. The two cases were completely "different," the Oval Office thundered, and there

would certainly be "no trade." But the tune quickly changed as word leaked out that the two men would indeed be traded (with the fig leaf of a Soviet "dissident" thrown in).

Reaganite conservatives were dumbfounded, and accused Reagan of "blinking." "I didn't blink," Reagan protested, and after the deal was clinched, he snapped, "They blinked." Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze casually and correctly observed that it is not a question of

"who blinked first," since the Soviet Union, at least, does not look upon its dealings with the U.S. like a soccer game. But it is clear that the Reagan administration had suddenly become extremely, even desperately anxious to spring Daniloff. What happened?

Now even U.S. officials are admitting that they had to swap Daniloff because, in the words of one anonymous government official, "It was very, very important to avoid a trial."

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Young Spartacus

see pages 11-14

Daniloff...

(continued from page 1)

Why? As *Newsday* (2 October) reported: "U.S. Had to Rescue Daniloff: CIA Bungle 'Named' Him a Spy." A Harvard report on the class of '56 surfaced in which Daniloff "jocularly" remarks that "I became a journalist by chance," because "the CIA... found my mind lacking" (*Boston Globe*, 13 September). Worse, Daniloff "was showing signs of 'Stockholm syndrome'"—i.e., they were afraid he was getting ready to talk!

In short, the Reagan administration was afraid "the Soviets could put together a seemingly credible espionage case," as the *Los Angeles Times* (2 October) put it delicately. For instance, the *Times* notes that in the summer of 1985 Daniloff obtained from his Soviet friend "Misha" a Soviet map of Afghanistan, marked "secret" in Russian, which he sent home to his editors. A *U.S. News* official admitted seeing the map, de-

references to "rockets and other military subjects." A few months later Daniloff returned to the embassy and met in a secure room with two officials to discuss his relations with Father Roman. According to the Soviets, a CIA officer later contacted the priest, introducing himself as a "friend" of the reporter "Nikolai." The *New York Times* (6 October) reports:

"Mr. Daniloff said that at first he assumed the [Soviet] evidence was fabricated but that since returning to Washington he has learned that a C.I.A. officer in Moscow did communicate with Father Roman."

Significantly, the man the Soviets identify as CIA station chief, Murat Natirboff, left Moscow about three days after Daniloff was arrested.

While the U.S. media establishment was throwing a tantrum over Daniloff's arrest, we demanded "a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence" (*WV* No. 411, 12 September). But Daniloff's sponsors were scared to death of a fair trial. So they brought him in out of the cold to be a huckster for "freedom." Daniloff immediately went to the White House where he spewed sycophantic praise for Reagan, and then it was off to Disney World to celebrate the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution with Mickey Mouse and his pals, just-retired Supreme Court chief justice Burger and ultrarightist Phyllis Schlafly.

Needless to say, we didn't see screaming headlines like "EVIDENCE OF DANILOFF-CIA LINK" splashed across the front pages of the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, et al. It is heartening, though, that at the height of the brouhaha over Daniloff a Gallup poll reported that 32 percent of all Americans believed Daniloff was a spy. This caused consternation among TV commentators who worried over the airwaves that a decade after Vietnam and Watergate, the American people still don't trust their government. Wonder why. White House media advisers keep forgetting that you can't fool all the people all the time, and now some of their endless disinformation schemes are blowing up in Reagan's face. ■

All Honor to Soviet Submariners

On October 3, a fire broke out on a Soviet nuclear-powered submarine some 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) northeast of Bermuda. The Soviet press agency TASS released details the next day, reporting that there were casualties and three Soviet sailors died in the accident, but there was no danger of a nuclear incident. The international Spartacist tendency sent a telegram of condolences, printed below, to the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy. Subsequently, on October 6, TASS reported that despite rescue efforts by Soviet ships "the submarine... sank at a great depth." Fortunately, there were no further losses.

05 October 1986

To: United Nations Mission of the USSR, New York
TASS, New York
Embassy of the USSR, Washington, D.C.
Consulate of the USSR, San Francisco
Embassy of the USSR, Paris
Pravda, Moscow
Soviet Navy, Moscow

Attn: Commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy

We note with extreme regret the loss of three of your men in active duty in the Atlantic Ocean.

We must believe that the mission of the boat was related to the defense of the peoples of the world against imperialism.

We can only hope that the boat remains operational in pursuit of its mission.

And we wish to extend our profound condolences to the families and comrades of the men who died in performance of their duties, and we can only wish very well for surviving members of the crew.

Helene Brosius, Secretary of the international Spartacist tendency

Spartacist League/U.S.
Trotskyist League of Canada
Lega Trotskista d'Italia
Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand
Ligue Trotskyste de France
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
Spartacist League/Lanka
Spartacist League/Britain



Spartacist pamphlet exposes Reagan's deadly spy-plane provocation. Order yours now!

scribing it as "a map that appeared to be on a board—a troop placement thing."

Daniloff openly admits delivering to the U.S. embassy in January 1985 an envelope from a priest known as Father Roman. According to *Newsday*, this envelope "contained other envelopes, including one addressed to CIA director William Casey" and a letter with

Expropriate the Expropriators!

In April 1939 Leon Trotsky wrote an introduction to an abridgment of Marx's *Capital* by the Marxist scholar Otto Rühle. Trotsky's introduction, summarizing and bringing up to date Marx's analysis of capitalism, was particularly directed to American workers.

That part of the product which goes to cover the worker's own subsistence Marx calls *necessary-product*; that part which

the worker produces above this, is *surplus-product*. Surplus-product must have been produced by the slave, or the slave-owner would not have kept any slaves. Surplus-product must have been produced by the serf, or serfdom would have been of no use to the landed gentry. Surplus-product, only to a considerably greater extent, is likewise produced by the wage worker, or the capitalist would have no need to buy labor power. The class struggle is nothing else than the struggle for surplus-product. He who owns surplus-product is master of the situation—owns wealth, owns the state, has the key to the church, to the courts, to the sciences and to the arts.

—Leon Trotsky, *Marxism in Our Time* (1939)



TROTSKY



LENIN



Paris, September 30—Ligue Trotskyste de France demands freedom for Eleuterio Gutiérrez.

Paris, London Demonstrations to Free Bolivian Miner

Twice in the last year, the rightist, U.S.-backed Bolivian government of Víctor Paz Estenssoro has declared a state of siege to crush worker-peasant rebellion against IMF starvation policies. The brunt of the repression has been directed at the militant tin miners, one of whom, Eleuterio Gutiérrez, has been locked up for the last 12 months on fabricated charges in the stinking jails of the mining town of Oruro. On September 30, comrades of the international Spartacist tendency participated in protests in London and Paris demanding freedom for Gutiérrez and all victims of rightist repression in Bolivia.

The demonstrations were initiated by Workers Power, a British centrist grouping which claims to be Trotskyist. In London, where a modest picket was held in front of the Bolivian embassy, approximately half the participants were supporters of the Spartacist League. Spartacists carried the slogan "For a Bolivian Trotskyist Party," which Workers Power considered not in the spirit of "unity." In Paris, a dozen of our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and several Latin American exiles showed up but only a handful of French Workers Power supporters.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 413

10 October 1986

South Africa: The Day They Stopped the Gold

Black Miners in Massive Strike

On October 1, over 250,000 black South African miners staged a one-day strike in response to a National Union of Mineworkers call for a national day of mourning for the 177 miners, almost all black, who were killed September 16 in a fire at the Kinross mine owned by the viciously anti-union Gencor company. Workers from Gencor mines, and from the huge Anglo American conglomerate as well, stopped the flow of gold to the apartheid bosses in the largest miners strike ever. The action attracted wide sympathy among South Africa's oppressed masses; another quarter million workers, many from the chemical and metal industries, supported the miners by striking or holding memorial services of their own.

The deaths at Kinross No. 2 mine were mass murder. The Randlords' systematic destruction of black workers' lives as they push production to the limit and beyond touched off outrage against the bloodsucking gold mining industry and the brutal system that supports it. In the face of the miners' solid determination, for one day the bosses and the white government had to back off. Once again, as in the massive June 16

stayaway strike commemorating the 1976 Soweto massacre, the black workers landed a powerful blow against Botha's draconian state of emergency. Memorial services went on virtually unmolested; mine owners were forced to watch as black miners shut off the source of their profits.

A week earlier, on September 25, in the township of Embalenhle, close to the Kinross mine's No. 2 shaft, thousands of workers from six surrounding mines attended a memorial and rally in the township's stadium. Winnie Mandela, the wife of long-imprisoned and revered African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, spoke powerfully, hitting at the crux of the crisis in South Africa:

"There may very well come a time when your leaders will ask you for greater sacrifices than a one-day strike, because you are digging the wealth that lets them sit on those Casspirs [armored personnel carriers].

"The moment you stop digging their gold, their diamonds, that's the moment we shall be free. You dig the wealth. You hold that golden key for our liberation."

—New York Times,
25 September



Johannesburg—Black miners at memorial meeting for victims of apartheid capitalism killed in worst gold mine disaster in South African history.

The miners responded with shouts of "Amandla!" (Power!), "Awetu!" (It shall be ours!).

But when the ANC speaks of the miners as key to "freedom" in South Africa, they mean something quite different from the black masses' yearning for power to carry out a social revolution and free themselves from apartheid wage slavery. Instead, the ANC hopes to use the pressure of a massive two-year-long black upsurge to

broker a "power-sharing" deal with "liberal" elements of the white ruling class, typified by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly. The black South African proletariat has the power to smash apartheid slavery! What is urgently needed now is the *revolutionary leadership* of a racially integrated Trotskyist vanguard party to expropriate the bloodsucking apartheid ruling class and form a black-centered workers government in South Africa. ■

Letter

Workers League Cop-Lovers

7 October 1986

To the Editor:

In the recent *WV* article on David North's "Workers" League ["Lord of the Fleas," *WV* No. 412, 26 September] the point is made that "To the extent that the Healyites had a coherent political core, they were cringing legalists/Labourite economists..." To underline this observation, you have only to examine the record of the Workers League on cops and so-called cop "unions." In the WL's recent series attacking the Spartacist League, in Part Five which the WL self-revealingly titles "An Obsession with Race," the WL claims we slander them when we denounce their support to the 1971 New York City cop "strike." After all, it happened "more than 15 years ago"—this is clearly ancient history for these grotesque opportunists who need a twice-weekly paper simply to keep up with their flip-flops and line changes. In the same article, they complain about the large number of *WV* articles devoted to the fight against the racist cops and fascist terrorists in 1985—the year of the hideous racist state massacre of Philly MOVE.

The Workers League's support to the police "strike" did not fall from the skies. It is an expression of the WL's anti-Marxist line that the brutal racist cops—the core of the bourgeois state—are *part of the labor movement*. This position is a measure of the WL's gross capitulation to the worst elements of the pro-imperialist, racist, job-trusting labor tops.

In its existence, the WL has had only one "industrial" concentration, a group called the "Committee for a New Leadership" (CNL), in a NYC white-collar welfare workers union, which became AFSCME Local 371. In the late 1960s, the CNL agitated for the union to support the demand by welfare cops for "peace officer" status—which would authorize them to carry guns. Even the thoroughly reformist president of the

union, Marty Morgenstern, argued against the CNL's motion, pointing out that the only people that armed welfare cops would shoot would be welfare recipients and welfare workers. The motion was defeated.

The 1971 NYC cop "strike" was the culmination of a decade of growing racist cop terror and bonapartism exemplified in the formation of the cop "union," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, with close ties to the Minutemen and John Birch Society, in 1963, and the police riots in Harlem the following year. (It is indicative that the last "strike" by NYC's "finest" occurred in 1863 when they refused to put down pro-slavery draft riots and burning of black orphanages.)

The WL's *Bulletin* covered the cop "strike" in its 25 January 1971 issue in an article entitled "New York Labor Begins Showdown." The article was accompanied by a picture of marching cops, described in the photo caption as "militant policemen." Thus, to the WL these professional strikebreakers and racist killers constituted a militant vanguard of New York labor! The 15 February 1971 *Bulletin* was even more explicit. An article incredibly entitled "In Defense of the Working Class" stated: "The significance of all this is the importance of placing the recent New York police strike within the framework of the general movement of the working class and at the same time seeking to understand what underlies this movement of the class." What underlay this movement of the cops was the civil rights movement and the ghetto explosions—namely, the cops and their "unions" behaved as shock troops of the "white backlash" against the movement of the oppressed working people. The cops, with true fascist mentality, saw bourgeois liberals like New York mayor John Lindsay as "soft" on blacks and radicals. As far as the cops were concerned, the courts were "on the side of the criminals," so therefore dark-skinned "perpetrators" should be simply

shot down in the streets.

