

No to Mandatory Testing!

Reagan, Democrats Push AIDS Witchhunt

"Disease Exclusion" of Immigrants: Cruel and Unnecessary

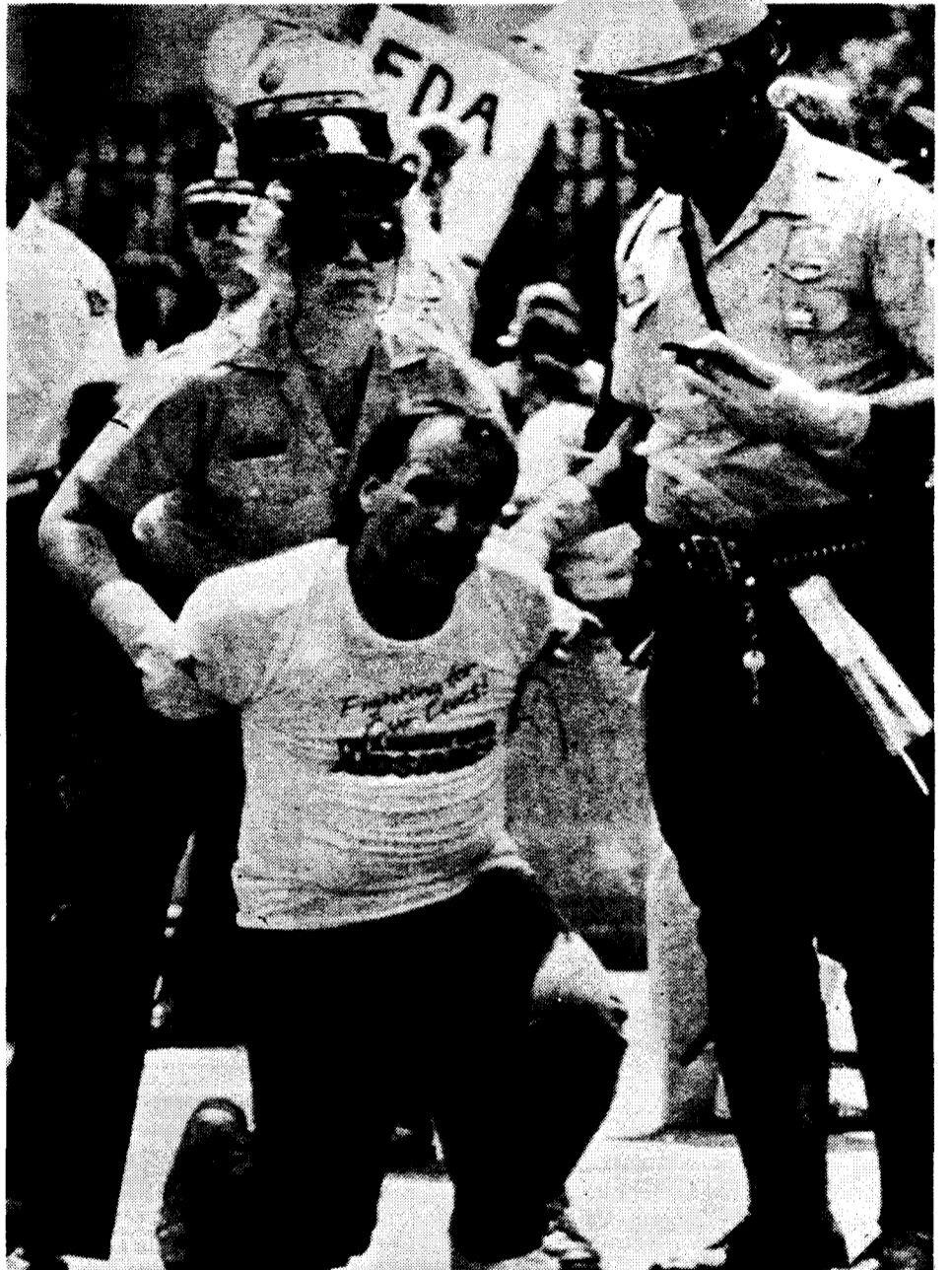
Last week a high-powered international scientific conference on the deadly disease AIDS met in Washington, D.C. Blocks away the Senate voted 96 to 0 for a bigoted proposal by Jesse Helms for mandatory testing of all immigrants to the U.S., and banning those found to have antibodies to the virus. On June 8, Attorney General Meese announced the federal government's intention to implement this proposal, adding on that testing will be mandatory for federal prisoners, who may be denied parole if they test positive. After years of malicious neglect in the vindictive fundamentalist hope that AIDS was a "gay disease," the feds and state administrations are busy hysterically proposing mandatory testing of just about everybody. Despite health experts' insistence that such testing won't do a damn thing to stop AIDS, and will in fact hurt, Democrats and liberals have joined this modern-day "Know Nothing" campaign.

At the Washington AIDS conference, the administration's criminally dangerous mindset was represented by Vice President Bush; conference participants widely booed his speech demanding "routine" (the new code word for mandatory) AIDS testing. "Some gay group out there?" he cynically sneered (into an open mike). It was thousands of researchers, who know AIDS is a worldwide life-and-death matter. Reagan himself was booed at an AIDS fund-raiser, while the next day outside the White House, demonstrators protesting government inaction were arrested by cops ostentatiously wearing huge yellow rubber gloves, calculated to inspire fear of the protesters. When Otis Bowen, Secretary of Health and Human Services, claimed at the conference that AIDS

had Reagan's "complete attention," scores jeered and hissed, some standing with their backs to Bowen in protest.

New York mayor Ed Koch, whose qualities as a vicious ass pale before his ignorance and stupidity, out-Reaganned Reagan with his demand to test *all* foreign visitors to the U.S.—the world's AIDS center! (It was since withdrawn as "infeasible," no doubt after shrieks of horror from the tourist industry.) This is sheer sadistic existential fascism. The test, moreover, does *not* tell if you have AIDS, but only indicates antibodies to HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus—the "AIDS virus"), and a single ELISA, the initial screening test, has a high error rate. A single positive now has to be confirmed by additional tests. A false positive can engender massive confusion and emotional pain. And the rest of the world has a point when it calls AIDS "the American disease," since 88 percent of all reported cases worldwide are here. (The widespread epidemic in Central Africa is just beginning to be recognized, though government officials there have tried to deny it.)

"Subsexual" Koch himself presides over a city with nearly *one-third* of all the AIDS cases in the U.S. Given attitudes toward New York City in the rest of the country, we wouldn't be surprised to find New Jersey state troopers waiting at the end of the George Washington Bridge to pull over everyone with NY plates for an "AIDS test." Koch seems to believe millions of foreigners are yearning to jam U.S. hospitals to get treatment. What a sick and obscene lie! Social Security has just refused to extend benefits to whole categories of AIDS sufferers, people with dementia and emaciation. "They may be dying, but they might not be disabled," cynically said a Social Security spokes-



AP
Outside the White House, June 1: Cops in yellow rubber gloves bust demonstrators protesting desperate plight of AIDS victims.

man (*New York Times*, 2 June)!

Health care in the United States is already an abomination. For AIDS victims, medical care is hopeless. The disease is still incurable; "treatments"

include the new, unproven drug AZT, which costs \$8,000 to \$10,000 a year. It takes two years for AIDS victims to qualify for Medicare—most patients are dead by then. Those sick with ARC (AIDS-Related Complex), many of whom die without ever progressing to full-blown AIDS, still do not qualify for most disability or health benefits.

The U.S. and South Africa are the only industrialized Western countries with no form of national health insurance. The reason is the same in both cases: a huge black population which is forcibly impoverished and for whom the country's rulers aren't about to provide even minimal necessities. In the U.S., the AIDS epidemic is hitting blacks and Hispanics hardest: black babies are 25 times more likely than whites to suffer from the disease. A major transmission route of the virus is via contaminated needles in intravenous drug use; it is further spread through heterosexual contact and to fetuses from infected

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Soviet Play Explodes Stalin's Moscow Trials

Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

— SEE PAGE FOUR —

United-Front Action in Rouen

French Trotskyists Lead Fight Against Racist Ban

ROUEN, France—For the past two weeks, every evening at 7 p.m., 100 people have picketed in front of the Flunch Cafeteria in downtown Rouen. They are responding to the call by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) for a boycott protesting the restaurant's racist policy of systematically barring admittance to North Africans and blacks. As fascist attacks on immigrant neighborhoods continue to mount and the government maintains its racist "nationalities" bill (threatening to deport "trainloads" of "foreigners"), the urgency of this anti-racist boycott is dramatically heightened.

In mid-April, after receiving numerous complaints, a local radio station asked a notary public to be an official witness accompanying five young North Africans as they attempted to enter the cafeteria. The notary reported that the security guard at the door barred their way, explaining: "Management has given orders and I am not allowed to let in anyone who looks like an Arab or who is black." Youth from Rouen's working-class/immigrant suburbs have long been victims of such racist practices in the provincial city's "chic" nightspots. Now the blatant segregation by the cafeteria's manager Robinet has become a symbol and must be stopped!

The Ligue Trotskyste, section of the international Spartacist tendency, is known in the region for having initiated a united-front mobilization of more than 400 people in December 1981 to stop the fascists. An LTF leaflet distributed May 23 at markets in the working-class suburbs of Rouen called for protest demonstrations at the Flunch:



Protesters picket Rouen cafeteria for refusing to serve blacks and North African Arabs. Anti-racist action was initiated by Ligue Trotskyste de France.

"In the context of the rise of Le Pen, whose meetings are regularly followed by pogroms (as at Marseille and Lyon), we must act now against this scandalous racial discrimination. What's needed to definitively crush the fascist scum is a massive mobilization by the working class organized by the trade unions and immigrant organizations."

While Rouen's daily newspaper remains silent, several local radio stations and the local TV news publicized this call. On Monday evening, some 100 persons representing numerous political organizations, immigrant associations and trade unions participated in a militant picket chanting, "Boycott the Flunch!", "Down with racist segregation!" and "Full citizenship rights for immigrants!" Demonstrators applauded as a sizable number of the restaurant's clientèle walked out after having

read the leaflet condemning the racist ban. The picket has continued every night for an hour, turning away about half the prospective customers.

The mobilization broadened during the week. Tuesday saw the arrival of a number of *beurs* (second generation North African youth) from the immigrant ghettos where the bourgeoisie tries to keep them isolated. Speakers at the pickets included two trade unionists from the Renault/Cléon auto factory. And on May 27, the branch of the CGT union federation at the plant sent a telegram to the Flunch's Paris head office:

"In the name of the 7,000 employees of the enterprise: the Renault/Cléon CGT trade union energetically protests against racist measures and violation of human rights by Flunch management against workers and immigrant employees. Demand immediate halt to all racist measures barring access to eating facilities. Will take necessary steps to inform employees and population if this revolting decision stands."

Certainly a thousand Renault workers in front of the Flunch would convince local café owners that racist segregation is bad for business.

The LTF initiative has received a broad response because of concern over the rise in racist terror and the activity of fascist gangs. Members of the Communist Party and *Lutte Ouvrière* have participated in the picket. The manager of the Flunch is trying to brazen it out. But protest letters and telegrams from around France have begun arriving at the chain's central office sent by, among others, the CGT postal workers local at Tours, a CGT and a CFTD local at two Paris post offices, and other unions; by a branch of the CP at Lyon and one of the main anti-racist organizations in Lyon, SIMADE; and by various professors including Marxist philosopher Etienne Balibar.