A few months after the WL's championship of the 1971 cop "strike" came the gruesome Attica prison massacre. This became an issue at the 1972 international convention of AFSCME, which included not only a large number of government workers, including poorly paid racial minorities, but 10,000 cops and prison guards including the Attica guards! At the convention, the Spartacist-supported Militant Caucus (MC) from Los Angeles introduced a resolution demanding the expulsion of cops and prison guards from the union (see *WV* No. 10, July-August 1972). An MC spokesman made the elementary point that excluding the cops would strengthen the union, because it is impossible to defend both the rights of those who struggle against exploitation and oppression and the "rights" of those whose job it is to suppress that struggle. Then-president of AFSCME, Jerry Wurf, relinquished the chair of the convention to take the floor and launch into a 20-minute redbaiting diatribe against the MC. The Workers League supporters vigorously defended keeping



10,000 armed NYC police rally for killer cop Sullivan, racist murderer of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, 1985. Was David North there?

the butchers of Attica and the racist killer cops in the union.

Last year, the New York cops staged an ominous bonapartist mobilization after one of their number got a slap on the wrist for blowing away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with a shotgun because she had fallen behind in her rent. Was David North there alongside his cop "brothers" as they surrounded a courthouse demanding their "rights"? Does the WL support better wages and working conditions for the cops of South Africa as they wreak the apartheid rulers' vengeance upon the defiant masses?

Perhaps the most consistent feature of the WL's zigzagging political history is its endless, empty, fake-agitational call for a "labor party." For example, in the same anti-Spartacist *Bulletin* series, in Part Three, entitled "Opponents of the Fight for the Labor Party," the WL denounces our advocacy of the militant tactics that built the trade unions in this country—mass picketing to stop scabs and shut down struck plants, "hot-carguing" actions by other unions, refusing to play by the bosses' rules in the matter of strikebreaking laws and court injunctions, etc.—as "sheer adventurism" in the absence of a labor party. But what kind of labor party does the WL want? They are for a "labor party" that only the late George Meany, archetypal Cold War labor bureaucrat, could love.

Even at the height of the radical activism of the 1960s, when all of American society was shaken up by the mass struggle for black civil rights, when millions of American workers were disenchanted with the support of the AFL-CIO tops for the war against Vietnam, the WL in 1967 put out a five-point program for its "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party" which had *not one word* to say about the Vietnam War or black people! A "labor party" which scorns the fight against U.S. imperialism, which has "nothing special" (i.e., nothing) to offer the black component of the proletariat in this viciously racist country—this is the real program of the Workers League.

Reuben Shiffman

Labor: Sock It to Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

massacre of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia had the signature of the Reagan years all over it. But Reagan's apocalyptic Star Wars fantasies can't be financed simply by squeezing welfare mothers and the poor. So the unions came under the gun. When Reagan busted the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, it set the stage for a massive concessions drive and outright union-busting. Scabberding on the elite PATCO union was followed by scabberding against Greyhound strikers, Phelps Dodge copper miners, Hormel packinghouse workers.

But today it looks like Reagan could be on the edge. A little over a year ago he shocked Americans by commemorating Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg; now even most of Reagan's Republican Party has deserted him in overriding his veto of token sanctions imposed on Botha's apartheid South Africa. And with the Supreme Court headed by arch-bigot Rehnquist, one of the leading witchhunters behind the recent sodomy decision, even white middle-class Americans are worried about the sex police snooping around their bedrooms. Reagan and Rehnquist, Bitburg and Botha: a lot of people are plain fed up with the Reaganites and ready to say, screw you! And just when the bosses think it's lockout city, union struggles flare up on the East and West Coasts. The objective possibility exists to bring Reagan down through sharp class struggle, with the working class at the head of all the oppressed.

Bust the Union-Busters!

When the longshoremen struck, the Spartacist League rushed out a special four-page *Workers Vanguard* supplement (included in this issue) headlined "Let's Win This One!" We knew that the ILA was a key powerhouse of labor, with strong picket line traditions and a substantial militant black component in the membership. The strikers could not be so easily isolated, like Hormel meat-packers in rural Minnesota or Hispanic cannery workers in Watsonville, California. And millions were prepared to rally behind the longshoremen: finally, they said, someone was taking on the racist labor-haters. Especially in the South, where the ILA locals are outposts of black union power, our perspective of class struggle and revolutionary integrationism got a solid reception.

In three days Spartacist teams hit 36 cities, distributing a quarter million *WV* supplements to longshoremen on all three coasts, to Boeing workers, striking steel workers, transit workers in New York, Philly and Chicago, and throughout black communities. ILAers deeply

It Takes \$\$\$ to Move Fast

Forty-six hours after the International Longshoremen's Association strike was called, the Spartacist League had the first issues of our special *WV* supplement, "Let's Win This One!" out to the picket lines. In two days, 200,000 copies were in the hands of striking longshoremen and other unionists in the struck East Coast port cities as well as the Southern and Gulf ports, the Midwest, West Coast and Canada. With a potentially explosive battle against Reaganite union-busting in the offing, we blitzed union halls, shopping

centers in working-class and black neighborhoods and key campuses. It took thousands of dollars to move boxes and bundles of supplements fast, rush teams into the field, pay printing costs. So send a big check to help this campaign, which isn't over yet. And let us know how many supplements and *WVs* you can distribute in your area. Every dollar helps our party move into action quick when the class struggle heats up. Make checks payable to/mail to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10016.



WV supplement: "Let's Win This One!" A quarter million copies were distributed in three days.



WV Photos

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appreciated the supplement: we were virtually the only ones to defend them while the battle was on. The issue was a hit in black neighborhoods as well: sympathetic black merchants displayed the supplement prominently in their stores, check-out clerks in supermarkets were stuffing them in customers' shopping bags. Our paper struck a deep chord because it addressed the burning questions confronting the workers and oppressed: a program to bust the union-busters, to smash the Klan, to forge a workers party to defeat the war on blacks and labor with sharp class struggle.

When the longshoremen struck, they showed that the unions don't have to play patsy. For the first 24 hours, the mass picketing at the container yards in Port Elizabeth, New Jersey enforced the strikers' demand of "nothing in, nothing out." Some scab drivers got an "education," while their rigs ended up disabled in the roadway. But it didn't stay that way for long. Trying to defuse a hard confrontation in order to facilitate a deal with the bosses, the bureaucrats succeeded in dispersing the mass pickets. Militants who came to "shut it down" were disgusted; many stopped picketing altogether. In Norfolk there were no pickets at all—a "tactic" designed by the bureaucrats to allow ILA short-shoremen to empty dockside warehouses without having to confront striking longshoremen.

Longshoremen were particularly angered that they weren't fighting together as a union. While ports from Norfolk north struck, ILAers in the south Atlantic and Gulf ports worked—under concession terms that their brothers and sisters were striking against! Rumors of flying pickets coming down from New Jersey circulated through Southern ports. The *Savannah Morning News* (3 October) railed against "outside agita-

tors" (flying pickets). That's what needs to happen. There should have been a solid East and Gulf Coast strike when the first scab outfits began operating in the South, aggressively organizing the unorganized. And there should be a united strike today: New Orleans ILAers overwhelmingly voted down the giveback pact. But as the bureaucracy gives up more and more of the hard-won gains, the union is fragmenting. What's needed is an all-out strike to rip up the concessions everywhere and fight for one standard ILA contract, equalizing wages and benefits at the highest levels.

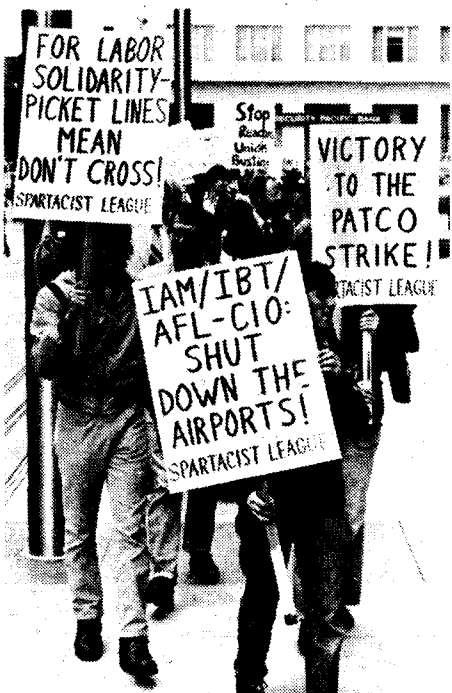
And what about linking up with West Coast longshoremen? While the ILA struck, the ILWU fiddled, even though 4,000 Canadian ILWUers centered in Vancouver were facing government

wage controls and elimination of a contract clause guaranteeing union container-stuffing rights. The dockers had been working without a contract since December, but finally on October 6 the maritime bosses declared a lockout. The Canadian ILWU tops responded by encouraging the U.S. locals to work diverted cargo, and offered to move grain that was threatening to rot because of a grain handlers strike in the Great Lakes port of Thunder Bay. Vancouver should have been shut down tight, laying the basis for coastwide strike solidarity with the ILA. ILWU and ILA should be one big union—For waterfront unity!

Break with the Democrats! Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

One striking longshoreman in Jersey spoke for millions of unionists when he bitterly noted, "The whole labor movement should have been out there with PATCO; if we had stopped them at PATCO, then the auto workers, Teamsters, none of those guys would have taken concessions, we wouldn't be in the situation we are today." But the PATCO debacle didn't have to happen, and it can be reversed. While the air traffic controllers were striking, in September 1981 the AFL-CIO bureaucrats called what turned out to be the largest labor demonstration in American history as 500,000 trade unionists marched through Washington, D.C. If only a fraction of that strength had been mobilized in picketing out the airports, the strike would have been won in a few days. But the labor fakers kept the airports working, and distributed stickers reading, "Solidarity in '81—Victory in '82." Their answer is not class struggle, but electing Democrats.

The Democratic Carter-Mondale administration, which slapped a Taft-Hartley injunction on the 1977-78 miners strike, paved the way for Reagan union-busting. (They also designed the plan for smashing PATCO that the Reagan gang carried out.) And since then Democrats have done their share of strikebreaking: Koch against New York City transit workers, Arizona governor Babbitt and Minnesota governor Perpich calling out the National Guard against Phelps Dodge strikers and Hormel workers, and from Philly to Detroit black Democratic mayors are the hatchet men for Reagan austerity. The pro-Democratic party labor fakers aren't about to mobilize against government strikebreaking, either. Prominent among the union misleaders who ordered their members to scab on PATCO was IAM head William ("Wimpy") Winpisinger. His pal Bill ("Loser") Wynn, who heads the United Food and Commercial Workers, carried out the same scabbing policy against his own members at Hormel. And today Winpisinger's screwing the Boeing workers: a 6 October bulletin issued by



WV Photo
PATCO strike could have been won by real solidarity action by Machinists, Teamsters, pilots unions.

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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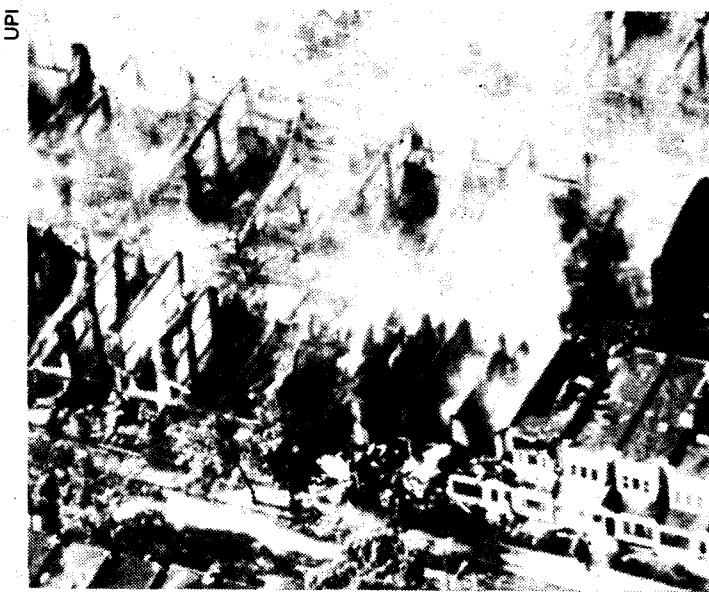
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IAM District Lodge 751 in Puget Sound tried to excuse its own inaction by declaring that the International had denied strike sanction.