On June 4, after ten days of militant picketing organized by the LTF, one of France's main anti-racist organizations, the MRAP, called a demonstration in Rouen. The Communist Party threw its weight behind this demonstration, and some 1,000 demonstrators including a number of trade-union contingents gave a taste of the kind of massive working-class mobilization urgently needed to beat back and ultimately crush the wave of racist terror. A 100-strong LTF contingent (including many *beurs* who had come out during the week) was accorded a prominent place in the demonstration and a supporter of the LTF at Renault/Cléon addressed the protesters. As the demonstration broke up, another LTF spokesman addressed the crowd. Many CPers listened attentively as she stressed how the Mitterrand popular front's racist repression paved the way for the reactionaries.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Com-

muniste Révolutionnaire (LCR—"sister party" of the American SWP) has boycotted the Flunch boycott. (No doubt they've been too preoccupied debating how to liquidate into the CP "renovators.") In an act of Stalinophobic sectarianism, a clot of LCR members and assorted social democrats temporarily split off from the June 4 demonstration. The LCR and its friends in the social democratic "anti-racist" milieu have been waiting for the civil libertarian League of the Rights of Man to act, which in turn has been waiting for the local prosecutor. If the state finally announced on the day of the MRAP demonstration that it was finally beginning an "investigation" of Flunch's racist practices, it is because of the determined picketing campaign and the largely working-class demonstration it helped to spark.

In the course of the Flunch pickets, several racist provocateurs attempting to create incidents were swiftly ejected by the demonstrators' security team. On June 4, when several hundred participants in the demonstration moved toward the cafeteria, a scout returned to report that a police/fascist ambush was lying in wait. The relationship of forces was such that a picket was impossible. This sinister mobilization by the cops and dozens of fascist thugs was repeated the following day. But the LTF opened up another front to put pressure on the national chain. A united-front demonstration was held June 5 at a Parisian

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TROTSKY

The Moscow Trials

The "Transitional Program," adopted at the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, noted that Soviet workers identified Trotskyism with authentic Bolshevism and opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy. This tradition can be a potent force for reorganizing the Fourth International and defending the gains of the October Revolution.



LENIN

Petty-bourgeois democrats of the West, having but yesterday assayed the Moscow Trials as unalloyed gold, today repeat insistently that there is "neither Trotskyism nor Trotskyists within the USSR." They fail to explain, however, why all the purges are conducted under the banner of a struggle with precisely this danger. If we are to examine "Trotskyism" as a finished program, and, even more to the point, as an organization, then unquestionably "Trotskyism" is extremely weak in the USSR. However, its indestructible force stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class. The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes "Trotskyism." It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International.

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

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Sri Lanka Bloody Offensive Against Tamil North

Indian Jets Over Jaffna

On Thursday June 4, five Indian Air Force Antonov 32 cargo planes escorted by Mirage fighters flew over northern Sri Lanka in a demonstrative drop of desperately needed relief supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula, the besieged Tamil area of the island. The Sri Lankan armed forces, which have been indiscriminately bombing and shelling the Tamil populace in the north for weeks, offered no resistance. With its act, the Indian government asserted suzerainty, posing possible annexation of northern Sri Lanka. New Delhi is determined that henceforth the bloody Sinhala-chauvinist regime of president J.R. Jayewardene will heed India's dictates regarding the Tamil areas or face more decisive military measures.

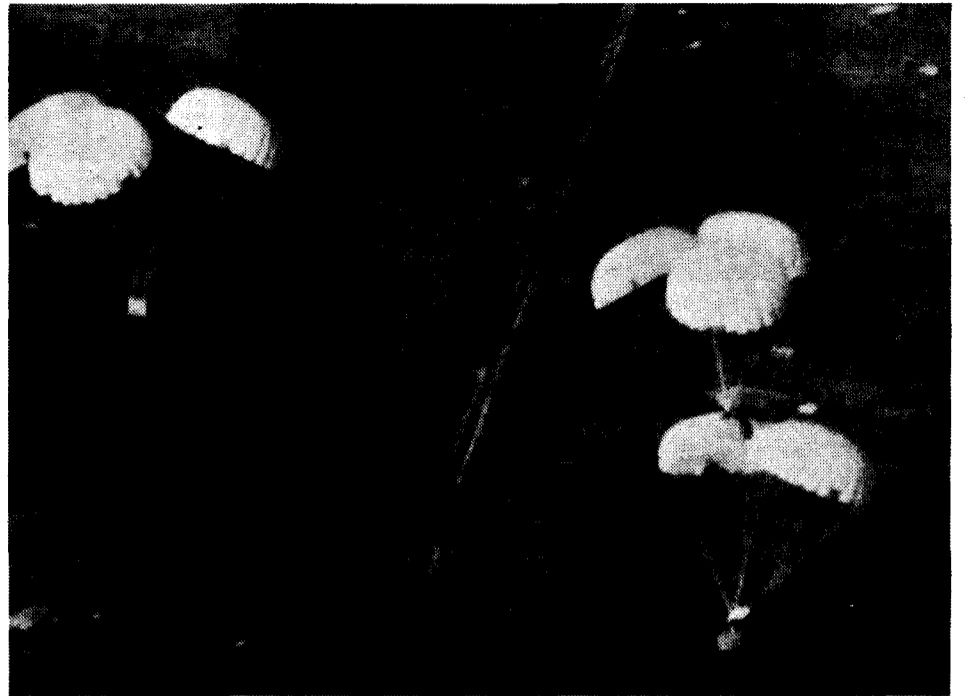
On June 6, in the largest Tamil demonstration in London since the 1983 pogroms in Lanka, many were chanting "Well done India" and "Carry on Rajiv." While in the short run an Indian invasion could provide relief from the murderous onslaught of the Sri Lankan army, illusions in the Indian ruling class are deadly dangerous. Notably, Gandhi's gesture was made only after the Lankan army had scored its successes against Tamil-held areas, killing hundreds of civilians. And the record of Gandhi and the capitalist class he represents speaks volumes about what sort of "liberation" the Indian army would bring to the Tamils in the long run. In the face of an invasion, communists

invaded the Tamils would be finished in the south.

Lankan Army Drive to Retake the North

Ever since 1983, when anti-Tamil pogroms instigated by elements within Jayewardene's United National Party killed several thousand and forced hundreds of thousands of Tamils to flee to the Northern and Eastern Provinces and to India, there has been a de facto partition of the island. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the largest Tamil nationalist group, has held the Jaffna Peninsula and sections of the north while the Eastern Province, where Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims live, with the strategic Trincomalee harbor, has remained disputed territory. Endless rounds of peace negotiations brokered by India have broken down over the critical question of control of Trincomalee. Meanwhile, the civil war has resulted in thousands dead.

The wave of indiscriminate terrorist attacks this April, attributed by the government to Tamil nationalist groups, left hundreds of mainly Sinhalese civilians dead. The Sri Lankan regime faced mounting pressure within and without the government from Sinhala communalist hardliners to take military action to retake the north, where the army has been confined to its bases in the Jaffna Peninsula. On May 26, following the air-sea offensive that had left



Indian air force drops supplies for besieged Tamil areas.

Sirohi/AP

ing relatives in Valvedditurai that 1,500 were likely to be held indefinitely. On Friday night seven Tamils were reported killed attempting to escape from Boosa.

The second stage of the army's offensive, an assault on Jaffna town, has been called off. Right now the army probably has neither the military strength nor the will to take the casualties required, but more importantly India has delivered a message that all but the most rabid communalist must understand. Elements in the Sri Lankan government appeared to have gambled that India would not intervene, even implying that the Indian government had given its tacit approval to the offensive in the north. But the offensive did not achieve the quick results they had hoped for, and soon after it began Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi spoke of "calculated and cold-blooded slaughter of thousands," warning the Sri Lankans to stop before it was too late.

Indian national newspapers like the *Times of India*, usually close to the government, began urging military intervention. An increased Indian naval and coast guard presence was noted in the waters around Sri Lanka, while reports circulated that 800 paratroopers had been flown south to Madras. Facing mounting pressure to act and fed up with the Sri Lankan prevarications which it sees as having thwarted its attempt to negotiate a settlement, India announced that it was sending aid to Jaffna whether Sri Lanka liked it or not. But the first attempt to do so with a motley fleet of 20 fishing boats (with 100 journalists) was not backed up by the Indian navy, and Sri Lanka's minuscule navy was allowed to turn the relief convoy back. The day following this humiliating fiasco, India's Antonovs and Mirages went in.

South Asia and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

An Indian diplomat is reported to have said: "The unity and integrity of Sri Lanka is very important to us. But it's not nearly so important as the unity and integrity of India" (*Guardian* [London], 2 June). Gandhi is under increasing domestic pressure, including the continuing agitation among 50 million Tamils in south India. In the last six months, Rajiv's image as "Mr. Clean" has taken a battering; sordid wranglings over constitutional issues were followed by defense contract scandals in which he protected Congress Party cro-

nies accused of corruption. Unrest among the Sikhs in the Punjab has led to the replacement of the state government by central rule.

In Meerut near Delhi, a center of joint Hindu/Muslim struggle in the anti-British uprising of 1857, hundreds have been killed in communal fighting over possession of a mosque/temple. Gandhi's Congress Party has also suffered major electoral defeats by "left" Communist Party-dominated coalitions in recent state elections in Bengal and Kerala and faces an important election in the Hindi-belt state of Haryana in two weeks. All this is symptomatic of the corruption, exploitation and brutality that is capitalist India, and of its character as a virtual prison house of peoples. As with his mother Indira over Bangladesh, Rajiv finds in the situation in Sri Lanka the opportunity to divert attention from multifarious troubles at home.

But the Indian bourgeoisie is worried about more than its own domestic situation. In the context of the imperialist war drive against India's diplomatic ally, the Soviet Union, the international implications of the developments in Sri Lanka are making New Delhi nervous. Moreover, India has its own regional hegemonic ambitions (it is building a large navy base in the Andaman Islands, to the east of Sri Lanka). The Chinese deformed workers state, aligned with the United States against the USSR, has been supplying arms to Lanka. In recent months armed clashes have taken place in the disputed

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Lanka army rounds up Tamil youth in Jaffna Peninsula.

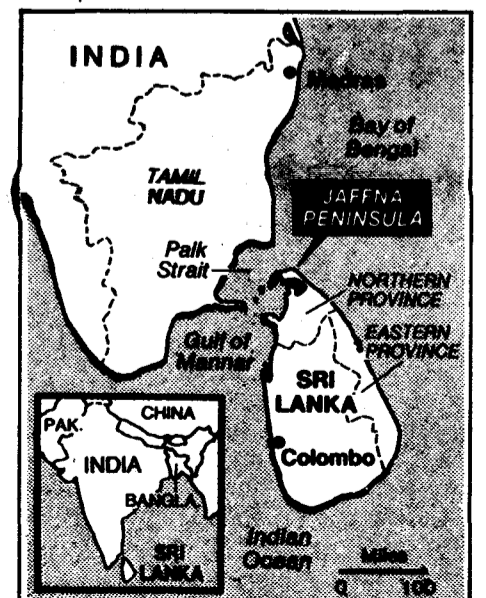
Economist

must stand for revolutionary defeatism toward both the blood-drenched Indian and Lankan regimes.

An Indian intervention which confined itself to the north of the island could well have horrendous repercussions for the Tamils who remain in the rest of the island. Today the Sinhala communalists, impotent in the face of Indian power and terrified of the consequences for them if the terms of national oppression were reversed, may well again turn their chauvinist frenzy on Tamils in the south. The plight of the economically key plantation workers of the highland tea country, the so-called Indian Tamils, is doubly tragic. They have been ignored by most of the Sri Lankan left with its class-collaborationist, Sinhala-chauvinist politics, as well as by the dominant Tamil organizations, be they bourgeois parliamentarians or petty-bourgeois guerrillaists. In 1985, Jayewardene warned that if the Indian army

hundreds dead, the army moved to consolidate its hold on key territory. Leaflets dropped from the air ordered civilians to assemble within two hours at designated temples, schools and churches, but this did not restrain the Sri Lankan forces from bombing such centers, including with primitive "napalm" mixtures.