Behind the bureaucracy's capitulation is anti-Soviet militarization. Since the ILA tops support the war drive, they ordered the membership to work the military cargo in Norfolk and other struck ports, scabbing on their own strike to aid Reagan/Botha's pro-apartheid puppet Savimbi. And "Democratic Socialist" Wimpisinger (along with the rest of the U.S. labor bureaucracy) is a certified booster of the anti-Soviet war drive just as much as Ronald Reagan or the former "Senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson. The SL has insisted that the membership must be prepared *politically* to fight the "national security" crap which will be used to justify strikebreaking. But while the Pentagon was worrying that a Seattle wildcat might spill over to unionized Boeing personnel from Vandenberg AFB to Cape Canaveral, leaflets passed out at the Kingdome by the Marxist-Leninist Party and Progressive Labor Party neglected to say one word about U.S. imperialism's war buildup against the Soviet Union.

Significantly, the last full-scale dock strike took place during the Vietnam War in 1971 when the ILA and ILWU struck at the same time. But within six days the ILWU buckled under to a Taft-Hartley injunction. Before the "cooling off" period against the ILWU expired, the ILA went back to work, and the strike seesawed from coast to coast so that both wouldn't be out at once. Behind this was the unwillingness of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, both the ILA's Gleason and the ILWU's "progressive" Harry Bridges, to confront the state, particularly in the middle of a war. And so longshoremen were made to eat Nixon's wage controls. While outfits like the Workers League capitulated to

Signature of the Reagan years: bombing of black MOVE commune by Wilson Goode, black Democratic mayor of Philadelphia.



business unionism, refusing to even mention the war, the SL demanded: "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War and Nixon's 'Wage-Strike' Freeze!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 2, November 1971).

For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan

Ever since Reagan busted PATCO, the American ruling class has been on the rampage against the labor movement—cutting wages, slashing benefits and taking away union gains won over decades of hard struggle. The *New York Times* (5 October) brags about management playing hardball, in a long article on "Business Brings Back the Lockout." Beginning with the attack on black USWA workers at the Hess Oil refinery in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, this trend has gone national as John Deere and USX shut the gates. Last month Brooklyn Union Gas did just that to 2,300 clerks and mechanics in the Transport Workers Union. The boss arrogantly remarked, "We have a policy at this company—no contract, no

work." But now some of labor's big guns are being forced to stand up or surrender—and the workers are in no mood to surrender without a fight.

A walkout on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast docks would in short order disrupt much of the American economy—the *Journal of Commerce* (3 October) headlined, "Shippers Fear Heavy Losses If Strike Lasts Beyond 5 Days." It would also disrupt the Pentagon's shipment of arms to its anti-Communist allies, from Zionist Israel to Reagan's contras around the globe. The late Isaac Deutscher caught this when during the Vietnam War he told a gathering of Berkeley students that he would trade all their antiwar protests for just one dock strike. At the same time, the government would surely attack any serious longshore or Boeing strike as a threat to "national security" if not outright aid to "Soviet-sponsored terrorism"! Any strike here will become political from the get-go. We say: fight the anti-Soviet war drive by waging class war against the warmongers!

To win, the workers will need to

mobilize support from broad sections of the American people. And this can be done. There is a reaction to Reagan reaction abroad in the land. In the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios there is deep hatred for everything this KKK-endorsed president stands for. Farmers, traditionally held up as the backbone of middle America, are in desperate straits. Even yuppie baby boomers can't afford to buy a house, and factory workers have seen their real wages decline steadily for the past decade and a half. The campuses are outraged over Reagan's flagrant backing of apartheid South Africa, and remembering the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Vietnam, public opinion overwhelmingly wants nothing to do with the CIA's contras in Nicaragua. And anyone who smokes a joint, buys a copy of *Playboy* or rents an X-rated video cassette is looking over their shoulder for the Meese police.

This country can explode, rising up against the Reagan White House. But for the workers and oppressed to emerge victorious, what's needed is a conscious proletarian leadership. And that means acting, as Lenin said communists must, as a "tribune of the people," championing the cause of all the oppressed. A black longshoreman in Philadelphia who was prepared "to do what it takes to stop the cuts" spoke bitterly of the horrendous firebombing of the black MOVE commune: "Wilson Goode and everybody else responsible for those murders should be put in the electric chair," he said. An authoritative, combative workers leadership must be built in this country in irreconcilable opposition to the racist, pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy and their capitalist masters. The Spartacist League is seeking to build such a class-struggle workers party to lead the struggle for a workers government that will finally achieve freedom and justice for all the exploited and oppressed. ■

Qaddafi Exposes "Nonaligned" Nonsense

The Reagan gang's obsession to destroy Muammar el-Qaddafi is as obscene as it is dangerous. When the U.S. terror-bombed Libya last April, with Soviet ships in the area and Russian technicians manning Libyan missile sites, Reagan was tugging on the trip wires of World War III. After Washington killed the Libyan leader's adopted infant daughter in that cowardly attack, Secretary of State George Shultz now "jests" about hoping that Qaddafi contracts AIDS! Meanwhile, he cynically boasts about U.S. "psychological warfare" against the North African country, and practically admits that the hullabaloo last summer about "Libyan terrorism" was nothing but a pack of lies.

Much of the U.S. press professes to be upset over a recent White House memorandum calling for a campaign of "deception" and "disinformation" to rattle Qaddafi. In its most sanctimonious style a *New York Times* (3 October) editorial pontificated: "There is no place in America for disinformation." Like hell! They're just embarrassed at the Reagan administration's bragging about how they manipulate the media. U.S. government disinformation, routinely retailed by the "free press," is used every day to whip up Cold War hysteria against the Soviet Union and its allies. Witness the massive lies and coverup surrounding the KAL 007 spy plane, shot down over Soviet territory in 1983. Or the Pentagon's campaign of "perception management" against Nicaragua, in order to keep the Sandinistas guessing about a U.S. invasion.

Meanwhile, Qaddafi himself, speaking at a "summit" of the "Nonaligned" nations in Harare, Zimbabwe earlier this month, caused an uproar when he



Libyan leader targeted by U.S. imperialism.

denounced this talkshop as a "useless farce" and an "international falsehood." Furious that the "Third World" had left him high and dry when the U.S. terror-bombed Libya, Qaddafi threatened to withdraw, declaring: "What is this movement's validity if it cannot defend my country and Nicaragua?" He then began to denounce by name the declared allies of the imperialist powers present in the room, including Egypt (which staged joint military maneuvers with the U.S. off Libya's coast last month) and the neocolonies of French-speaking Africa. Much to the embarrassment of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, the chairman of the "summit," Qaddafi went on to peg the Commonwealth countries as the "prisoners of Britain."

It was one of the rare occasions that someone told the truth at one of these windy gatherings. How indeed can there be "solidarity" within a hodgepodge that embraces Cuba, which has had a social revolution and has faced more than a quarter century of unremitting

Yankee hostility and attacks; outright imperialist puppets; and a host of bourgeois nationalist regimes (often at each other's throats) on the take for the highest bidder. This year's session got off to a discordant start when Iran demanded the expulsion of Iraq and the "execution" of its leaders. The main business was supposed to be "fighting apartheid"—from a distance, of course. The "summit" called on Reagan, Thatcher et al. to institute imperialist sanctions against South Africa.

When Qaddafi punctured the smug complacency of this den of hypocrites, it wasn't just tinpot military despots who were squirming in their seats. The American fake-left had sent its emissaries all the way to Harare to celebrate "Third World solidarity." The *Militant*, published by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, "solved" the problem by running a photo of Qaddafi and simultaneously omitting any mention of his criticisms! The quintessential rad-lib *Guardian* ran an article entitled "Non-aligned: 'Well done!'" Taking issue with Qaddafi's statements that "nonalignment" is a sham and that "there are only two camps, that of imperialism and that of liberation," the *Guardian* (17 September) attacked the Libyan leader from the right, explaining "where Qaddafi had gone off the track."

Well, Qaddafi's "camp of liberation" includes some pretty odious types, like Khomeini's blood-drenched mullahs. But that's hardly why the reformists, who lauded Khomeini to the hilt, are squeamish about Qaddafi. To be sure, the Libyan colonel is not fundamentally different or better than the other Third World nationalist regimes he denounced at Harare. In fact, when he first came to power in the early 1970s Qad-

dafi was fanatically anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. But with U.S. imperialism targeting him personally for destruction, he has become increasingly dependent on Soviet arms to defend his country.

Libya is high on Reagan's hit list precisely because it's a military client of the Soviet Union. When the U.S. attacked Libya in April, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to physically demonstrate our solidarity with the Libyans. The *Militant*, *Guardian*, et al. weren't dispatching reporters to far-off places then: the fake-left's "anti-imperialism" ends where Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive begins. The same people who endlessly search for a mythical "progressive bourgeoisie" abroad are in bed with the Democrats at home. And with the not-so-progressive Democrats solidly backing Reagan's anti-Soviet provocations, even a Qaddafi becomes too hot to handle for the "Third Worlders." ■

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Workers' Hands Across the Sea

The Heroic British Miners Strike

Margaret Thatcher is the Ronald Reagan of Britain. "Iron Lady" Thatcher, the Tory (Conservative Party) prime minister, is one ally Reagan can count on when he wants to fly his terror bombers against North Africa, and Reagan and Thatcher talk the same language when it comes to hating dark-skinned people and the poor. In 1984-85, the British coal miners mounted a direct challenge to Thatcher's arrogant labor-bashing government. The heroic miners strike was 12 bitter months of class war, as Thatcher's vicious government sought to break the miners' resolve through starvation and massive use of the police.

What was needed to win the strike was concrete labor solidarity—sympathy strikes of the strategic unions, like dockers, rail workers and seamen—solid industrial action that would have

brought the Tory regime to its knees. But this perspective of a fight for power was exactly what the British labor "leaders" feared above all else. The fat cats of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour Party politicians smashed workers' impulses toward concrete solidarity actions, herded scabs for the bosses and violence-baited the miners as they endured the organized armed violence of the capitalist state. After a year of struggle, the miners went back, but their determination and militancy had foiled Thatcher's attempt to break their union.

The miners strike had a profound effect on British society, and on the consciousness of the miners themselves. The British miners are almost exclusively white and they come from the backwaters. Socially, they hadn't had much contact with and didn't much identify with the miserably oppressed minority populations in the English cities, the West Indian blacks and Asian immigrants. But a little firsthand experience of Thatcher's cops running riot against miners' picket lines gave the miners an instant education in the experiences of Irish Catholics in Ulster and ghettoized racial minorities in England. And these oppressed sectors rallied to the miners' side, generously contributing food and money, because they recognized in the strike a chance to strike a decisive blow against the hated "Iron Lady." Class struggle is the route to unity of the workers and oppressed across racial and national lines; not "brotherly love," not charity, but the recognition of common class interest forges bonds that are not easily broken.

Anti-Communism: Union-Busters' Tool

The first blow against the strike was struck before the strike began, at the September 1983 conference of the Trades Union Congress. The opening

shot was fired by the sinister political bandits of the "Workers Revolutionary Party," who claim to be socialists and very leftist socialists at that. Some months earlier, the leader of the miners union, Arthur Scargill, had made a minimal criticism of Polish Solidarność,

finger to help their class brothers and sisters across the Atlantic. In the teeth of this, the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign was launched: Spartacist spokesmen and other supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) went to union executive boards and membership meetings to make political fundraising appeals, confronting the redbaiting of the AFL-CIO hacks and pointing out the parallels to Reagan's smashing of the PATCO strike here at home.

The British miners strike evoked class solidarity from workers around the



Sturrock/Network

Militant miners withstood twelve bitter months of privation and the full fury of the capitalist state. Their struggle won wide sympathy among Britain's oppressed minorities.

the pro-capitalist "trade union" beloved of Reagan, Thatcher, Wall Street and the Vatican. The WRP chose the opening of the TUC conference as the moment to denounce Scargill for having called Solidarność anti-socialist. The TUC tops and the Tory press combined in a hysterical redbaiting attack on Scargill; not a single TUC delegate rose to defend him. Thatcher determined that Scargill was isolated and she could launch an assault on the miners union.

In the United States, where the labor tops are far more open in their anti-communism than the double-talking British TUC leaders and Labour "statesmen," the AFL-CIO's line on the British miners was: let 'em starve. Scargill was a "red," Thatcher was America's best friend, and U.S. workers shouldn't lift a

world, bringing in substantial support from the Soviet trade unions and even some contributions from the hideously impoverished black miners of South Africa. The misleaders of the AFL-CIO, installed in their positions of power by the Cold War witchhunts and slavishly loyal to the American rulers, intended American unionists to play no role in the world campaign for justice for the British miners. The PDC campaign raised over \$23,000 for the miners and their courageous families—a modest sum. But we are very proud that our campaign provided a mechanism for some class-conscious American working people to take a side with the British miners, as the small American contingent of a campaign that reached all around the world. ■



Der Spiegel

Arthur Scargill: pudgy Stalinoid, at least knew a Solidarność rat when he smelled one.

Paul O'Dwyer: Don't Let Them Bring Back Sweatshops

Paul O'Dwyer remembers when the union movement had clout in New York City. A liberal Democrat who was elected city council president with labor endorsements, O'Dwyer is known for standing up against British imperialism in Ireland and everywhere. In 1974, he backed a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration in solidarity with the British miners strike, a major class battle that led to the defeat of the Tory government. O'Dwyer's endorsement opened the door to winning support from a broad range of NYC labor (locals of the CWA, OCAW, IBEW and the ILA International) for this working-class action. Last week, when ILA longshoremen hit the bricks against the maritime bosses' union-busting give-back demands, *Workers Vanguard* asked Paul O'Dwyer for a statement. He was glad to contribute to our special supplement to build support for the strike, stating:

"The standard of living in America can be charged to the activities of the most virulent and the most aggressive strike leaders of the past. In the Reagan administration starting off with PATCO, there's been an attempt to diffuse the power of the trade-union movement.



WV Photo

Paul O'Dwyer

Regretfully, the trade-union movement as a whole has not lived up to the reputation of its founders. And I sincerely hope that in this instance that they will stand pat, and not permit the encroachments in industry which have been made in the Reagan atmosphere to drive us back into the sweatshop days. I wish good luck to the strikers. ■

The Louisiana Weekly

OLDEST AND FOREMOST IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

—6 September 1986

Marxist Groups Oppose La. Creationism Law In Court

Two Marxist groups have filed an amicus, or friend of the court brief in the U.S. Supreme Court opposing the teaching of Biblical creationism in Louisiana's public schools.

The Spartacist League, a 20-year-old Marxist group headquartered in New York City,

fight for knowledge and for access to the culture hoarded by the privileged classes.

"The Balanced Treatment Act will inhibit the teaching of evolution, intellectually

future generations of children and rob them of scientific understanding.

"Whether or not a creator or

No. 85-1513

IN THE
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1985

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. GUITE, JR., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS G. CLAUSEN, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,

—v.—
DON AQUILLARD, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORLEANS PARISH SCHOOL BOARD et al.,

Appellees.

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

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From PATCO to Hormel—Too Much

Let's Win This One!

On October 1, some 30,000 striking dock workers in the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) shut down ports from Maine to Norfolk, Virginia. Chanting "Nothing In, Nothing Out," determined mass pickets at the New York/New Jersey harbor's container operations in Port Elizabeth quickly put a stop to scabberding efforts. "Every truckload of cargo that tried to get in here was stopped by a human wall of longshoremen," reported one TV station. Scabs fled from their trucks to the cops for protection, while their abandoned vehicles had to be towed away. Round one on the picket lines went to the workers. The striking longshoremen—black and white—have given notice to the bosses that they've got a war on their hands. *Fight Reagan! Win this strike for all American labor!*

In going after the ILA, the bosses are targeting a union that has "educated" quite a few would-be strikebreakers. "Scabbing is dangerous to your health" used to be a well-understood principle on the waterfront: one ILA picket was all that was necessary to shut down a port. Now, emboldened by union-busting from PATCO to Hormel, maritime employers think the ILA is fair game. But the longshoremen aren't taking it lying down. As one black picket at Port Elizabeth put it, "We're not going down on our knees to pray like Martin Luther King." A second picket, pointing to a nearby tractor-trailer driven by a scab, added: "If we'd been on our knees that truck would have rolled right over us." Somehow, that scab rig's air hoses were cut, locking the brakes.

Longshoremen have the muscle to win this battle—but it's got to be a *real* strike. No deals, no givebacks! Allowing the bosses to divide the union is a recipe for defeat. Earlier this year ILA locals in the south Atlantic and Gulf ports agreed to givebacks including a union-busting two-tier wage structure—break-bulk workers would get \$3 less per hour than those working container cargos—and the guaranteed annual income is eliminated. The concessions drive should have been stopped earlier—it better be stopped *now* before the union is ripped apart. The northeast ILA locals have drawn the line. Good! But in the South the ILA isn't striking, and the companies are already diverting cargo there from struck ports. Roving pickets must

ILA Longshore Strike



UPI/Bettmann

Strike pickets at Port Elizabeth educate would-be scab truck driver.

be dispatched to shut down all the ports! And none of this strikebreaking "national security" business, exempting shipments to Reagan's contras like apartheid puppet Savimbi in Angola! No second-class union members: for one standard ILA contract, with wages and benefits equalized at the highest levels!

Bust the Union-Busters!

Ever since Reagan busted the Professional Air Traffic Controllers union, it's been open season on American labor: picket lines busted, wages and jobs cut, unions smashed. The elite PATCO union even backed Reagan in 1980! A lot of good it did them—in return their union leaders were led away in chains, 15,000 members fired. In 1983, the Democratic Party governor of Arizona took a cue from Reagan, calling in the

National Guard and armored personnel carriers to crush striking Phelps Dodge copper workers. In 1986, Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota ate it, facing an unholy alliance of the bosses, the bosses' government and their own international union leaders who openly scabbed on the strike. In Watsonville, California, the largely Mexican women cannery workers tried to do it right, still picketing after a year on strike, but they're just too marginal. So now after knocking off the peripheral sectors, the bosses are targeting the heart of the labor movement.

We say: No more PATCOs and Hormels! One strike after another has been lost because the *union leaders have been playing by the bosses' rules*. Claiming that the air controllers strike was "illegal," Teamsters and Machinists officials ordered their members to scab. The Hormel strike was defeated as local bureaucrats bowed to court injunctions outlawing mass picketing and relied on a useless consumer boycott. And it doesn't stop with defeated strikes and busted unions: the bosses want the scalps of dead strikers to wave around: from Ohio Greyhound striker Ray Phillips to Union Oil striker Greg Goobic to Baltimore ILAer Jackson Taylor, run down on a picket line a year ago by strikebreaking cops. This is *murder* as company policy, and it must be stopped.

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Potential strikebreakers should be educated to understand that you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs,

and county hospitals are rotten places. Solidarity isn't \$500 and a valentine—solidarity means industrial *action* to make sure that nothing moves in and out of the ports. Seamen, Teamsters, all maritime workers: picket lines mean don't cross! Hot cargo all scab goods! Steelworkers at Bethlehem: don't ship steel from the Sparrows Point docks! ILA longshoremen: link up with the ILWU on the West Coast, with Canadian and Mexican longshoremen! Shut down all North American ports! The ILA strike can be a turning point: if the unions fight together they can smash the bosses' takebacks, laying the basis for a workers offensive to win jobs and reverse the cutbacks.

Bosses' Government Targets ILA

Labor can only rely on its own strength. The federal government has engaged in a multi-decade vendetta against the ILA, just as they have against the powerful Teamsters. The capitalist press portrays the ILA as "mob-influenced," while Hollywood glorified finking to the feds in the film *On the Waterfront*. But the FBI and Labor Department aren't interested in cleaning up "corruption"; the aim of their witchhunts is to bust a strong union. This spring the Labor Department and New York Waterfront Commission announced they were turning over "evidence" of racketeering by New York ILA leaders to prosecutors in the Federal Organized Strike Force in

continued on page 9



WV Photo

Port Elizabeth, New Jersey: Militant, racially integrated Longshoremen say, "Nothing in, nothing out!"

Urgent Appeal to Japanese, Korean Steel Workers

The Spartacist League has directed the following appeal to Japanese steel workers as well as the Federation of Korean Metal Workers Unions in Seoul, calling for international labor solidarity during the present International Longshoremen's Association strike.

Japan Federation of Iron and Steelworkers Unions
Tokyo, Japan

International labor solidarity can be key to victory in U.S. longshore strike. Oppose protectionist hysteria setting Japanese and American workers at each other's throats. Steel workers and dock workers must act together against union-busters from Wall Street to Tokyo. Japanese, Korean unions: don't increase steel exports to United States during ILA strike.

Spartacist League/U.S.

Let's Win This One...

(continued from page 7)

Brooklyn and the U.S. Attorney's office. It was predictable: every time a new ILA contract rolls around the government unveils a "new" investigation, hoping union leaders will back down to save their own skins.

Using the mob as an excuse, the government invaded the union in an



Reagan honors Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg, Germany.

attempt to break it in the early 1950s. East Coast dock workers staged massive strikes and work stoppages to fight the attempt by the government and George Meany to replace the ILA with an AFL affiliate. When they undertook a determined strike in 1971, Nixon imposed a Taft-Hartley back-to-work injunction. In 1974 the New York ILA won full 52-week guaranteed pay for its members.

The very next year the feds embarked on a massive probe of "waterfront corruption." One of the key targets was Brooklyn ILA leader Tony Scotto, credited with winning the Guaranteed Annual Income. (The GAI was actually a trade-off for thousands of jobs slashed through "modernization" contracts.) Scotto, a liberal Democrat who had a reputation as a civil rights activist and opponent of the Vietnam War, was framed up and convicted in 1979.

Although Tony Scotto's liberal anti-communist views are very distant from our own, we defended him in our press (see "Who Got Tony Scotto—and Why," WV No. 244, 23 November 1979). Unlike reformist fake-leftists, we Trotskyists don't believe in finking to the government and suing the unions in the bosses' courts. If you're indebted to the racist, union-busting government for office, you won't do the workers movement any good. Union gains have been won only by standing up to the government as well as the bosses. As militant British miners say, the only illegal strike is the one that loses. Government—hands off the unions! Labor must clean its own house!

Smash Racism!

The inroads on the ILA contract have been sharpest in the South, where open shop stevedoring operations have been set up paying half the union rate. But the heavily black Southern locals have often been the spearhead of militant union action, from the labor boycott of Rhodesian chrome to the 1977 strike. New Orleans dock workers were in the forefront of that ten-week battle, defying the leadership's policy of striking only containerized operations by shutting down all cargo handling. In breaking the New Orleans strike, the ILA International made it easier for the bosses to split the union today. This must be reversed: all ILA members must



Left: PATCO leaders in chains, 1981. Right: FBI grabs black radical Angela Davis, 1970.

strike together against the bosses!

You can't defend the unions without fighting racism. Organizing unions in the South means pitched battles with the Klan and cracker sheriffs. Tidewater longshoremen showed the way when they endorsed and helped send a contingent to the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the



AFL leader Samuel Gompers (1850-1924) demanded: "More." Today's labor fakers say "less."

Spartacist League that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington in November 1982. Defend busing and extend it to the suburbs! For free, quality, integrated public education for all! And end all segregated locals and hiring halls in the ILA.

Supporting the Democrats' and Republicans' bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive is playing the bosses' game. Billions are spent for "Star Wars" and arming the contras from Nicaragua to Angola, while jobs and housing are cut to the bone and American industry goes down the tubes. So who benefits when the ILA tops give away even more jobs by boycotting trade with Russia? When ILA member Jackson Taylor was murdered by the cops, the general manager of the scab Baltimore Launch firm dared anyone to fight his union-busting plans: "I'm not living in Russia yet, and no union or association is going to stop me." Longshoremen should learn a lesson from this: the Russian Revolution was made in order to put the scabherders out of business for good.