In the fighting that followed, the government forces claimed to have regained control of about one-fifth of the Jaffna Peninsula, including the ports of Point Pedro and Valvedditurai, cutting the guerrillas off from their supply and escape routes to south India. Western reporters allowed into Valvedditurai in the last few days report widespread devastation. The army's first act of occupation was to round up the entire young male population of the district. Four thousand were shipped south to the notorious Boosa concentration camp. "National Security" minister Lalith Athulathmudali blandly told despair-



New York Times

Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

They were accused of being saboteurs and terrorists, agents of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan. "I demand that dogs gone mad should be shot, every one of them!" screeched prosecutor Andrei Vyshinsky at the Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s. And every last one of them was shot.

They were the Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917, Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms, the men and women who guided the fledgling Soviet state through the civil war and imperialist military intervention, the commanders of the Red Army and founders of the Communist International. In the monstrous frame-ups known as the Moscow Trials, Stalin exterminated the founding generation of the modern Communist movement. And in 1940 a Stalinist assassin drove a mountaineer's ax into the skull of the man who above all symbolized the revolutionary spirit of Bolshevism: Leon Trotsky.

But now a play, Mikhail Shatrov's "The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk" (originally written in 1962), is reportedly scheduled to open in Moscow on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The text of the play was recently published in the literary monthly *Novy Mir*. According to the *New York Times* (30 April), this work "portrays Trotsky and Bukharin as devoted associates of Lenin, though misguided by excessive revolutionary zeal." It may be difficult for a Western audience to appreciate the shock effect for Russians of a Soviet play which presents Trotsky and Bukharin as authentic leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Bolshevik Old Guard murdered by Stalin have been treated as *non-persons* in the present-day Soviet

Union, and earlier were branded as "traitors to the socialist motherland." Well within living memory, anyone who defended the victims of the Moscow Trials was sent to a Siberian labor camp. Only yesterday to write favorably of Bukharin or especially Trotsky was enough to get one expelled from the Communist Party, fired from one's job and victimized in all kinds of ways. Why this taboo that has lasted half a century? Because the Kremlin bureaucracy, under both Stalin and his heirs, had at all costs to suppress the authentic Leninist program, represented by the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

Now the Moscow Trials are being exploded in this Moscow play. So long as the figures are more or less historically accurate, it means the rehabilitation of every shot Old Bolshevik. Once the Kremlin tops do this, they can no longer be silent about the role of and what happened to any of the leaders of the October Revolution. Whatever the intentions of Shatrov or the Gorbachev regime, the play indicts the Stalinist gravediggers of the revolution. There remains in the Soviet Union an abiding identification of Trotsky with the ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution, which are alive in the consciousness of the people. If the Bolshevik Old Guard are restored to their rightful places, Trotsky's fight for Leninist internationalism against Stalin's conservative nationalism can no longer be buried.

It Is the Kremlin Bureaucracy Which Stands Accused

For some time, various fake-Trotskyist outfits have appealed to Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin to rehabilitate Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and the other Old Bolsheviks. Gorbachev's

After machine gun attack on his home in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky accuses Stalin of seeking his death. A few months later he was assassinated by a Stalinist agent.



glasnost (openness) has revived these grotesque appeals. There is now a campaign in Britain, also involving a number of left Labour MPs, to "Clear the Names of the Accused in the Moscow Trials." It calls "on the Soviet government to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, June 1987).

Trotsky and the other Old Bolsheviks don't need to be rehabilitated! The Dewey Commission of 1937 exposed the Moscow Trials as a monstrous frame-up. History has just been a little slow to catch up with this verdict. For many years workers and intellectuals entrapped in the Stalinist movement actually believed that Trotsky was a Nazi

agent. Seeking to counter this incredible slander, in 1946 his widow, Natalya Sedova, even made a pathetic and misguided request that the Nuremberg tribunal on Nazi war crimes take up the case of Trotsky in order to show he had nothing to do with the Gestapo. But especially after Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" denouncing the crimes of Stalin, no one in the world believed the charges of the Moscow Trials any longer.

Trotsky in particular is regarded as a noble and heroic figure even by people far from sympathetic to the Trotskyist cause of international proletarian revolution. The eminent British left-liberal historian A.J.P. Taylor concluded an essay on Trotsky: "Colonel Robins, the American Red Cross representative at Petrograd, pronounced history's verdict: 'A four-kind son-of-a-bitch, but the greatest Jew since Jesus Christ.'" French New Wave director Alain Resnais used the figure of Trotsky in exile in his film *Stavisky* as personifying opposition to the decadent, corruption-ridden Third Republic of the 1930s. The French bourgeoisie thought so, too. In 1939 the French ambassador to Germany, Robert Coulondre, warned Hitler, if war breaks out "there would be only one real victor—Mr. Trotsky." Such examples can be multiplied a hundredfold. In the political consciousness of the contemporary world Trotsky stands as a paragon of revolutionary integrity and militancy.

Thus the old Stalinist slanders against Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders and their treatment as non-persons in present-day Russia *discredit the Soviet bureaucracy*—crimes justified by lies and followed by cover-up. So now the Kremlin tops are trying to rehabilitate *themselves*. The Gorbachev regime, which takes pride in its suave handling of public opinion, has shifted the official Soviet treatment of Trotsky. He is now presented as a revolutionary romantic, an ultraleftist whose political line would embroil the Soviet state in disastrous wars with the Western imperialist powers.

This distortion is not a new invention; it is also taken right from the ideolog-



G.P. Goldshtein

Famous picture of Lenin addressing troops on way to war with Poland, 5 May 1920. Stalinists later painted Trotsky (at right) out of picture, attempting to delete him from the history of the Bolshevik Revolution.

ical arsenal of Stalinism. Before Stalin accused Trotsky of being a Nazi agent he accused him of advocating military adventurism against the West. For example, S. Rabinovich's Stalinist-revisionist *History of the Civil War* (1935) condemns Trotsky for allegedly wanting to "bring the revolution to Europe on the bayonets of the Red Army." The extermination of the Bolshevik Old Guard and the special vilification of the Left Opposition in the Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s was designed to further Stalin's program of "socialism in one country," in particular through the "popular front" with the "democratic" imperialist powers (Britain and France) against Nazi Germany. Simultaneously, Stalin strangled the Spanish Revolution.

Shatrov's play about Brest-Litovsk serves the Stalinist program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism although it was not written by one of Gorbachev's glib propagandists. Written in 1962, it is a product of the ferment which gripped the Soviet intelligentsia following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. In the late 1950s, the Stalinist victims of the Moscow Trials and military men like Marshal Tukhachevsky were officially rehabilitated. But as the late Isaac Deutscher wrote at the time, it was grotesque and indecent that little-known Stalinist *apparatchiks* like Eikhe and Postyshev were rehabilitated with much fanfare while nothing was said of Trotsky, Bukharin or Zinoviev.

Surviving veterans of the revolution and civil war, families of the Moscow Trials victims and young Communist intellectuals like Roy Medvedev demanded historical justice for the Bolshevik Old Guard. In 1962 Khrushchev promised Bukharin's widow and son to consider restoring the man Lenin once called "the favourite of the whole Party" to party honor. But by then the Khrushchevite "thaw" was already freezing over, and after Khrushchev was ousted in 1964 a lid was clamped on those intellectuals concerned with the fate of the Bolshevik Old Guard. Roy Medvedev, for example, was expelled from the Communist Party in 1968 after writing a letter to *Pravda* criticizing an article which had defended Stalin.

But the ghosts of the Bolshevik Old Guard refused to lie buried. Now, since Gorbachev has stated "there must be no forgotten names, no blank spaces, either in history or in literature," there has been a spate of new and long-suppressed works dealing with the crimes of Stalin and the "hidden history" of Soviet Russia. They're again attacking Stalin's sabotage of the Soviet Union's defense against the Nazi German invasion of 1941. And a new edition of the Soviet encyclopedia *The Great October Socialist Revolution* to be published this fall will include for the first time such figures as Trotsky, Kamenev and Radek.

The Gorbachev Line and Brest-Litovsk

Why has Shatrov's play on the 1918 Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany, written a quarter century ago, now been revived and on such an auspicious occa-

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS



The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

American Trotskyists' *Socialist Appeal* (1938) documented Stalin's extermination of the Bolshevik leadership of the October Revolution.

Socialist Appeal

Lenin's Testament

Lenin's "Testament," written in December 1922-January 1923 for the 12th Congress of the Communist Party, was totally suppressed in the Soviet Union for almost 40 years. While published in the 1961 edition of Lenin's Collected Works, it was only recently widely publicized in the English, French and Russian-language Moscow News. It has naturally become a hot item of discussion and debate in Soviet political and intellectual circles.

"... Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with

sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, as his struggle against the C.C. on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished not only by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C., but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work....

Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is

something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)....
December 25, 1922

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc...."

Lenin

January 4, 1923

sion as the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution? Because Gorbachev has utilized and distorted the dispute within the Bolshevik leadership over signing this treaty to justify conciliation of imperialism in general and opposition to revolutionary war in principle. Addressing the 27th Congress of the CPSU early last year, he stated:

"... socialism has never, of its own free will, related its future to any military solution of international problems. This was borne out at the very first big discussion [over the Brest-Litovsk treaty] that took place in our Party after the victory of the Great October Revolution. During that discussion, as we may recall, the views of the 'Left Commu-

nists' and the Trotskyites, who championed the theory of 'revolutionary war' which, they claimed, would carry socialism to other countries, were firmly rejected.... Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible."
—*New Times* [Moscow],
10 March 1986

What Gorbachev is concerned with here is not simply, or mainly, general principles and historical analysis. Since late 1979 the Soviet army has been fighting and winning a war in Afghanistan against CIA-armed Islamic fanatics who want to re-enslave Afghan women to the veil. In a bureaucratically deformed way Russia is now engaged in a revolutionary war on its southern border. U.S. imperialism has demanded Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan as a key test of Gorbachev's "sincerity" in seeking better relations.

For its part, the Gorbachev regime has indicated a willingness to abandon Afghanistan if a face-saving deal can be made. But "national reconciliation" with the feudalistic Islamic reactionaries is utterly unreal, and would mean abandoning Afghanistan to imperialist-backed counterrevolution. And in denouncing revolutionary war, Gorbachev may also be going after the Vietnamese, whose liberation of Kampuchea from the genocidal Pol Pot regime has upset U.S. imperialism and its local ASEAN puppets.

Shatrov's play on the Brest-Litovsk treaty falsifies Lenin's position in a way

that serves the Gorbachev line. While only the concluding scene has to date been translated into English (*New Times*, 30 March), the political thrust of the work is clear. The play ends with Lenin giving this supposed speech:

"We have to build, and hence for us the desire for peace is not a tactical manoeuvre in a moment of weakness, it is the sum and substance of the whole of our policy, our whole lives. An hour of peace is worth a thousand times more to socialism than a day of war, even a victorious war."

Lenin never said anything remotely like this during the Brest-Litovsk dispute or any other time. In fact, he said *exactly the opposite* in the very article in which he argued for immediately accepting the German terms:

"Unquestionably, even at this juncture we must prepare for a revolutionary war. We are carrying out this promise, as we have, in general, carried out all our promises that could be carried out at once: we annulled the secret treaties, offered all peoples a fair peace, and several times did our best to drag out peace negotiations so as to give other peoples a chance to join us.

"But the question whether it is possible to carry on a revolutionary war now, immediately, must be decided exclusively from the point of view of whether material conditions permit it, and of the interests of the socialist revolution which has already begun." [emphasis in original]

—"On the History of the Question of the Unfortunate Peace" (January 1918)

What, then, was the dispute over the
continued on page 14



Trotsky testifying before 1937 Dewey Commission, which exposed Stalin's Moscow Trials as a monstrous frame-up.