We need a workers revolution here that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of its greedy and incompetent owners. Against all the protectionist poison spewed out by the bosses and their labor toadies, fight for an internationalist program to rebuild America on a socialist planned economy. The enormous power of the American working class can be unleashed; we can bust the union-busters—but that means hard class struggle and a politically class-conscious leadership. Labor and blacks must break from the Democrats and Republicans—build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

The Scab

by Jack London

"After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad, the vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab.

"A scab is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles.

"When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the Devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out.

"No man has a right to scab so long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hang his body with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with a scab. For betraying his master, he had character enough to hang himself. A scab has not."

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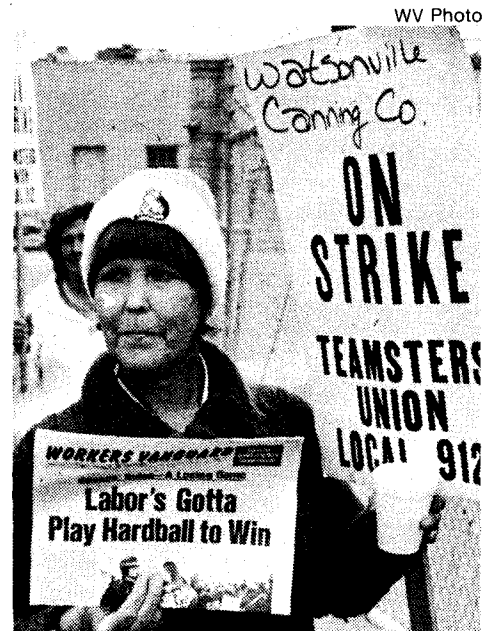
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WV Photo

27 November 1982: Proud Day for ILA Labor, Blacks Stopped the Klan

The KKK figured that with their favorite "Klandidate" in the White House, they were riding high. But when the hooded nightriders threatened to march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982, they found out this was not Reagan's Washington, but a 75 percent black town determined to defend itself. A 5,000-strong demonstration, overwhelmingly black workers and youth, stopped the fascist terrorists in their tracks. And mid-Atlantic waterfront unions, from the Virginia Tidewater and Baltimore/Washington areas in particular, played a key role in this victory for labor, blacks and every opponent of racist terror.

The call for the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League got its first solid union support from the Norfolk/Newport News area. Endorsements came in from Longshore, Machinists, Electrical Workers union officials; ILA Locals 1248 and 1458 in Norfolk endorsed, as did the executive board of ILA Local 333 in Baltimore. ILA International President Thomas Gleason also backed the anti-Klan mobilization. This support opened the doors to key unions in Washington such as postal workers, railway clerks and laborers. And with labor's muscle

behind them, like the Tidewater unionists' Nat Turner Brigade, thousands of black youth, students from Howard University and angry Washington residents came out determined to stop their city from being turned into a parade ground for the lynchers.

Faced with the mass mobilization of labor/black power, the fascist thugs turned tail. The victorious demonstrators took the streets of Washington, marching down the route the Klan had threatened to march, triumphantly chanting, "1-2-3-4, Time to Finish the Civil War! 5-6-7-8, Forward to a Workers State!" The November 27 victory, pointing toward independent working-class struggle for power, was forged against the black Democratic Congressmen and mayor who did everything they could to defuse and divert this powerful class action.

The Spartacist League, which stands for the elementary labor principle that "picket lines mean don't cross," which organizes labor/black mobilizations against the racist terrorists in white sheets or blue uniforms, seeks to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to free all the exploited and oppressed. Join us! ■

The Battle for Busing Norfolk Labor Against Jim Crow

When the Norfolk, Virginia school board first voted to abolish busing three years ago, 10,000 predominantly black workers and youth poured into the streets in protest. "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools" read signs carried by a 200-strong contingent of the International Longshoremen's Association on 14 May 1983. As racist mobs rampaged from Boston to Louisville, and Northern liberal Democrats knifed integration in Congress, the Spartacist League fought for labor/black mobilizations to defend busing and extend it to the suburbs—for integrated public quality education for all. The Tidewater area was the last bastion of busing precisely because it was the only place in America that organized labor mobilized its social power to stop the reimposition of segregated schools.

But the bipartisan, nationwide

campaign against school integration targeted Norfolk's successful busing plan, and this year the reactionary Supreme Court axed it. "Whenever there is unity between black and white in the United States there is always opposition from the ruling class," wrote a Tidewater unionist. Now, taking their cue from Reagan and Meese, the KKK cross-burners and nightriders have been victimizing the homes of black and interracial families. The predominantly black waterfront unions of the Tidewater area are a beachhead of labor power in the "open shop" South, and can be in the forefront of the fight to integrate the schools and defend minorities from racist attack. But that means breaking with the partner parties of racist American capitalism. For a class-struggle workers party that will bury Jim Crow once and for all!



WV Photo

Longshore union marches for school busing in Norfolk, May 1983.

Baltimore Cops Killed Striking Longshoreman Labor Will Not Forget Jackson Taylor!

Abridged From WV
No. 389, 18 October 1985

Baltimore longshoremen played hardball. They battled cops and scabs and backed off the union-busters. In the course of the fight, one of the strikers, Jackson H. Taylor, was brutally killed by the scabherding cops, October 9, as he fought to defend the picket line and the very existence of his union. Jack Taylor gave his life for the cause of labor.

Nothing moved on the Baltimore docks Saturday morning, October 12, as longshoremen honored one of their own. Some 1,500 longshoremen, almost equally black and white, gathered at Baltimore's St. Rose of Lima Catholic Church, to pay their respects to Brother Taylor. International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) president Teddy Gleason was there, along with union officials from as far away as Portland, Maine and Brownsville, Texas.

"That man Jack died for me," said one dock worker of the 59-year-old gang leader and member of ILA Local 333, who was struck down at Port Covington by a police cruiser while he and his union brothers fought an

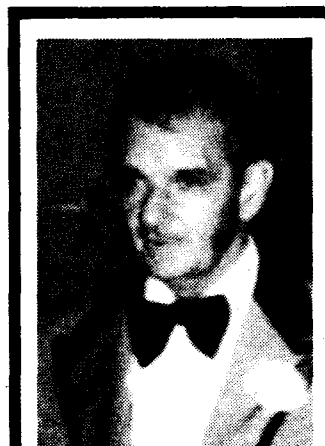


Rader/Baltimore Sun

ILA union brothers at memorial mass for Jackson Taylor, October 1985.

unprecedented attempt to introduce scab labor on the Baltimore docks.

The battle began October 8, when 125 longshoremen turned out to stop the Baltimore Launch and Marine Services' use of \$5 per hour scab labor to unload the Cypriot freighter *Depy*. That evening the fight broke out when a scab tried to run his forklift through the picket line. The unionists fought back. Five members were arrested and two cops injured. The next morning



JACKSON TAYLOR
1926-1985

no credit

more than 300 ILAers mobilized, overran a police line and attempted to storm the *Depy*. The cops called for reinforcements: two cruisers came speeding toward the dock at about 60 miles per hour and swerved toward a group of longshoremen. Taylor dodged the first cop car; he was struck and killed by the second.

Ever since Reagan crushed the PATCO strike in 1981, it's been open season on the unions. The bosses don't

seem satisfied with just wage cuts—they want dead strikers to show as an "example" to the rest of the labor movement, like Ohio Greyhound striker Ray Phillips, run down by a scab in the 1983 bus strike; and Greg Goobic, killed a few weeks later by a scabbing truck driver who smashed through a picket line at the Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, California.

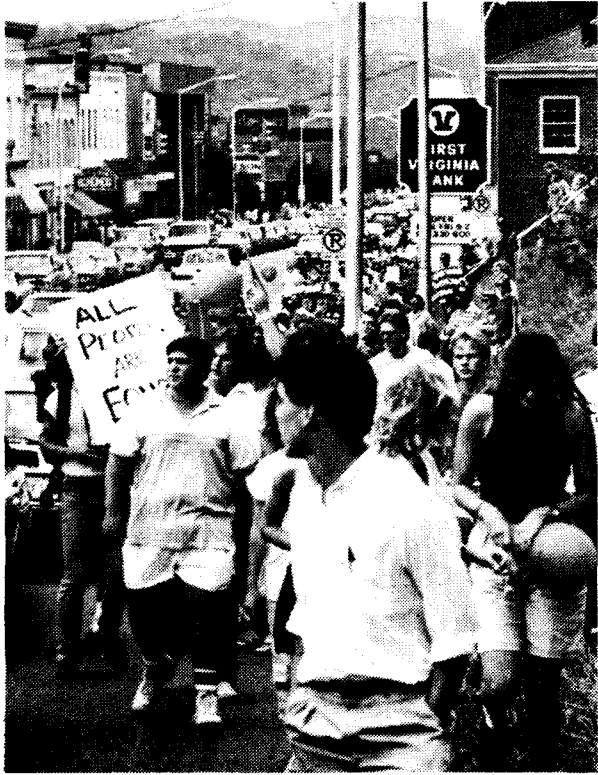
The bosses are so emboldened that they believe they can crack a powerful union like the ILA. But the ILA wasn't playing footsie: picket lines were established at the launch center, the employment agency and the destination point for the cargo, as well as at Port Covington. Union officials said other ports were prepared to dispatch reinforcements if necessary.

We honor Jackson Taylor, who died in the line of duty, defending his union. The loss of union brother Jackson Taylor at the hands of the police is an object lesson that the capitalist state and its armed fist, the cops, are not neutral. As the ILA picket captain told us: "I just hope other unions all over the world, not only in the United States, learn a lesson from this and wake up. And the judge ain't going to be with you. The membership's got to do it themselves."

Young Spartacus

500 Students Rout KKK March!

Radford, Virginia



Photos: Mike Chandler

Students turn back KKKers carrying flag of slavery. Smash the Klan—Finish the Civil War—Forward to a workers state!

(continued from page 16)

from the KKK provocation by organizing an alternative event (*Tartan*, 11 September). The mayor of nearby Christiansburg was quoted from a press conference held previously: "This is one of those situations that if you ignore it, it may go away." The student government's "Radford Unity Day" diversion seems to have rather flopped, drawing 100 students at first, and more only when militants returned after successfully confronting the Klan.

Lyle Tefft, associate news editor of the campus paper, told *Young Spartacus* he thought many of the students who went to Main Street didn't have any clear idea what they would do when they got there. But the spirit of the anti-Klan onlookers became more and more defiant and finally the crowd surged into the street jeering and shouting. They blocked the Klan's path and the cops had to intervene to escort the fascists out of town, with about 100 students chasing after them.

A black student, an officer of the Black Awareness Group on campus, told us she hadn't gone to the anti-Klan protest and had urged friends not to go

because she feared blacks would be a target. She was surprised by what happened and sorry she wasn't there. Black students comprise only about 5 percent of the student body, she said, and have been victims of racist harassment and threats from townspeople. Nevertheless some of the black students did participate in stopping the Klan, she told us, including her roommate.

A sales team from the Socialist Workers Party touring the area as part of their annual subscription drive happened to be in Radford but they evidently played no role except to sell their press to the anti-Klan demonstrators. The SWP's usual line is to "debate the Klan" rather than stop them, but in this case the SWP capitulated to the accomplished fact and faintly praised the action in a small article.

Ironically, students who share the general satisfaction that the Klan was stopped in Radford are still confused or defensive over the idea that the KKK's "constitutional rights" may have been violated. Student president Freeman told us: "It's hard to criticize a group of students who expressed their opposition to what the Klan stands for.... Of course the Klan was exercising their constitutional rights too, but I'm glad they were protested." A Klan parade is not an exercise in "free speech"—it is a green light for racist violence. The white robes and Dixie flags of the Klan on Main Street in the afternoon means black people terrorized by cross-burnings at midnight. What the Klan is about is a black man lynched, a union organizer shot dead and dumped in a ditch, an interracial family cowering in their home as firebombs burst through the window. The Klan hates blacks, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, gays, communists, unionists. And their program for these "inferior" beings is... death.

Fascists like the KKK and Nazis feed off the social rot of decaying capitalism. In the context of the vicious racism built

into American capitalist society, and particularly now with a vicious reactionary in the White House, they think they can stick their heads up. Confronted with a Klan provocation, the Radford militants ignored those who told them to ignore the Klan; they acted on their best impulses and scored a victory. But the hatred for violence that all sane people share, the desire for decency, is not enough to crush the fascist menace. The capitalist state is up to its neck in collusion with fascist terrorists, from the 1963 Birmingham church bombing to the Greensboro, North Carolina massacre. And when the rulers feel their own power is at risk, they easily overcome their patrician distaste for these psychotic scum and place them in power, as happened in Germany in 1933.

But the fascists can be smashed by massive united action by their intended

victims, led by an aroused labor movement conscious that its fundamental class interest demands championship of all the oppressed. A taste of that power was felt when a labor-backed anti-Klan mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League defied the White House's program of letting the lynchers march through black D.C. and stopped a KKK march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs are working to recruit young people to a revolutionary movement dedicated to rooting out fascism and racist oppression at their source. We look forward to making contact with students at Radford and elsewhere who are getting involved in the fight and want to learn more about the struggles of other students and working people across the country and around the world. ■



Washington Post

Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

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Columbia Honors Kirkpatrick—Expert in Genocide

Keep the Butchers On the Run!

FLASH—As we go to press, the *Columbia Spectator* reports that Jeane Kirkpatrick has canceled her appearance at Columbia. The 6 October *Spectator* quotes a letter to the Graduate Faculties Alumni Association by Reagan's Dragon Lady: "In light of the protest that has arisen, what should be a pleasant occasion will be an ugly and divisive affair." This defeat for the White House and its arrogant war criminals is a good thing—keep the butchers on the run!

Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Reagan administration's former ambassador to the United Nations, is coming to Columbia University October 21 to receive an award for "excellence" from the Graduate Faculties Alumni Association. Students, faculty and workers at Columbia will presumably be spared the kind of murderous "achievements" which Kirkpatrick braintrusts elsewhere on behalf of the U.S. bourgeoisie. But picture what this place would look like if her policies were brought home. The army would shut down Columbia at gunpoint—the fate Kirkpatrick's favorite government imposed on students at El Salvador's National University in 1980. "Subversive" students would be rounded up by death squads and "disappeared." Campus union leaders would be jailed and tortured, as has hap-

pened to at least 21 Salvadoran unionists that we know of in this year alone. Black Harlem, Columbia's "border state," would experience air strikes by racist South African commandos. And Barnard professors could be skinned alive by CIA-sponsored Afghan mullahs for the "crime" of teaching young women how to read and write.

Dragon Lady Kirkpatrick's Orwellian doctrine of support to "moderate authoritarian" regimes means keeping the "Free World" safe for capitalist exploitation—by any means necessary. From her support to the Zionist genocide of the Palestinian people, to "constructive engagement" of apartheid slav-

ery, to "covert" aid to Savimbi's contras in Angola, to backing the jackbooted generals of Chile, Argentina and Paraguay—Jeane Kirkpatrick bears direct and personal responsibility for the deaths of countless thousands of our class brothers and sisters. Kirkpatrick is a mastermind of U.S. policy in El Salvador, backing the blood-drenched generals in their war against the workers and peasants. Since the bloodbath was unleashed by the death squads in 1979, the body count has climbed to over 60,000 dead! We in the Spartacus Youth Club stand for the military victory of the leftist insurgents. Justice demands that Kirkpatrick face a trial by her victims—extradite Kirkpatrick to a Salvadoran liberated zone!

For her war crimes, Kirkpatrick has been honored by the CIA-backed contras who specialize in the murder, rape and torture of Nicaraguan civilians. The contras have named a mercenary brigade for her and pledge to chisel this Medusa's mug in marble if they ever regain Managua. Now Columbia University proposes to honor the contras' gargoyle as one of their own. All partisans of the international working class and the oppressed, all defenders of democratic rights against capitalist state terror must oppose this obscene celebration of bestial war crimes!



Chanting "Keep Kirkpatrick on the run, send her down to Morazan!" Spartacist contingent marches in demonstration against Salvadoran puppet junta, Los Angeles, 1983.

Several campus groups have already begun organizing against the award ceremony. At the first meeting of the "Ad Hoc Committee Against Jeane Kirkpatrick," the Spartacus Youth Club argued against any illusions in or reliance on the university administration. We proposed militant, united-front protests involving workers, students, and all opponents of Kirkpatrick's counterrevolutionary terror. Columbia students, students at the public universities and community residents should join together in protesting Kirkpatrick's bloody record. Just north of Columbia at CCNY, there are a large number of Haitian, Latin American and Arab students who know firsthand what it means to live under the likes of Baby Doc Duvalier's terror and Yankee



Reagan's Dragon Lady with one of her "moderately authoritarian" Salvadoran war criminals.

imperialism's Marines enforcing "austerity" by bayonet. They too must have a voice in giving Kirkpatrick the welcome she deserves.

At issue here is not the preservation of Columbia's "good name" which is synonymous with the slumlord of Morning-side Heights, a record of union-busting and victimization of leftist protesters. Columbia exists precisely to train the future CIA agents, warmakers and strikebreakers that the ruling class needs for its global anti-Communist "roll-back." Kirkpatrick herself trained at Columbia, earning a master's degree for studying... the ideology and methods of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists!

With sharp memories of their ignominious defeat in Vietnam, the ruling class is putting the repressive machinery in place to ensure that this time around no "troublemakers" will organize youth against imperialism's sinister war aims. Reagan and his warmongers claim they have a massive "mandate" for reaction, a seamless national "consensus" as they move toward new wars to "roll back Communism." But on several campuses, students have refused to condone Nuremberg-style rallies for counterrevolution staged by the government as part of their "education."

In 1983, student protest in solidarity with the victims of Kirkpatrick's policies drove her off Berkeley and the University of Minnesota. Plans for similar protests kept her from showing up at Smith and right here at Barnard. Good! Such political action is exactly what's called for to keep this butcher off Columbia and on the run!

These protests by college students, though a far cry from the more massive "New Left" radicalism of the Vietnam War era, have embarrassed the government. And so the war criminals, and Kirkpatrick in particular, are made a focal point for an orchestrated campaign to portray them as martyrs of totalitarian leftists who won't permit them "free speech." Thus the junior

McCarthys of Academia champion the kill-crazy Kirkpatrick as their "victimized" cause célèbre, while Reagan's education secretary Bennett declared: "Just as a fortress under siege does not invite enemy spokesmen to address the troops, so too have campus radicals prevented Jeane Kirkpatrick, Caspar Weinberger and other Administration spokesmen from presenting their point of view to the student body" (*New York Times*, 15 May).

Mr. Bennett and his Little Brothers should review a high school civics text. The First Amendment was enacted to protect free speech for the populace from government censorship and abuse! But in today's political climate of anti-Soviet war fever, the government is turning the Constitution on its head, perversely employing the rubric of "free speech" to straitjacket political opposition to the government's policies and agents (who have every bourgeois newspaper and TV station at their disposal, daily) by stripping the working people, minorities and youth of democratic rights. Is Kirkpatrick's debut at Columbia a deliberate provocation, a test case to see just how successful the government's campaign of intimidation, harassment and censorship against the left has been?

"Free speech"? Certainly at Columbia there is a plethora of right-wing professors fully capable of arguing in defense of the ruling class. As Marxists we make a key distinction between these reactionary ideologues and those who are neck-deep in planning and carrying out the crimes of the bourgeoisie. As odious as her views are, it is for her deeds—like the top Nazis who got theirs, finally—that Kirkpatrick evokes justified protest and must be driven away!

From the terror bombing of Libya to the millions of greenbacks and the advance guard of Green Berets going to the contras, the U.S. ruling class, both Democrats and Republicans, is on a crusade against the Soviet "Evil Empire" whose hand they see behind every struggle for social justice. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are fighting the anti-Soviet war drive abroad and at home, from our campaign to raise thousands of dollars for the defense of Nicaragua, to organizing to stop the KKK and the Nazis, Reagan's fascist shock troops. The death and destruction wreaked by Kirkpatrick are the criminal modus operandi of the world imperialist system, in which "freedom" is decided by "destabilization," napalm and atom bombs. The final revenge for the wretched bantustans, the death squads and the torture stadiums will not be tasted until the world proletariat sweeps away the capitalist system through socialist revolution. We are dedicated to building the revolutionary party to achieve this goal. Join us! ■

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Speaker: Ed Kartsen
SL Central Committee

Thursday, October 9, 7:30 p.m.
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SAN FRANCISCO

We're Looking for A Few Good Communists!

There's a lot that needs changing in the world today, but learning how to fight for social justice is the diametrical opposite of the training provided by a Harvard education. As if to underscore the point, Harvard hoisted the *Confederate flag*—the banner of slavery and the

first to advocate military action against the slaveowners and supported John Brown's efforts to spark an anti-slavery insurrection at Harpers Ferry—the opening shots of the Civil War. Higginson later attempted to liberate Brown from a Charleston, Virginia (now West Virginia) prison, after the heroic Harpers Ferry raid was crushed by U.S. troops. Once the Civil War erupted, Higginson, understanding the importance of arming and enlisting blacks in the battle against slavery, led the first regiment of fugitive slaves and black freedmen. (His stirring account, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, was recently republished in paperback.) The 200,000 black troops who fought for the Union were key to turning the tide of the war. Higginson, like many outspoken abolitionists, also embraced the fight for women's rights.

The Civil War was the second American revolution—a convulsive social struggle which smashed chattel slavery on behalf of Northern industrial capitalism. But its promise of black equality was not fulfilled; the Union troops were withdrawn from the South and the hopes of black Americans were crushed in the terror and moral cowardice of the political counterrevolution which gutted and then destroyed Radical Reconstruction. Out of this the racist Ku Klux Klan was reborn. It will take a third American revolution, a proletarian socialist revolution, to finish the Civil War and achieve black liberation. To lead that revolution, we must forge a multiracial revolutionary party, with a strong black component in its leadership. This party will be built through struggles to mobilize the power of the integrated labor movement in defense of black freedom. Against the present pro-capitalist union "leaders" who look to the Democratic Party and turn their backs on the black people, we seek to mobilize mass labor/black defense against the fascist terrorists of the KKK and Nazis, who are the emboldened shock troops of Reagan reaction.

John Reed

John Reed is another of Harvard's class traitors and a role model for revolutionary youth today. After graduating from Harvard in 1910, Reed became a left-wing journalist and an active participant in the struggles of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party. He went to Russia on the eve of the 1917 October Revolution and was won over to Lenin's Communist program. (His book, *Ten Days That*

Shook the World, is an exciting eyewitness account of the Bolshevik Revolution which we heartily recommend to the young people of today.)

Reed was a founding member of the Communist Party in this country, which looked to the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky for revolutionary

onstrated their ability and will to defend those gains. It was the Red Army which crushed Hitler's Nazi barbarians in World War II and it is Soviet military might that has made the U.S. imperialists hesitate to atom-bomb Vietnam, Cuba and the other countries where capitalist class rule has been smashed.

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Thomas Wentworth Higginson (right) fought against slavery; he led black regiment, the First South Carolina Volunteers (left).



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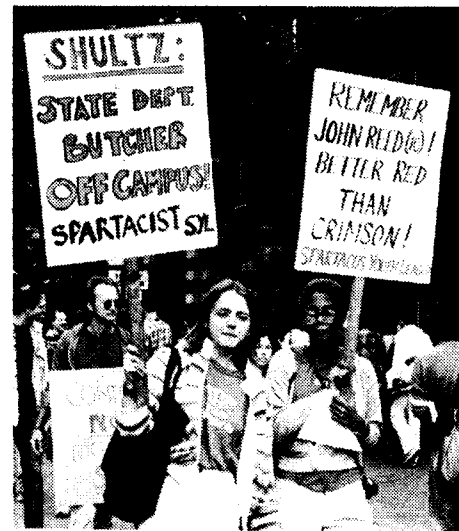


Museum of October Revolution, Moscow



John Reed (left) wrote the finest account of the Bolshevik Revolution. Moscow soldiers march in 1917 under the banner of "Communism" (right).

Holt, Rinehart and Winston



Young Spartacus

Spartacist youth protest Harvard's filthy fête.

rallying symbol for Klan lynch mobs—to celebrate the university's 350th year as the premier training ground for future leaders of American imperialism's schemes of global counterrevolution and racist terror.