Penguin Books

More Healyite than Healy

David North and the Law

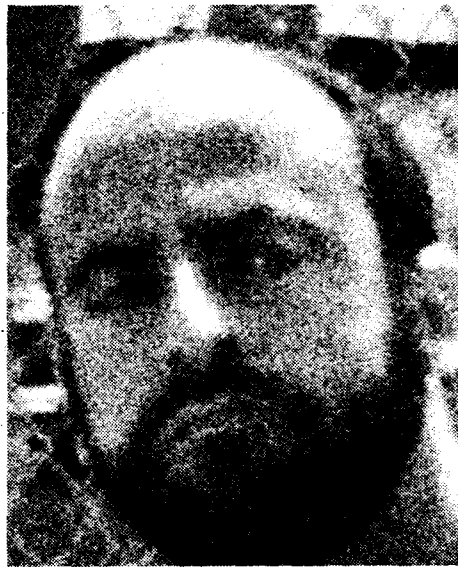
For over 20 years the gang of political bandits led by Gerry Healy shamelessly used the capitalist courts to disrupt, harass, frame up and bankrupt political opponents within the workers movement. Now the American Workers League's David North, who rushed to claim this heritage as his own after his former British boss Healy was ousted a couple of years ago, is squealing like a stuck pig over how "anti-communist" appeals to the courts will "undermine democratic rights." Why? Because it looks like the WL is going to get saddled with the court costs in one of the Healyites' most infamous lawsuits: the sinister case of Alan Gelfand vs. the Socialist Workers Party.

An agent provocateur of the Workers League, Gelfand was expelled from the SWP in 1979. Then, backed and bankrolled by North & Co., Gelfand sued the SWP in federal court claiming that his expulsion was the work of U.S. government agents in "control" of the organization. Citing the Healyites' notorious "Security and the Fourth International" slanders that central leaders of the SWP were agents of the FBI and the Stalinist secret police, Gelfand demanded that the court reinstate him as a member and "remove" particular SWP leaders and members from the party. As well as appealing to the class enemy to determine the membership of a self-proclaimed socialist organization, the Northites also called on the court to pry into the SWP's minutes, finances—in short, every aspect of its functioning! Two key "character" witnesses for the Healyite prosecution were former cops from the notorious LAPD red squad, the Public Disorder Intelligence Division.

As we wrote in "The Strange Case of Provocateur Alan Gelfand—Healyite Slanders and SWP Cowards": "It would be difficult to overstate the danger posed by this case, which if upheld would give the capitalist state a license to 'regulate' the internal life of working-class organizations" (WV No. 321, 14 January 1983). While the court has yet to come down with a final decision, the SWP has asked for an interim settlement of \$101,000 for legal costs. This has North screaming foul, declaring that "The actions taken by the SWP since the trial could only be taken by police agents who are deliberately seeking to undermine democratic rights through legal actions which have far-ranging implications" (Bulletin, 3 March). So



Marxism Today



WV Photo

The sinister Alan Gelfand (right) and his controller David North.

what does that make David North who boasts that he alone went all the way with Gelfand in his obscene appeal to the agencies of the capitalist state to police the left and labor movement? Whose agent is he?

A Calculus of Marxist Decency

Opposition to the use of the bosses' courts within the workers movement is among the most elementary of class principles. It is axiomatic for Marxists that the state is not "neutral" but the armed fist of the ruling class. Any worker who has ever faced the strike-breaking force of the courts and cops knows this. David North wouldn't know the class line if he tripped over it, as he frequently does—because more often than not the Healyites have put themselves on the wrong side of it in the pursuit of their own advantage. In their two-volume opus on the Gelfand suit, the Workers League brags that this was a how-to "model" in "making use of the capitalist courts." But now North and Gelfand are yelping that the same courts they used against the SWP could make them pay.

When the forces of capitalist "law and order" suit their convenience the Healyites have been willing and even wanton in using them. But when they're on the receiving end, as in the case of the SWP motion (which we hardly condone), like a dying man who finds religion the Healyites suddenly discover class principles. Back in '83, in the midst of suing a British leftist newspaper, *Socialist Organiser*, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party cynically announced

that "the principled policy of the WRP" was to "close ranks in defence" of any "section of the labour movement" under attack by the class enemy! The WRP, you see, was begging for left support against a BBC program reporting on their financial ties to a variety of "Third World" Arab nationalist regimes.

Running to the state against their political opponents became the stock in trade of Healyism two decades ago with the vicious beating of Ernie Tate. In 1966, Tate was set upon by Healy's goons outside a Healyite meeting in London for distributing SWP leader Joseph Hansen's pamphlet "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International." The pamphlet documented the trumped-up expulsion of Spartacist from the 1966 London conference of Healy's International Committee. When Tate circulated a letter of protest against this hooliganism the WRP sued him and threatened libel suits against left-wing publications in Britain who printed the letter! In 1975 the Healyites' well-heeled movie star "angel" Vanessa Redgrave dragged former WRP member Alan Thornett through the courts over an outstanding personal loan.

In 1981, again in the name of Healy's celebrity Redgrave, the WRP brought their libel suit against *Socialist Organiser* editor Sean Matgamna after he published a scathing and eminently truthful exposé of these unprincipled political bandits, gangsters and cultists. Interestingly, the suit took no objection to Matgamna's charge that the Healyites were the paid agents of Libya's Qaddafi. When the WRP went on a cam-

paign against the BBC for reporting the same charges, Matgamna coyly asked, "Will the WRP Sue the BBC?" Of course they didn't. A year later, Healy's "exposé" of British miners leader Arthur Scargill for criticizing Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist" was timed for maximum exposure on the eve of the 1984-85 miners strike through the red baiting, hysterically anti-Scargill Fleet Street gutter press.

"Security" and Healyism

For over a decade the Healyites plied their loathsome "Security and the Fourth-International" campaign aimed in particular at veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen who was slandered as an accomplice in the Stalinist GPU murder of Trotsky. Echoing the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by one of his "own people," the "Security" slander campaign was an attack on the revolutionary heritage of American Trotskyism. If Hansen was simultaneously an agent of the FBI and the GPU, then why not SWP founder James P. Cannon? Or for that matter Trotsky himself?

Hansen, a skilled polemicist, had tweaked Healy's tail on more than one occasion. But the "Security" campaign was more than just a vendetta. It embodied the whole method of Healyism. The purpose of these cascading wild-eyed and paranoid lies was to keep the membership politically and morally straitjacketed, not to mention scared witless. Either you accept and defend the lies—all of them—or you yourself might be denounced as an agent of the CIA, FBI, GPU.... Indeed, David North's road to power in the Workers League was paved by the termination of Healy's former American toady, Tim Wohlforth, whose companion was framed as a CIA agent. And it was as the accomplice in and a main mouthpiece for "Security" that North won his spurs as Healy's new American lackey.

Two years ago the political whorehouse that Gerry Healy built in his own image, the so-called "International Committee," came crashing down when the self-declared "founder-leader" was ousted through the intrigues of his lieutenants (including North). With the lid blown off the Healyite rotting garbage can, the whole sordid history of physical violence against members and the scandalous pursuit of Arab capitalist gold was openly admitted (indeed Cliff Slaughter alleged that the WRP had acted as finger-men for the Iraqi Ba'athist regime against supporters of the Iraqi Communist Party).

The latest installment in this despicable saga is the jailing of Phil Penn, a founding member of the WRP and Healy's former chauffeur. Penn, who went with the Slaughter wing, was thrown behind bars for four months on charges of assault brought by the Healy-Torrance wing (now sans Healy, who has split). Penn says he was assaulted by four of Healy-Torrance's goons. We can't claim to know what transpired in the incident. All sides have been well trained in the Healy school of gangsterism, brutal organizational practices and cynical lies to cover their tracks.

The Slaughterites argue in a letter protesting the jailing of Penn that "no organization calling itself socialist would collaborate with the police against members of the labour movement." True enough, but for 25 years as Healy's mouthpiece Slaughter was

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Workers Press

David North and his mentor, deposed "founder-leader" Gerry Healy. Spartacist tendency protested Healyite libel of revisionist Joseph Hansen as GPU/FBI agent.



WV Photo

Young Spartacus

Drive Fascistic Punks Off University of Chicago!

Smash Anti-Gay Attacks!

Hitler-loving, gay-bashing punks have been terrorizing the University of Chicago (UC) campus—and they had better be stopped! The hate campaign of these would-be stormtroopers began when school opened last September. Bright orange stickers reading: "Clean Up Hyde Park/Stop AIDS: Castrate Gays" were plastered all over the campus and surrounding integrated neighborhood of Hyde Park. In December, GALA (Gay and Lesbian Alliance) members, leftist students, liberal professors and even some administrators received "Christmas cards" with the message "Happy Death," signed by the "Great White Brotherhood of the Iron Fist, Botha Boulevard." As the Spartacus Youth Club wrote in a leaflet distributed at UC last March:

"These scum are out for blood. They call themselves the 'Great White Brotherhood of the Iron Fist' because the name symbolizes their heroes: Hitler and the Ku Klux Klan. They list their address as 'Botha Boulevard' because they groove on seeing the apartheid war machine butcher black children.... On March 21, two days after the gay *Windy City Times* ran a front-page article about the group, two thugs walked into the paper's office and brutally attacked publisher Jeffrey McCourt with a baseball bat. Once these murderous cowards have been identified, the 'brotherhood' scum ought to be paraded naked down the Midway—with bright yellow stripes painted down their backs!"

They talk like fascists, they act like fascists and they ought to be dealt with like fascists! These preppie iron-fisters don't know where they are. Chicago is a union town and a black town! The fascists think gays are a "soft target" whom nobody else will defend. But on 27 June



Young Spartacus

May 21 rally against anti-gay attacks at University of Chicago.

1982, a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization of 3,000 unionists, blacks, leftists, Jews, gays and students shouted down the genocidal Nazis when they tried to stage a terror provocation in Lincoln Park against the annual Gay Pride march. It's high time to again mobilize powerful, integrated battalions of Chicago labor to crush the fascist vermin in the egg.

Midway Review: Haven for Hitler-Lovers

In March, the "Brotherhood" placed a spurious gay personals ad in the *Chicago Reader*. The right-wing vermin sent letters to the families, neighbors and employers of students who responded to the ad, "exposing" them as gays and "dangerous AIDS carriers." Under court-order, the identity of the scum who entrapped gays with this ad was revealed. The perpetrators turned out to be the three kingpins of the virulently right-wing rag, *Midway Review*: Russell Miller, David White and Jeffrey Benner. Nearly all of the people who received death threats were attacked by name in the *Midway Review* previously. These creeps have been linked with other instances of right-wing violence and harassment over the past two years. Notable among these was the attack in the spring of '85 on a film showing about the Vietnam War. The assailants smokebombed the room, stole the film—which they then held for ransom—and demanded the student government donate \$3,000 to Salvadoran death squads or the KKK!

These Ivy League brownshirts were also active in sponsoring forums for the mercenary Nicaraguan contra scum, circulating a Nazi-like petition demanding the internment of gays in concentration camps, and harassing an anti-"Star Wars" professor in conjunction with the misnamed "Accuracy in Academia" outfit. (The Spartacist League has filed a libel lawsuit against the Accuracy in Academia witchhunters. See "AIA: Reagan's McCarthyites," *WV* No. 423, 6 March.)

The *Midway Review* is but one of a slew of ultraright "newspapers" which

have served as rallying points for Reagan reaction on American campuses. Last year, student editors of these papers were flown to Washington for a news conference with imperialist dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick. The other student newspaper at UC, the *Chicago Maroon*, ran an informative front-page exposé on May 8 which revealed the web of reaction surrounding the *Midway Review* in all its sordid detail:

- The *Midway*'s registered agent, Guy Hoch, is state director of the Civilian Matériel Assistance, a sinister outfit which grabbed headlines when two of its members were shot down in a contra plane over Nicaragua after bombing a school and killing four children.

- CMA's membership overlaps with Chicago Nazis in the "America First" committee, responsible for whipping up race-hatred against blacks in the white enclave of Marquette Park on Chicago's southwest side.

- *Midway Review* staffers Russell Miller and David White are linked to violent anti-abortionist Joe Scheidler, and were themselves arrested in October 1985 for harassing and preventing a woman from entering an abortion clinic.

Administration Goes to Bat for Racists

At 2:30 a.m. on the morning of May 15, Edward Turkington, the UC associate dean of students, raided the *Maroon* office with two campus cops, claiming that the university's office of telecommunications had traced a series of harassing phone calls to the *Maroon*. The recipients of the calls just happened to be Russell Miller and his "great white brothers." *Maroon* staffers were interrogated separately, urged to fink on their coworkers, and in true McCarthyite fashion asked, "Are you a communist? Are you gay?"

In response to this witchhunt the Spartacus Youth Club issued a leaflet demanding, "Hands Off the *Maroon*!" How come the office of telecommunications was never so obliging to the victims of "White Brotherhood" harassment? And why was Russell Miller

lurking outside the building during Turkington's raid? As the Spartacus Youth Club stated in their leaflet, "The whole affair stinks like a dead rat in July.... What we are witnessing is a classic set-up resting on nothing more than a Hitlerite Big Lie—and the administration is lapping it up." Drive the *Midway Review* scum off campus! Stop UC administration/police harassment of the *Maroon*!

On May 21, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance organized a rally to protest the right-wing harassment. Emboldened by the administration's action on his behalf, *Midway Review* editor Russell Miller heckled speakers and attempted to disrupt the protest. He was joined by another fascistic clot called "Legions of Barbarossa," after Operation Barbarossa, Hitler's vain attempt to destroy the Soviet Union, whose Red Army and heroic peoples (at a cost of 20 million lives) crushed the Nazi Third Reich. The provocation by UC's Nazi-lovers should have been anticipated; a united-front mobilization centered on labor and including all intended victims of these attacks could have ended this reborn Hitlerite youth campaign on the spot. At the demonstration, several Spartacist supporters attempted to lead rally participants to take action against these brazen provocateurs. The campus cops, however, moved in and formed a "cordon sanitaire," physically defending the "right" of the proto-fascists to attend a rally of their victims.

There should be no illusions in the UC administration, which exists to serve the imperialist masters. Originally, the proposed name for UC was "Rockefeller University," after the foremost robber barons of the American imperialist empire. UC played a key role in the "Manhattan Project," developing the A-bomb to obliterate Hiroshima and

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WV Photo

Grotesque outrage: Nazi scum paint symbol of genocide on monument to Holocaust victims, Skokie, Illinois.



Young Spartacus

Midway Review's Russell Miller. Drive the preppie brownshirts off campus!

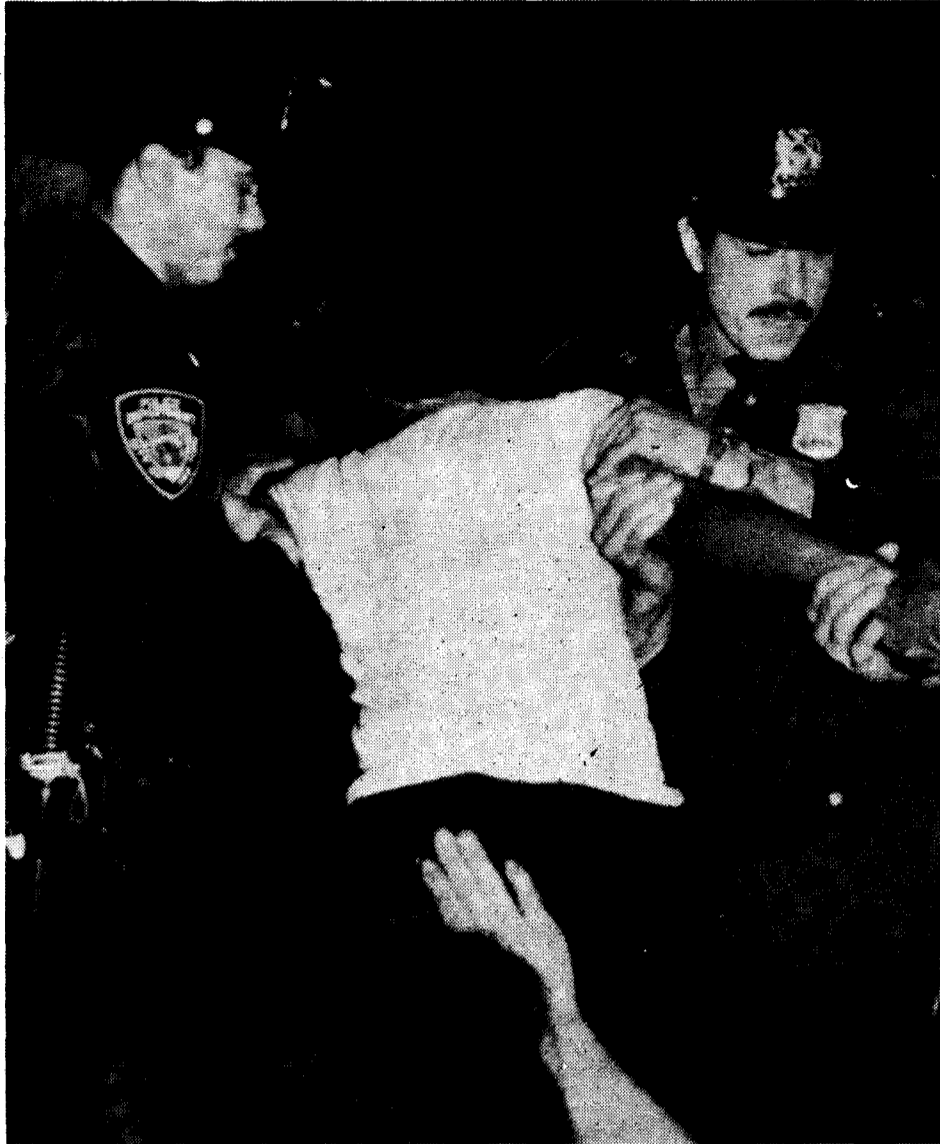
Apartheid Trial at Columbia U.

Blaming the Victims

On April 21, New York City police brutally attacked and busted 50 anti-racist students at a sit-in at Columbia University. The students were protesting Columbia's cover-up and refusal to prosecute the perpetrators of a racist mob attack on black students one month earlier. Charges against the protesters were thrown out of criminal court, but the university is determined to extract its pound of flesh through its own disciplinary hearings.

On the first day of the hearings, a sign reading "Columbia Kangaroo Court" was stuck on the door of the hearing room. There's no jury at this trial, and the two "hearing officers" act like apartheid prosecutors in a South African court. When a defense witness told what she saw at the sit-in, the prosecution tried to slap charges on her for simply admitting she was there! "Evidence" against the students was obtained through brazen surveillance of the protest by a plainclothes cop who videotaped the protest.

Students have shown guts and open defiance of these star-chamber proceedings. Refusing to identify themselves except by number tags, they've got administration officials poring over yearbooks trying to determine just who the victims of this racist inquisition are. The students have put Columbia University on trial, making political speeches from the stand and uproariously razzing every dim quip and racist insult by the prosecution. A mother of a



NYC cops storm anti-racist sit-in, maul and arrest 50 Columbia students, April 21.

black woman freshman testified how she traveled all the way from New Mexico to stay with her daughter. Returning to the dorm room one night, she

found Klan posters on the walls and a lynched teddy bear outside her daughter's door.

Bill Sales, a black student leader of

the 1968 Columbia strike, joined the April 21 protest and testified for the defense. When asked what he saw Columbia's top cop Dominick Moro doing, Sales responded: "He was prepared to do what policemen do: use state-sanctioned violence to solve ruling-class problems." Sales later told *Young Spartacus*, "Columbia is not acting out of character. It's exemplifying the 'Let's take them to the wall' attitude we're seeing nationally."

We reprint below a protest statement distributed by the Columbia Spartacus Youth Club:

3 June 1987

In the wake of the March 22 assault on black Columbia students by a mob of white jocks and fraternity members, the university is viciously prosecuting the victims while running a protection racket for the racist assailants. This elite university has become home to the Confederate flag of slavery and Ku Klux Klan recruiting materials have appeared in classrooms. During an April 21 anti-racist protest at Hamilton Hall, the administration brought city cops onto the campus, for the first time since the 1968 Columbia student strike, for a brutal mass arrest.

The junior Bothas in Low Library act like apartheid rulers in black Harlem, evicting tenants from Columbia-owned housing, busting campus unions and ordering the surveillance, beating and arrest of students at integrated, anti-racist protests. The emancipation of blacks and working people will come through mobilizing the victims of racist terror—workers, faculty, students and the Harlem community, behind the social power of the labor movement—to finish the Civil War and put an end once and for all to racist terror and the capitalist system that breeds it. The Columbia Spartacus Youth Club demands: Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Racist Protesters! Cops Off Campus! Down with Columbia's Kangaroo Court! ■

Dean Epps Gags Anti-Racist Protesters

Harvard

In a frontal attack on the right of student protest, the Harvard University administration has suspended one student and placed 13 others on probation for protesting South African vice consul Duke Kent-Brown at his appearance here on March 24. The organizers of the protest, the Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC), had hoped to engage the apartheid apologist in a "debate" with a representative of the African National Congress who was present at a rally outside the main

entrance to the lecture hall where Kent-Brown was speaking.

To ensure Kent-Brown's exit through the main door, students inside the lecture hall sat down in front of two side doors about 30 minutes into his speech. At this point Harvard cops rushed the podium, roughed up protesters and *shut down the forum!* After breaking up the meeting with its cops, the administration went after protesters on trumped-up charges including putting Kent-Brown "in physical fear of his safety."

At the rally outside, Harvard food service workers union president Domenic Bozzotto succinctly answered arguments that the protest violated Kent-Brown's "free speech": "He's got blood on his hands and he's in there worry-

ing if he's going to get his free speech" (*Crimson*, 25 April).

As the Spartacus Youth Club noted in a leaflet distributed at Harvard:

"...the event smacks of a deliberate provocation by the Harvard Conservative Club. These junior Reaganites invited Kent-Brown in the first place. Then they snapped photos of the crowd to supply Dean Epps with 'evidence' and even offered to pay \$1,000 if the administration would repress protesters. They were apparently looking for an incident to test out Harvard's newly streamlined machinery for political repression."

The "new" repressive machinery, the "Student-Faculty Judicial Board," is a reincarnation of the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (CRR), formed in the aftermath of the 1969 Harvard student strike as a virtual military tribunal to snuff out political protest. The CRR, recognized and despised as the administration's star chamber, was boycotted by Harvard students from its inception in 1970. As for the \$1,000 bounty offered by the Conservative Club, to our knowledge they haven't come through with the dough.

At a May 12 rally protesting the charges against the student protesters, Harvard student Bill Hughes spoke for the Spartacus Youth Club:

"We in the SYC say: Hands off all anti-apartheid protesters! Drop the charges! It was a good thing that the apologist for the racist apartheid regime did not go unprotected. Duke Kent-Brown makes his living by apologizing for the daily systematic oppression and murder of blacks by the all-white apartheid regime, a government that has since murdered six black trade unionists and carried out a terror bombing raid on

Namibia. The fact that this man was given the chance to speak here at Harvard was an insult and provocation against all anti-racist students who want to see the death of apartheid."