It's not part of the Harvard curriculum, but there is another tradition at this institution: that of students like John Reed and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who turned their backs on this bastion of race and class privilege to devote their lives to the struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed. Higginson fought to break the yoke of black chattel slavery in this country and Reed was an active participant in the Russian Revolution and a fighter for American Communism. It is this tradition that the Trotskyists of the Spartacus Youth Club at Harvard stand on today in our struggle to win students to the side of the working class, where the social power lies to change this society.

If Thomas Wentworth Higginson were alive to see the Confederate flag raised over Harvard Yard, he'd be leading an integrated detachment of troops to rip down and burn the hated banner of the slavocracy, and we'd be marching with him. In the 1840s, Higginson became involved in the anti-slavery struggle, at a time when other Harvard students organized a mob against abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Higginson was among the

leadership. It was the Comintern which pushed the young American Communist movement to put the struggle for black freedom in the center of their perspective for socialist revolution in America. At the Second Congress of the Communist International Reed said, "The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading among Negroes." Reed died in 1920 in Moscow and is buried in the Kremlin.

The Bolshevik Revolution ripped one sixth of the globe from the system of capitalist plunder. The imperialists have never ceased to plot and plan the destruction of the Soviet Union, and they never will—until we sweep them into the dustbin of history along with the Russian tsars. Despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR under Stalin—the destruction of workers democracy and the replacement of Leninist internationalism by its opposite, the defeatist program of "Socialism in One Country"—the gains embodied in the Soviet Union's collectivized property and planned economy remain.

And the Soviet workers have dem-

As Trotskyists, we unconditionally defend these states against imperialism and capitalist restoration; our defense includes the fight for political revolution to oust the parasitical bureaucratic caste which undermines the economy, demoralizes the working class and pushes deadly dangerous illusions in the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with rapacious imperialism. Only the smashing of capitalism on a world scale by the working class can bring peace to this planet, based on the true equality of nations and an international planned socialist economy.

The Spartacus Youth Club is looking for the John Reeds at Harvard today—students who want to smash racism at its core, the vicious capitalist system of exploitation and oppression; students with a gut hatred for the real "Evil Empire," U.S. imperialism and its think tanks like Harvard's Kennedy School of Counterrevolution. Those students who want to use their knowledge of science and culture for the benefit of humanity—instead of in the service of ruling-class barbarism from napalm (another Harvard invention) to "Star Wars"—should join the Spartacus Youth Club to fight for a socialist future. Better Red than Crimson! ■

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Drop the Charges Against Guillermo at S.F. State!

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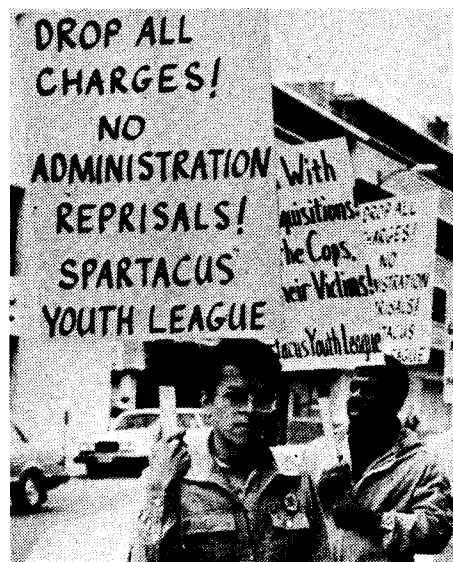
The United States government has declared war on your rights. They're telling you what you can and cannot read, smoke, and do in your own bedroom. They want to test your urine, censor your VCR, and take away your *Playboy* magazine. They've made national heroes out of teenage snitches who turn their own parents in to the cops. And while ranting about terrorism, the Reagan gang encourages abortion clinic bombers, racist KKK nightriders and gay-bashing bigots. There's a reason why all this is happening now: the ruling class and its politicians, Republican and Democrat, seek to regiment the population for war against the Soviet Union and its "surrogates" across the world. *You* are supposed to be the cannon fodder for this imperialist war drive.

So now it's a "crime" to pass out a Marxist leaflet on the SF State campus. Spartacus Youth activist Guillermo Bermúdez goes on trial in SF municipal court October 14 for this very "crime." Bermúdez, a student at UC Berkeley and formerly at SFSU, is charged with violating a South Africa-style ban slapped on him by the SFSU administration after he and other young Spartacist "Red Avengers" held a rally on campus to raise money for Nicaragua's defense against U.S. imperialism. On 16 November 1984, campus cops arrested Guillermo for breaking this outrageous ban by coming to campus and distributing leaflets. The police report described his "motive" as: "to pass-out 'Spartacus' Nicaraguan support flyers."

The Red Avengers were born in answer to the anti-Spartacist witchhunt of a frenzied unholy alliance of the campus administration and cops, student government bureaucrats, "progressive" Democratic Party careerists and their fake-left camp followers and hangers-on. The campus popular frontists were enraged because we exposed their lie that workers and blacks could fight Reagan by backing loser Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. So at a November 1 debate sponsored by the SF State Women's Center featuring candidates for the SF Board of Supervisors, including Diana Coleman of the Spartacist League, WC director Judy

Moore (aka "Baby HUAC") decided that a literature table displaying Spartacist literature and Marxist classics invaded her inner space and called the cops and administration to whisk away socialist literature (of course leaving intact the literature display of the crazed ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche cult). Defiant Red Avengers responded with a bright red campaign to raise dollars for MIGs for Nicaragua to crush Reagan's contras.

The rad-libs' red hunt, enthusiastically joined by all manner of racists and bigots, paved the way for the emergence

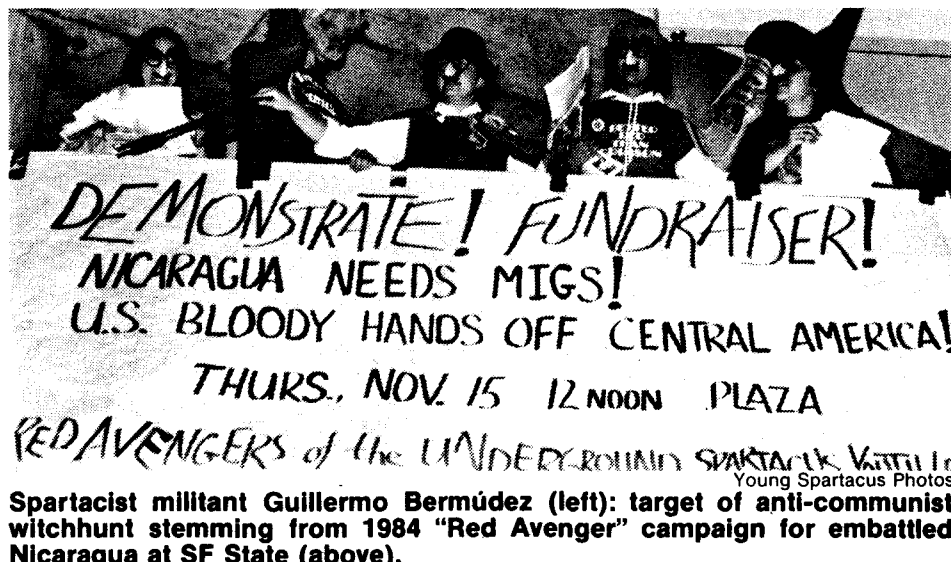


on campus of the racist punk "Residents' Liberation Army," which staged KKK-style provocations against blacks, gays, Hispanics, Jews and leftists last school year. In May, one of these racist scum, Greg Foster, assaulted Spartacist supporter Todd Nolan. While the authorities never prosecuted (much less banned) Foster for this crime, Guillermo Bermúdez is going on trial for handing out a leaflet.

Of all the charges against Red Avengers stemming from the cops' arrest spree in 1984, all have been dropped—except the charge against Guillermo for defying the anti-democratic, anti-communist ban. The

Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fought for a dismissal of this charge all the way up to the California Supreme Court, which refused to review the case. State attorney general John Van de Kamp weighed in with an 18-page brief against the appeal for a dismissal. Clearly the powers that be are committed to prosecuting this case. Why?

Van de Kamp's brief describes Guillermo as a "campus fixture"—that is, a well-known, outspoken Marxist activist. Guillermo gave the Reaganite witch-hunters a black eye this spring when a



year-long defense campaign resulted in the dismissal of the phony "assault on a police officer" charges trumped up after campus cops assaulted *him*, seizing him in a deadly choke hold when he was leading a demonstration against Marine recruiters on the Berkeley campus. Vindictive UC Berkeley "Reichschancellor" Heyman answered Guillermo's legal victory by suspending him from school this semester. While obscenely mouthing hypocritical pieties "against apartheid," Heyman & Co. are currently in the process of disciplining eleven anti-apartheid protesters.

As Guillermo's attorneys (noted black civil rights lawyer Howard Moore

and Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie West) wrote in their appeal to the California Supreme Court: "At issue is the standard for freedom of speech and political dissent on the state universities at precisely the time of an awakening to political awareness and expression among college youth..." The vendetta against Guillermo Bermúdez is aimed at intimidating and silencing all those who would protest the criminal policies of the U.S. government and its campus henchmen. It is part of a policy of pre-emptive strikes against campus protest that goes all the way up to the Reagan/Meese White House. It is aimed at *you* if you are one of the hundreds of thousands of young people who don't want to die fighting for United Fruit, Exxon and the

Bank of America in the jungles of Nicaragua or Angola—or in a thermonuclear World War III unleashed by imperialism's insane drive to restore capitalism in the USSR.

If this South Africa-style banning order is not beaten back, many more will follow. What next, a McCarthyite "loyalty oath" plus a urine test for each SF State student, professor and campus worker? Defeat attacks on the right to campus protest! Down with the South Africa-style ban! Defend Guillermo Bermúdez! Come to the trial at 9:00 a.m. on October 14, at Municipal Court, Department 16, Hall of Justice, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco. ■

Take a Side! Defend Nicaragua! Donate to Nicabucks!

In the cross hairs of U.S. imperialism, embattled Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from military defense to medicine to spare parts. When U.S. war moves against Nicaragua escalated last spring, the Spartacus Youth League initiated the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua and undertook a fund drive to raise dollars for the defense of the country against *yanqui* imperialism. The "Nicabucks" campaign raised over \$25,000, which was forwarded to the Nicaraguan government. Now, as the "contra Congress" votes \$100 million in aid for the anti-Sandinista terrorists and Reagan plans to send Green Berets to train the contras in their counterrevolutionary campaign of assassination, torture and sabotage against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, we have reopened our fundraising effort.

An unusual opportunity to demonstrate our defense of Nicaragua and raise funds for that purpose occurred on September 28 at an Athletes United for Peace-sponsored baseball game in Berkeley, California featuring the Nicaraguan national team. Denied the chance to play in San Francisco on Saturday because of State Department harassment and delay in issuing visas to team members, the Sandinista all-stars made it to Berkeley for a spirited game on Sunday. We carried signs defending the Nicaraguan Revolution; enthusiastic fans contributed to crush the contras.

Our readers have responded generously; since September, over \$700 in donations has been received. One letter stated:

"Once again, as last year—though it's more urgent than ever—we want to give what support we can for the military

defense of Nicaragua against the *contra*/mercenary scum & their backers in Washington, overt and covert.... Like you, we'd like to see the revolution completed by the full overthrow of capitalism... & also to see it spread throughout the entire region, especially to the industrial workers of Mexico & to witness the forging of a truly revolutionary vanguard to stand at the head of the masses there, armed with a program which will sharply pose the question of 'who shall rule?'"

"P.S. Enclosed is our check for \$10.00 for unconditional military support to Nicaragua against imperialist attack by the U.S. & its hired thugs—Wish only that we could send them a few MIGs for the same purpose, but can only hope that the Soviet Union & Cuba will come to realize their obligation to the future of humanity."

Our internationalist appeal for military defense of Nicaragua sets us apart from the pusillanimous, Democratic

Party-loving "solidarity" movement which has all but disappeared, incapable of opposing the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive whose front line is drawn in Central America, as the Democrats line up behind Reagan. Many contributors recognize this as well. One wrote:

"I decided to contribute \$ to the Nicaraguan defense thru the SCDN, rather than thru any of the other left-liberal material aid organizations because I was impressed with the way that the SYL [Spartacus Youth League] raised and delivered the previous \$25,000—in cash with no strings attached. This seems to me the most appropriate method, under existing conditions, to fulfill desires to make material and real contributions to the defense of Nicaraguan sovereignty."

We thank our readers and all who have generously contributed to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. More funds are urgently needed. We say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Be a part of this important effort. Make checks payable to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Mail to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Help crush the contras! ■

Props 63, 64...

(continued from page 16)

proposal by a group of mad scientists for a \$12.5 million "research" project to prove AIDS can be transmitted by casual contact or by insects. A project memo called for identifying AIDS victims with a "Star of David" concept—branding AIDS victims with the Nazi mark of death. The project had the backing of senior scholars at the Hoover Institute, an anti-Soviet think tank at Stanford University, which lists Reagan as an honorary member. And last June Reagan's Justice Department under Meese ruled that employers receiving federal funds could fire or discriminate at will against any worker on the basis of "fear of contagion" from AIDS.

But for all their talk against the LaRouche bill, the cynicism of the politicians of both capitalist parties in the face of the misery and suffering of AIDS victims and their lovers, families and friends is truly staggering. Reaganite Republican governor George Deukmejian belatedly came out against Prop 64 only after slashing the state's budget for AIDS research and vetoing a rights bill for AIDS victims. The Democrats, who discovered the LaRouche threat after his followers outpolled the regular Democratic Party candidate for lieutenant governor in the Illinois primary, have sought to distance themselves from LaRouche without sounding soft on "sin" or communism. These so-called "friends of gays" have couched their opposition to Prop 64 in lukewarm terms, labeling it "ill-advised," "unnecessary" and, worst of all, "expensive." San Francisco Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein joined Reagan's "war on drugs" when she squashed the city health department's humane suggestion to distribute free sterile needles to drug addicts. A major cause of the spread of AIDS is intravenous drug users sharing dirty needles.

Racists Target Blacks, Asians, Hispanics

The anti-gay drive is part of a deeply reactionary climate of fear and intimidation in Reagan's America. The capitalist state is targeting everybody they suspect of not being in sympathy with a white, Christian, English-speaking America where "deviance" will not be tolerated. The drive for "English only" and more executions is an ominous attack on all minorities. Prop 63 to make English the state's "official language" is backed by the Washington, D.C.-based "U.S. English" and is part of a nationwide anti-immigrant frenzy. As Reagan threatens an invasion of "feet people" from south of the border if U.S. imperialism and its contra scum do not topple the Sandinistas, Meese claims "illegal aliens" are drug traffickers.

Prop 63 is not merely an attack on the pitifully inadequate bilingual services offered California's Hispanic residents, 20 percent of the state population, but a green light for increasing Immigration police (*la migra*) and fascist terror against Hispanics and Asians. Prop 63



California Supreme Court chief justice Rose Bird.



WV Photos

For a workers party uniting all the oppressed in class struggle against capitalism!
Above: Los Angeles SL protests *migra* terror against undocumented Hispanic workers.
Right: Spartacist contingent in NYC's Gay Pride Day, 1986.



also dovetails with the racist "yellow peril" protectionism being pushed mainly by the Democrats. Many Californians of Japanese descent remember being herded into concentration camps for the "crime" of being Japanese during World War II. Prop 63's most prominent backer, S.I. Hayakawa, began his political career with a vicious assault on minorities: as president of SF State University he unleashed bloody police terror against the 1969 student strike led by minority students for ethnic studies programs.

The bill's backers cynically claim it will help immigrants to learn English, as if the problem were lack of motivation! Immigrants and their kids need to learn English to get jobs in the United States. Meanwhile, Deukmejian has been *closing down* bilingual education programs. In L.A. alone, there are 40,000 people on a waiting list to get into English programs in the public schools. The vast majority of immigrants desperately want to learn English—but don't get the chance. This referendum is not about learning—it's aimed at depriving immigrants of fundamental rights such as drivers licenses, voting and court testimony, in order to make it impossible for the foreign-born to live in America. And as with the nativist frenzy in the 1920s, this is closely linked to fascist terror.

The "golden door" to the U.S. is wide open to the Batista torturers, Somoza butchers, South Vietnamese war criminals and Afghan drug runners, who serve as grist for the anti-Soviet propaganda mill and as counterrevolutionary thugs for the CIA. For those fleeing "Made in U.S.A." death squad terror and starvation, however, there's *la migra's* Gestapo-like raids, KKK border patrols and barbed wire concentration camps. We oppose Prop 63 and fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers. All those who live and work here should be provided with free, quality education in English, as well as their own language. As Lenin wrote in tsarist Russia, which he called "a prisonhouse of peoples": "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language...."

Abolish the Death Penalty!

Likewise, the drive to bring back legal executions is a key element of the rightist offensive nationwide. The death penalty has long been a major issue in California politics. The 1960 execution

of Caryl Chessman was an early impetus to the 1960s radicalization, which helped to bring about the abolition of the death penalty by the Supreme Court in 1972. But in 1976 the Supreme Court gave the states the power to impose capital punishment, and today the electric chairs and lethal injections are going again. And the Rehnquist court, headed by a racist vigilante in black robes who has voted for every single death sentence that has come before the Supreme Court, wants to restore the death penalty throughout the United States.

California and 27 other states have

yet to carry out an execution. The pro-death lobby, afraid that America is slipping behind South Africa in the legal execution of black people, has targeted liberal California Supreme Court chief justice Rose Bird for voting against all 59 death sentences that have come before the court in her tenure. The Democrats, such as black Los Angeles mayor and candidate for governor Tom Bradley, an ex-cop who is pro-death penalty, have shunned Bird like a leper. Even Bird and her liberal and reformist backers seek to duck the issue of capital punishment, claiming the issue is Deukmejian's attempt to pack the court.

Which of the partner parties of American capitalism controls the courts, cops and prisons is not the issue. Marxists fight for abolition of the racist and barbaric death penalty. Voting for Rose Bird certainly won't do it. She's a mainstream liberal who has responded to the rightist attack by covering her right flank: endorsing the appointment of racist Rehnquist and launching a publicity campaign extolling the virtues of American "justice" with explicit anti-Soviet attacks. Massive protests in the context of the black struggle of the early '60s temporarily stopped executions in the U.S. in 1967 and led to the Supreme Court's anti-capital punishment decision five years later. It will take massive labor and black struggle to abolish legal murder today.

VOTE NO on Props 63 and 64! Both these vicious reactionary measures must be defeated in November with a massive turnout of labor and minorities to vote them down. But the barbarism of decaying capitalism will not be defeated at the polls. It's going to take some hard class struggle, led by a revolutionary workers party, to overthrow this racist, war-driven system. Such a party must be a tribune of the people, giving communist leadership to the struggles of the workers and all the oppressed—blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women, gays. We in the Spartacist League are dedicated to building that party. ■

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500 Students Rout KKK March!

Radford, Virginia

Five hundred students in the small college town of Radford in western Virginia stopped a Ku Klux Klan provocation September 20. A march of 50 of the terrorist Klansmen brandishing Confederate flags and shouting racist slogans was stopped in its tracks as 500 outraged onlookers, overwhelmingly students at Radford University, surged into the street and blocked the Klan's path. The local campus weekly, the *Tartan*, said the police "were unable to disperse the hundreds of students who had gathered to confront the Klan" and quoted one cop as saying, "We feared a riot would break out if the Klan marched further" (*Tartan*, 25 September).

Some townspeople also participated in the anti-Klan event, including a group of bikers whose T-shirts declared "Black and White Unite" and an elderly black man who drew applause

Radford students stop racist nightriders from marching through their town, September 20.



Roanoke Times and World-News

and cheers as he walked down Norwood Street carrying a baseball bat.

Across the country in major urban centers the Spartacist League has organized labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan and Nazis, as against reformist leftists who along with bourgeois politicians organized diversionary events to keep protesters far away from confronting the fascists. So

when we heard about the Radford students' action, we grabbed the phone. By all accounts, the militant protest seems to have been a spontaneous response to the KKK's obscene attempt to parade for genocide in Radford. Students interviewed by our reporter were proud that the Klan had been turned back.

In anticipation of the event, people

had been "urged to stay home and ignore the Klan marches" and the student government, according to student president Joe Freeman, hoped "to keep students on campus" and away

continued in Young Spartacus, see page 11 inside

"English Only"—Racist Attack on Immigrants

Vote Down California's Props 63, 64!

Fascistic Referendum Targets AIDS Victims

In Reagan's America every right-wing lunatic thinks he can get a serious hearing. Now reactionaries of all stripes are trying to turn the California elections into a racist, witchhunting campaign for anti-gay hysteria, victimization of immigrants and carrying out death sentences again. They're pushing the Reagan agenda to strengthen the capitalist state's police apparatus to smash any opposition to the bipartisan drive toward war against Russia. Whipping up the frenzy over AIDS, crime and "foreigners taking jobs," these electoral campaigns give the green light for attacking minorities and the working class, and create a climate for the spread of fascist terror.

The followers of ultraright crackpot Lyndon LaRouche succeeded in placing on the ballot an openly fascist measure, Proposition 64, mandating massive AIDS testing, firing suspected AIDS carriers from food-handling and teaching jobs. This monstrous proposal opens the way to quarantining all those infected or even exposed to the virus as potential carriers! Another measure, Prop 63, pushed by notorious rightist former U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa, calls for making English the state's

"official language." Proponents of the measure call for banning everything from Spanish-language McDonald's menus to bilingual education. And integral to this vicious rightist drive is the attempt to purge California State Supreme Court chief justice Rose Bird, a liberal who has repeatedly voted against executions. The campaign against her spearheads the drive for legal murder, especially of blacks, in the state of California.

Prop 64, at least, is widely unpopular. Many decent Californians object to the wholesale hounding and persecution of gays and oppose the amendment. Its sponsorship by the sinister Lyndon LaRouche hasn't won it any supporters, either. A poll conducted by the *San Francisco Examiner* (10 September) showed only one in seven voters favoring the fascist LaRouche referendum. The San Francisco Central Labor Council has come out publicly against it, as has virtually every public health department and reputable medical authority in the state. Unfortunately, the furor has not extended to Prop 63, which would declare English the "official language" of California. This chauvinist law would have a far-

reaching impact: millions of Californians for whom English is not their native language would be subject to even greater discrimination in this deeply racist country.

Smash the Anti-Gay Witchhunt!

It is an outrage that the LaRoucheites' Prop 64 is even on the ballot, rather like voting on whether to endorse Hitler's Final Solution. AIDS hysteria has become a rallying point for attacks on gays. The LaRoucheites call for putting gays ("AIDS carriers") in concentration camps ("sanitariums"). Railing against "dirty sex," LaRouche and his cult followers organized the aptly acronymed PANIC ("Prevent AIDS Now Initiative Committee"), which has been playing on bigotry, fear and ignorance to build AIDS hysteria. AIDS is not a "gay plague"—it is caused by a virus, transmitted sexually or by contaminated blood products. Touting the lie that AIDS can be spread casually like TB and typhoid, the LaRoucheites publish crackpot charts projecting the number of AIDS victims doubling every six months until by January 1993 the entire U.S. population will supposedly be wiped out!



San Francisco gay community up in arms over LaRouche initiative.

Once a leftist, LaRouche is now a right-wing nut case, a fervent endorser of Reaganism who claims that Henry Kissinger is a Soviet mole, the Queen of England runs an international drug ring and AIDS is a product of the Soviet "war machine." A megalomaniacal anti-communist, LaRouche envisions being swept into power by AIDS hysteria merging with anti-Soviet war fever:

"... the anti-AIDS movement, will naturally converge upon the parallel issues of national economy and national defense. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Attorney General Edwin Meese would be very popular figures, under such circumstances. 'Enough of this disease-ridden radicalism! Let's get back to normal!' will become the popular outcry."

—Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.,
"Spread Panic, Not AIDS,"
October 1985

LaRouche is sinister and dangerous and he is not alone. No wonder he recognizes kindred spirits among the Reaganauts: his "AIDS initiative" sounds like something straight from the Meese police files.

In February the *San Francisco Examiner* revealed that Reagan's War Department was seriously considering a

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