The reprisals against anti-racist students at Harvard occur in the context of outbreaks of racist violence on campuses in the Boston area and nationwide. Last January at Harvard, a rock was thrown through a window at a black student in Currier House by a self-proclaimed "Negro hit squad." And recently eight black teenagers filed a \$2 million civil suit against the Harvard police, after campus cops threatened them with billy clubs and threw three of them against a storefront. At the May 12 rally the SYC spokesman called for linking the fight against apartheid and racist terror at home to the power of the working class:

"...this means a fight to break militant students away from the Democratic and Republican parties. While Reagan was saluting Nazi graves at Bitburg, black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode bombed and burned to death members of the black MOVE commune. The Democratic Party is not the party of progress but the party of 'segregation forever' George Wallace, Jimmy 'ethnic purity' Carter and Tom Metzger of the KKK. And both the Conservative Club and the Democratic Club have brought contras here to speak at Harvard.... "Racist provocations and attacks must be smashed by the power of labor in alliance with all anti-racist fighters. On the campuses and elsewhere, the Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students and youth to the fight for a socialist revolution, to build workers parties to smash racist terror from Soweto to South Boston. Racist oppression will only be eradicated by overthrowing capitalism, the system that breeds it." ■



Harvard, March 24: Three hundred protest apartheid mouthpiece Duke Kent-Brown.

Down with Racist Youth Curfew in Detroit!

The Detroit city council has imposed a draconian curfew banning youth from the streets at night, using as its excuse the high crime rate that has given "Motor City" the nickname "Murder City." It will be enforced by Detroit's notoriously racist cops, who are well known for their propensity to shoot blacks first and ask questions later. If you're young and you're black, you're a target. Along with the curfew is a new "Parental Responsibility Ordinance," under which parents who let their kids out of the house at night or "knowingly" allow them to associate with "juvenile delinquents" will be fined, sent to "parental training" courses or thrown in the slammer! The black working people and youth of Detroit are made scapegoats for the capitalist crisis that has thrown thousands onto the scrap heap, forcing them to live in increasingly desperate conditions while the idle factories rust away.

Last September, council member John Peoples proclaimed that it was time to "crack some heads" and called for a new form of the STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") program of the early 1970s during which killer cops routinely gunned down black youth. Council president Erma Henderson originally proposed a 7 p.m. curfew;

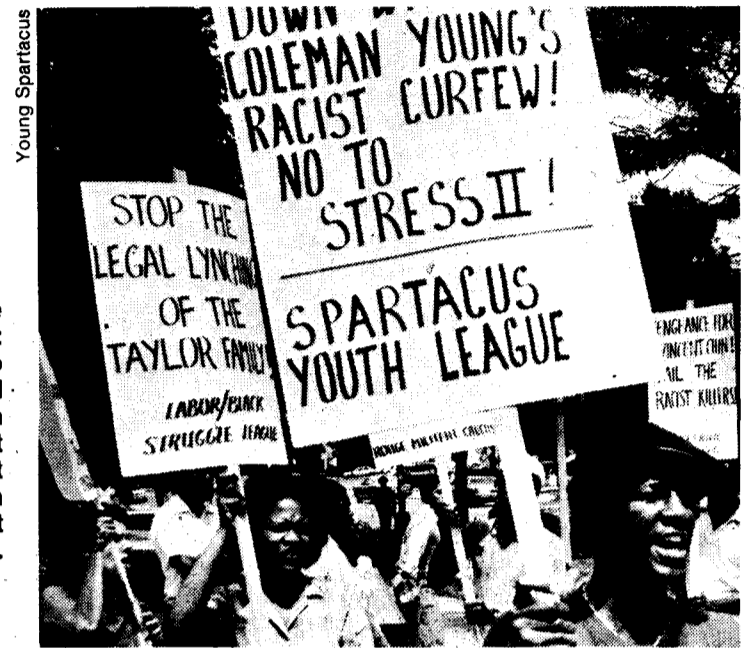
other council members objected only because some youth would be prevented from attending church activities! Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young opposed the curfew—because he claimed it was more "lenient" than the one he imposed in 1983. Instead, this front man for racist cutbacks proposed massive police sweeps of schools and parks and said crime in Detroit wouldn't be stopped until more prisons are built. His idea? Detention camps in Michigan's Upper Peninsula where youth would "learn discipline and skills"!

The Detroit schools are already like prisons; in April unannounced weapons searches in the high schools were resumed following a shooting at Murray-Wright High School where one student was killed and two others wounded. At Osborn H.S. on May 1, security guards formed a gauntlet at the entrance and herded students through a metal detector manned by Detroit city cops. Police found a total of two knives and a couple of razors, terrorizing over 2,000 students in the process of their raid.

The racist curfew only makes black Detroit resemble even more an occupied black township in South Africa—what's next, a pass system? Detroit's rulers aim to forcibly slam a lid on the frustrations

and outrage of the largely black ghetto masses. Youth will be forced to stay in sweltering slum housing or risk the deadly police dragnets. The "stop youth crime" campaign plays on working people's very real fears of violence and crime in Detroit, which has escalated dramatically over the past two years. But the curfew and Big Brother "parenting" program will not stop crime but

increase the criminal terror by Detroit cops who've been given a green light to bust, beat and blow away black youth. With ghetto youth trapped in the vicious cycle of unemployment, prison and drugs, it will take a socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist system of imperialist war, choking poverty and despair. Down with the racist curfew! Disarm the killer cops! ■



Wayne State University, 1983: Detroit auto workers and students join Spartacist protest against Coleman Young's racist curfew.

Anti-Gay Attacks...

(continued from page 7)

Nagasaki. In the '70s, the university's notorious "Chicago Boys," Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman, forged the starvation economic policies for Chilean dictator Pinochet.

The university has also been on the cutting edge in experimentation with "social engineering" on the home front. In the early 1900s, black residents were driven out of neighboring Hyde Park through a murderous campaign of bombings, beatings and harassment. In the 1930s and '40s, the university led the racist fight to keep Hyde Park lily-white, spending some \$84,000 to uphold anti-black restrictive covenants (finally struck down by the Supreme Court in 1948). Today, the campus cops ape the apartheid rulers, enforcing a virtual pass law system, routinely harassing blacks who venture onto campus—including students.

Chicago: Labor and Blacks Must Smash KKK/Nazi Scum!

The oppression of homosexuals, like the oppression of women, has historically served as an index of more general social and political attitudes.

Blacks, Gays, Jews, Minorities — Nazis Want to Destroy Us & Ours! STOP THEM! 7 Committee Against the Nazis



3,000-strong SL-initiated united front blocked Nazi provocation on Gay Pride Day, Chicago, 1982.

"Segregation City" is a focal point for Klan/Nazi attacks, and they're using the AIDS hysteria to whip up anti-homosexual mob terror. Nationally, the number of anti-gay attacks (including 80 homicides) reported to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force jumped to 4,946 in 1986, compared with 2,042 the previous year (*Chicago Tribune*, 11 May). The *Midway Review* crowd takes their cues from Reagan/Meese whose Supreme Court upheld reactionary "states' rights" sodomy laws last year

and is now using the widespread fear of AIDS as a pretext to unleash police-state measures, from mandatory testing to exclusion of foreign-born people seeking residency in the U.S. While Reagan's contra butchers try to "roll back Communism" in Central America, the *Midway*/*"White Brotherhood"* gang does its bit to whip up a McCarthyite witchhunt on campus by targeting political and civil rights activists.

Provocations by the "Brotherhood" at UC occur in the context of an upsurge of white-supremacist terror in Chicago. Last June, the Klan mobilized 3,000 screaming, rock-throwing bigots to enforce Marquette Park's "ethnic purity." Black Democratic mayor Harold

Washington, himself on the Klan's hit list, unleashed his racist cops to arrest anti-fascist fighters. Several members of Progressive Labor Party were busted and still face felony charges for trying to stop the fascists in Marquette Park.

Recently, in the early morning hours of June 1, the Nazis brought their anti-Semitic filth to the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie, home of some 7,000 concentration camp survivors. Less than 24 hours after a ceremony unveiling a Holocaust memorial, nightriding fascists completely defaced the statue with swastikas. The program behind this symbol is genocide: the Nazis yearn to transform Skokie into a death camp. But in October 1980, when the Nazis tried to goose-step with their swastikas in adjacent Evanston, they were run out by 2,500 outraged Holocaust survivors and their allies, including a 70-strong contingent of Spartacist supporters.

It is desperately necessary to crush the growing fascist threat in Chicago with powerful working-class action, championing the rights of every oppressed and exploited sector of the population! Linked to the social power of labor, students can and must play a role in this crucial struggle to beat back the fascists. What's needed to mobilize that power is a revolutionary Trotskyist party. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students and youth to the fight to build such a party, which will lead the working class and black masses to power and drive the race-hate terrorists and gay-bashing bigots back into their holes—permanently. ■



1983: Chicago Teachers Union struck back at Harold Washington's union-busting cutbacks. Integrated labor struggle is key to smashing Klan/Nazi threat.

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One-Day Strike Shuts Down British Columbia

On Monday, June 1, over 300,000 British Columbia unionists shut down the province for 24 hours. The one-day strike was called by the B.C. Federation of Labour against the provincial Social Credit government's vicious anti-labor offensive. The far-right "Socreds" have run B.C. for decades (with a brief interlude of social democracy) as a private corporate state—the chamber of commerce in power—slashing welfare, seizing Native Indians' lands and busting the unions, all in the name of a "better business climate." But on June 1, the mines, the mills, the lumber camps and the ports were closed down. There were no newspapers, the schools were closed and rail and ferry workers effectively shut down transportation in the West Coast province.

The British Columbia labor movement, historically the most militant and class-conscious proletariat in English-speaking North America, has the muscle to galvanize powerful class struggle, not only in B.C. but up and down the coast and across Canada, to bust the union-busters. The June 1 strike expressed the anger and determination of the ranks locked in a life-and-death battle for the very existence of their unions against the Socred government of provincial premier and fundamentalist bigot William Vander Zalm. But as B.C. Fed president Ken Georgetti said, "We did not call a general strike today," but only "asked our members to demonstrate their opposition to these bills." Facing the legislated decimation of their dues base from above and explosive rank-and-file demands for union action from below, the labor tops called the action as a "stayaway" strike to prevent any mass rallies or pickets which could be a springboard for some hard class struggle.

In April the Socreds announced their "Industrial Relations Reform Act" (Bill 19) under which, as one striker commented, "workers will virtually be slaves." Any strike deemed, by the government, "not in the public interest" would be outlawed. A provincial labor czar would be appointed with sweeping powers to take over the union movement—imposing and overseeing mandatory "secret ballot" votes on any "final" management contract offer, for example. Bill 19 would outlaw secondary picketing, regiment open shop working conditions and empower employers to give the PATCO treatment to any union which refuses to comply with the government's *diktats*. The practice of "double breasting" where employers set up dummy companies to

circumvent union contracts is officially sanctioned. And it's open season for scabs as Bill 19 decrees that unions have no right to expel or discipline in any way strikebreakers, company finks and agents provocateurs.

will be forced to join. The union will have to launch an organizing drive to sign up its *own members*. The teachers federation has until the end of the year to accomplish this reregistration campaign; if not, the government will

cal." Jim Matkin, head of the B.C. Business Council, thinks the Vander Zalm government (which is even wackier than the Socred government of "Wacky" Bennett who ruled the province for 20 years) has gone too far. What has Matkin worried is that these far-right union-busters might provoke a real labor explosion.

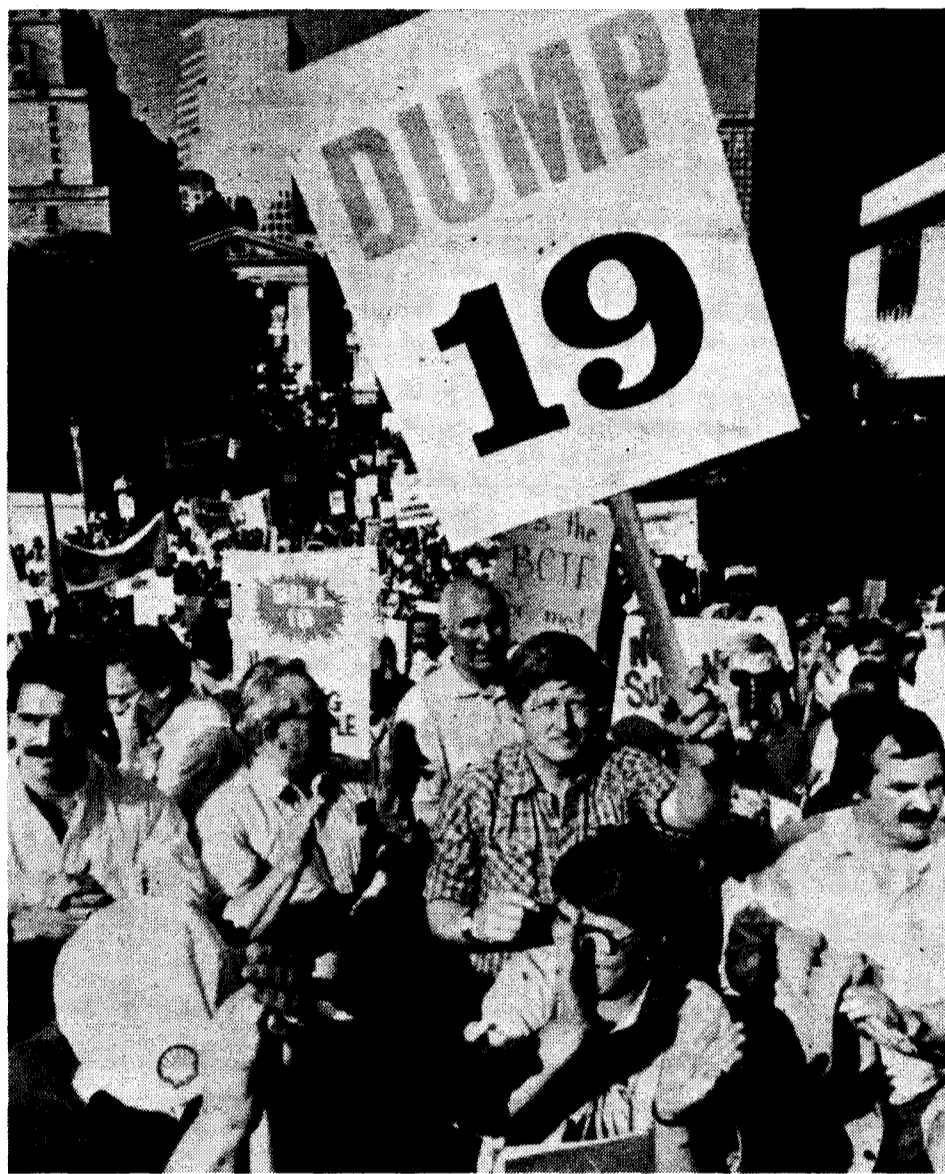
Speaking from his plush parliamentary offices, just down the hall from the all-new prayer room he had installed, B.C. premier Vander Zalm paused between mouthfuls of a honey-dipped croissant to declare that "the suffering everyone is going through at this time, if you can call it that, is going to pay good dividends." The official unemployment rate in B.C. stands at 14 percent. Soup-lines are growing and in Vancouver alone over 200,000 are forced to rely on food subsidies. During last year's Expo extravaganza hundreds of poor and aged were thrown out of slum hotels and left to die on the streets. Vancouver's East Indian community, the largest in North America, is the target of escalating racist terror as their homes are fire-bombed. Emboldened by the climate of rampant social reaction and lack of any labor response against racist terror, the KKK has marched hooded and robed *in broad daylight* in the streets of Vancouver!

The current anti-labor onslaught is the product of years of betrayals by the trade-union bureaucrats. In 1983, when all of B.C. labor was on the verge of joining militant teachers and government workers on the picket lines in a general strike against Socred austerity and union-busting, then-B.C. Fed president Art Kube burst into tears and called the whole thing off. Longshoremen in B.C. are now saddled with a government-imposed contract because the cowardly bureaucrats kept the ranks chained despite a 94 percent vote for strike action. Last summer lumber, pulp and paper workers were on strike for almost five months only to have their major demands left up to a government arbitrator.

The labor bureaucrats are hitched up with the right-wing social democratic New Democratic Party, which also has its origins in prairie populism. B.C. NDP leader Mike Harcourt, who scabbed on a 1981 municipal workers strike, has declared that all "illegal" strike activity "has to stop" (*Toronto Star*, 13 April). In 1975 it was an NDP government which imposed the most massive strikebreaking law in B.C. history, ordering 60,000 pulp and paper workers, rail workers, supermarket employees and truck drivers back to work. In 1981, the NDP social dems rediscovered the picket line... in defense of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, calling on Polish sailors in Vancouver harbor to jump ship.

The Socreds won't be stopped in the courts or the halls of the legislature but on the picket lines. A powerful flexing of labor's muscle would reverberate across the country. In 1981, B.C. phone workers electrified the labor movement when they occupied every key B.C. Telephone Co. center in the province, holding the property hostage while the company ran to the courts. Key to unchaining the power of B.C. labor is breaking the stranglehold of the bosses' labor lieutenants. This means putting labor in the forefront of the fight against racial oppression and racist terror. Labor must break with the Cold War strikebreakers of the NDP to build a revolutionary workers party which can link up and lead the struggle of all the oppressed in a powerful assault on the whole system of capitalist exploitation. ■

Canadian Labor Protests Union-Busting Laws



Vancouver, May 20—Thousands of trade unionists march against right-wing Social Credit government's strikebreaking offensive.

The fanatical Socred union-busters have targeted the B.C. Federation of Teachers for particular vengeance. A companion piece, Bill 20, would effectively smash the teachers union. The government will set up its own "professional" association which all teachers

declare that there is no union. This draconian union-busting bill is the wrath of the Socreds against the militant 1983 teachers strike which almost sparked a province-wide general strike.

At a B.C. labor rally Roy Gautier, president of the B.C. and Yukon Building Trades Council, won a standing ovation when he compared the Socreds to Mussolini. Indeed these anti-labor bills read like a bloody page torn from the annals of the Italian fascists' blackshirt corporatism which made the trade unions an appendage of Mussolini's bonapartist "strong state" apparatus. The Social Credit party got its start as a prairie populist "funny money" party, appealing to backward rural bigotry and anti-Semitism in railing against "Eastern bankers." But in power it has acted as enforcers for the untrammelled rule of big business.

In response to the June 1 general strike B.C. attorney general Brian Smith applied for an injunction to the provincial Supreme Court to stop protests against the government by labor or anyone else. Advocating any measures which could have as their aim "a governmental change in the province" or "pointing out errors in the government of the Province" would be considered illegal! Even the staid conservative *Toronto Globe and Mail* (4 June) is denouncing the injunction as "diaboli-

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Maritime Bosses Out for Workers' Blood

SAN FRANCISCO, June 8—For ten weeks, ever since a 1,000-strong mass picket cleaned the scabs off the docks in Redwood City, Bay Area labor tops led by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Jimmy Herman have sought to wipe out the victory waterfront workers won that day. On March 20, ILWU longshoremen came to the aid of tugboat workers of the allied Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) striking against Crowley Maritime, and stopped the unloading of scab barges from Hawaii. But Herman & Co. desperately want "peace" on the docks before the ILWU contract with the PMA maritime bosses expires at the end of the month. So on the night of June 3, ILWU Local 34 announced the picket line at Redwood City was being taken down. The dispatch telephone tape cynically proclaimed, "Good news for the union!"

The March 20 action inspired Bay Area shipyard workers to break the stranglehold of their metal trades bureaucrats and walk out ten days later. Immediately, the bureaucrats began their strikebreaking sabotage. First they split up the shipyard strikers: two San Francisco yards were forced back to work, while Todd Shipyard Co. workers have been hung out to dry. In the IBU strike, now in its fourth month, there is massive scabbing up and down the coast, as ILWU tops have ordered picket lines taken down. Workers at another Crowley subsidiary, the Red and White ferry service in San Francisco Bay, had their contract extended for a year. The crowning blow took place when the picket line at Redwood City was removed on June 4, and non-union truckers hauled 33 containers out of port.

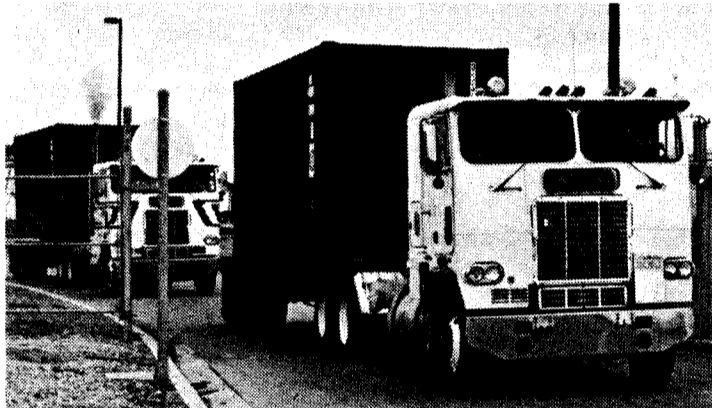
As we go to press, two of the scab barges have been towed to Seattle and are tied up at the West Seattle Buoy; a third was reportedly unloaded in April under court order in Portland, and a

Union Tops Knife IBU Strike ILWU: Shut Down the Coast!



Fink/Times Tribune

Port of Redwood City: On March 20 (above) when 1,000 longshoremen ran off scabs, and on June 4 as Crowley containers roll out after ILWU tops removed pickets.



WV Photo

fourth sent to Vancouver. Waterfront workers told *WV* that Crowley will try to discharge the cargo at the Seaway Terminal, in an isolated section of the

port. As an IBU striker told *WV*, "It will take a port shutdown to generate the manpower necessary to shut down the Seaway Terminal." Damn right! From

IBU strikers to the ILWU to embattled shipyard strikers, shut down the coast!

Jimmy Herman needs a quiet Bay Area waterfront to orchestrate a sell-out. But the PMA bosses aren't giving him anything to sell. Emboldened by the sweeping takeaways imposed on the East and Gulf Coast International Longshoremen's Association, the PMA's target is clear: to wipe out the gains won in the historic 1934 San Francisco general strike, especially the *union hiring hall*. A major study of the national longshore industry, initiated by the companies and the government U.S. Maritime Administration, squarely targets the longshore unions:

"The present problem [lack of productivity] does not lie in the equipment or facilities.... [It] is the state of labor-management relations.... The primary underlying economic force has been the need for reduction in gang sizes.... Modern management techniques point in the direction of core labor groups that would be employed on a steady basis, supplemented by casual labor.... British dock workers are assigned to port employers on a permanent basis; Australian workers are assigned on a weekly basis. In the United States, even less within-firm continuity is achieved due to the operation of rotary hiring halls."

—Pacific Maritime Association Annual Report, 1986

Scandalously, among the nine members of the commission which authored this battle plan for the waterfront bosses was *ILWU International Vice President Rudy Rubio!* This is the same Rubio who threatened delegates to the State Caucus in Honolulu in March that "The employers are demanding major concessions in wages and benefits which they intend to implement on July 1st if no agreement can be reached" (*Local 142 Voice of the ILWU*, 20 March).

At every turn the Bay Area union tops have been loyal hatchetmen for the Democratic Party and the Pentagon. When the Navy (in league with SF *continued on page 15*

Exploitation!

Productivity is rising, real wages are falling. "For the first time since World War II, sustained and substantial productivity increases are not being shared with workers in the form of higher wages," reports the *New York Times* (4 June). With the working class kept in a straitjacket by the labor bu-

reaucracy, real wages fell sharply last year. This is in stark contrast to the steady rise in output per man hour, averaging over 4 percent annually in the last five years.

In fact, average real weekly earnings for America's blue-collar workers have fallen to the level of the early 1960s, a quarter century ago! The graph printed here shows the diverging annual changes in wages and manufacturing output. This measure of "productivity" is in fact just the crude expression of the capitalists' bottom line—how much they can squeeze out of workers every hour.

And the bosses aren't content with turning the Midwest into a rust bowl. They salivate at the thought of driving down workers' wages to the level of their Third World economic colonies. "Although it is hard to imagine workers' wages in the United States falling to the levels in Brazil or Korea, some American executives seem determined to close the gap," says the *Times*.

For decades American liberals and labor bureaucrats (not to speak of right-wingers) have sneered at the Marxist view of class struggle as "outdated" and "irrelevant" to the condition of the working masses in the U.S. of A. But the bosses' brutal campaign of union-busting, wage gouging, speedup and layoffs has meant driving up the rate of exploitation.

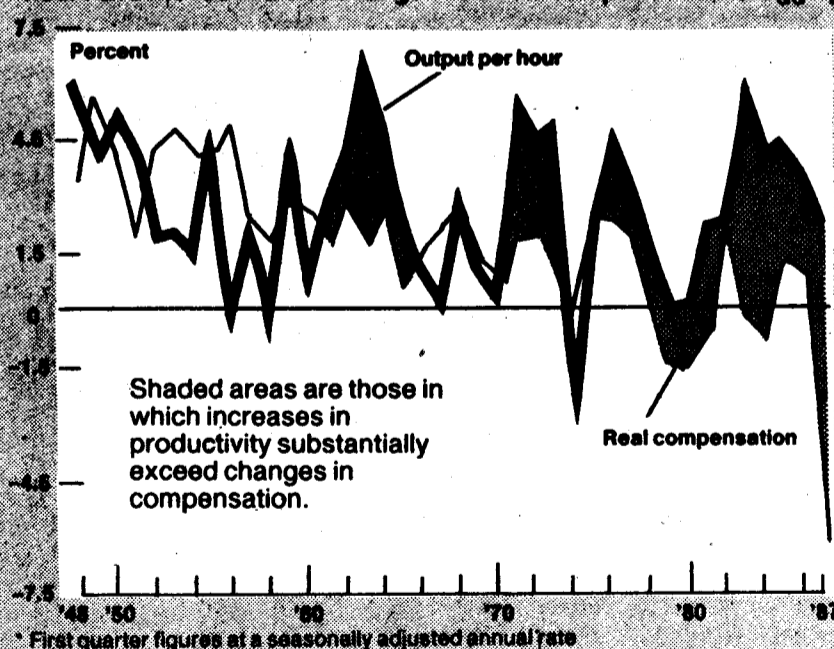


Fred Wright/UE News

Cartoon depicts Nixon's "Phase 3" wage-price controls in early 1970s. Control board included rabid reactionary AFL-CIO head George Meany.

Working Harder and Earning Less

Since World War II, changes in productivity as measured by manufacturing output per hour and in workers' real compensation per hour have moved in a close range. Now real compensation is lagging.



* First quarter figures at a seasonally adjusted annual rate

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times/June 4, 1987

A decade ago former United Auto Workers head Douglas Fraser noted that business leaders "have chosen to wage a one-sided class war in this country." He should know since he's been on their side, from joining the Chrysler board of directors to shoving multibillion-dollar giveback contracts down the throats of the membership.

As the capitalists increasingly utilize the lockout, and bring in the courts,

cops and National Guard to break strikes, the labor bureaucracy preaches Japan-bashing protectionism, reliance on the Democratic Party and playing by the bosses' rules. This program condemns workers' struggles to the graveyard, instead pitting workers in this country against their class brothers internationally. There must be a class-struggle fight to oust the labor traitors—labor's gotta play hardball to win! ■

AIDS Witchhunt...

(continued from page 1)

parents. Whole families are dying. AIDS is targeting the poorest, most oppressed victims of racism and capitalist scarcity—those who already have nothing and can expect worse than nothing. For them, AIDS often means homelessness. New York State, where the infection is spreading most rapidly among drug users, continues to refuse to distribute sterile needles. And possession of a syringe without a prescription is a *crime* in most states. *The anti-drug witchhunt is helping to spread AIDS.*

At the Washington International Conference on AIDS, a researcher from South Africa described a study of blood samples taken from 330,000 black workers from the hellish gold and platinum mines. Under the vicious apartheid laws these miners spend months, often over a year, separated from their families while they live in barracks with no option but to find sex as they can. Concern over their "lifestyle," as this ghoulish researcher amazingly described these men's enforced separation from their homes, prompted the study, in which participation was "not optional" for the miners nor, presumably, for the "self-



Underwood & Underwood

Ellis Island internment pens: only poor immigrants in steerage had to go through lengthy medical checks.

confessed prostitutes" and "dubious" women included. Conference participants were outraged; a CDC spokesman pointed out, "It would seem that the only conceivable way of preventing STDs [sexually transmitted diseases], or one possible way, in this population, would be for them to have access to their wives a little more frequently."

The grotesque racism of this study is revolting—yet in the United States blacks have been used as guinea pigs in "scientific" experiments. For *decades* the U.S. Public Health Service conducted an "experiment" only one step away from Nazi Germany, known as the Tuskegee "bad blood" study. For 40 years, from 1932 to 1972, it "studied" 400 black sharecroppers with syphilis, who were never told they had it and *never treated*, so that "researchers" could watch the ravages of the untreated disease as it destroyed their bodies and minds! This continued even after the penicillin cure for syphilis was discovered.

Fear, Loathing and Bourgeois Faction-Fighting over Death

Politicians are quickly realizing that AIDS will be a major campaign issue in 1988. The bourgeoisie is now engaged in a faction fight over AIDS. Hard-core



Morales/El Diario-La Prensa

Immigrants lining up to register for "amnesty" can be cruelly excluded for disease.

U.S. Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service		OMB #115-0134 Medical Examination of Aliens Seeking Adjustment of Status (P. L. 99 - 603)	
GENERAL PHYSICAL EXAMINATION			
I examined specifically for evidence of the conditions listed below. My examination revealed:			
<input type="checkbox"/> No apparent defect, disease, or disability		<input type="checkbox"/> The conditions listed below were found (check boxes that apply)	
CLASS A Conditions		CLASS B Conditions	
<input type="checkbox"/> Chancroid	<input type="checkbox"/> Hansen's Disease, Infectious	<input type="checkbox"/> Tuberculosis, Active	<input type="checkbox"/> Tuberculosis, Not Active
<input type="checkbox"/> Gonorrhea	<input type="checkbox"/> Lymphogranuloma Venereum	<input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Hansen's Disease, Not Infectious
<input type="checkbox"/> Granuloma Inguinale	<input type="checkbox"/> Syphilis, Infectious		<input type="checkbox"/> Other Physical Defect, Disease or Disability:
<input type="checkbox"/> Mental Retardation	<input type="checkbox"/> Previous Occurrence of One or More Attacks of Insanity	<input type="checkbox"/> Mental Defect	
<input type="checkbox"/> Insanity	<input type="checkbox"/> Psychopathic Personality	<input type="checkbox"/> Narcotic Drug Addiction	
<input type="checkbox"/> Sexual Deviation		<input type="checkbox"/> Chronic Alcoholism	

fundamentalist Reaganites, who think AIDS is god's scourge against "degenerates" and demand mandatory testing, are pitted against those like Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, who at least understand AIDS is caused by a virus, not "bad morals." But their advocacy of "education," "safe sex" and "self-control" is no solution either.

In fact this division of bourgeois opinion is historic: in both world wars the same fight took place. Religious folks said, "our boys will be pure," and tried to shut down all the whorehouses. During World War I, closing down red-light districts became part of the "hygienic gospel"; during World War II thousands of women were detained in "civilian conservation camps" because the overcrowded jails could not house them all. The somewhat more sober Army showed pictures of what would happen to soldiers if they did not use rubbers.

Reagan's reactionaries in the Moral Majority and their ilk hark back to medieval times, when the Pope called the Black Plague "the pestilence with which God is afflicting the Christian people." As a disease which is spread in part through the exchange of body fluids during sex, AIDS has also been subject to the same moralistic and vicious prejudices attached to venereal diseases. So the capitalist politicians thought it was more than safe to wash their hands of AIDS victims.

Instead of searching for a cure or control for AIDS by the adequate expenditure of money on thoughtful research, the Reaganites and their partners-in-hysteria have proposed mandatory, mass testing, including for marriage license applicants. The U.S. military already tests all recruits. The testing and exclusion plans for immigrants are aimed in particular at blacks and Hispanics applying for the INS "amnesty" program, estimated at some four million workers and their families, who have been in the U.S. for years.

Certainly testing the blood supply, now instituted in the U.S. and many other countries, is a crucial public health measure. Many individuals, especially those in high risk categories, also want to take the test; though it does them as individuals not a bit of good since there's no cure, the question of protecting their loved ones is of vital concern. We support voluntary, *anonymous* testing available for all who want it, not so-called "confidential" tests where your name is taken. Who really believes Meese's secret police won't pull those files at will? Indeed, in Washington, D.C. a supposed "confidential" list of 500 people who underwent testing at a city health clinic has already been "lost."

The AIDS test also can come out "false positive"—or "false negative," because it can take up to *six months*

after exposure to the virus before antibodies show up, which leaves open a window of opportunity for spreading the disease and contamination of the blood supply. Further, nobody knows what percentage of people with antibodies will eventually become sick, although it does seem that the risk increases as time passes. If the purpose were curative or epidemiological rather than punitive, mass testing could be valuable both to the individual and society as a whole. But that won't happen in this racist, capitalist society.

Nobody knows how far and how fast the AIDS virus will spread through the U.S. population as a whole. So far research shows that the spread seems to be quite slow. The small numbers of heterosexually transmitted cases are concentrated among partners in "high risk" categories, bisexual men and intravenous drug users, who account for 90 percent of AIDS cases in the U.S. A recent study estimated that a woman's odds of being infected from a single act of sexual intercourse with an infected man was about one in 1,000. Repeated intercourse increases the chance, with 36 percent of women becoming infected after more than 600 episodes.

Even the simple act of taking the test could subject people to the full force of social bigotry. AIDS victims are fired, kicked out of their apartments, refused life insurance, isolated, treated like lepers in the Middle Ages. Those *currently* most at risk, homosexuals and drug users, are already victims of intense social prejudice; so why shouldn't they evade the tests? Mandatory testing will lead only to blacklisting by insurers, employers, landlords and cops—and set up many for years of helpless waiting to see if their sentence of death will be carried out.

Shock over the AIDS epidemic stems, at least in the U.S., from the belief that "modern medicine" has conquered infectious diseases. But this is illusory certainly from the standpoint of biolo-

gy; leprosy and tuberculosis, two of mankind's most devastating scourges, remain today widespread infections on the planet. Both are curable, if treated early on—yet enforced poverty and scarcity of resources prevent their eradication. As Stephen Jay Gould, America's most prominent biologist and lecturer/author on scientific subjects, recently wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* (19 April): "Human history has been marked by episodic plagues. We have had a respite, really, only since the influenza pandemic at the end of World War I"—an epidemic which swept away whole families and neighborhoods, and killed more people worldwide than the war itself.

Medicine under capitalism may prove capable of finding some answers to this frightening epidemic. But the prejudices of class society *impede* this work. Even when a treatment or cure is found, its application will necessarily be deformed by the racism, sexism and class bias of this profit system, since decent medical care is denied those who don't have big bucks. Medicine for profit means that giant pharmaceutical companies and hospitals bankrupt patients, while the insurance companies write off those who really need coverage as "bad risks." Society's resources must be mobilized on a worldwide scale to secure the thought, time and money necessary to beat AIDS. Equally necessary is free, quality health care for all!

No to "Disease Exclusion" Acts!

The director of the World Health Organization's AIDS program noted at the Washington conference that the global epidemic has spawned a tidal wave of prejudice "against Westerners in Asia, against Africans in Europe, of homosexuals, of prostitutes, of hemophiliacs, of recipients of blood transfusions," noting fear of AIDS has become "a direct threat to free travel between countries" (*New York Times*, 3 June). The proposal to ban immigrants testing

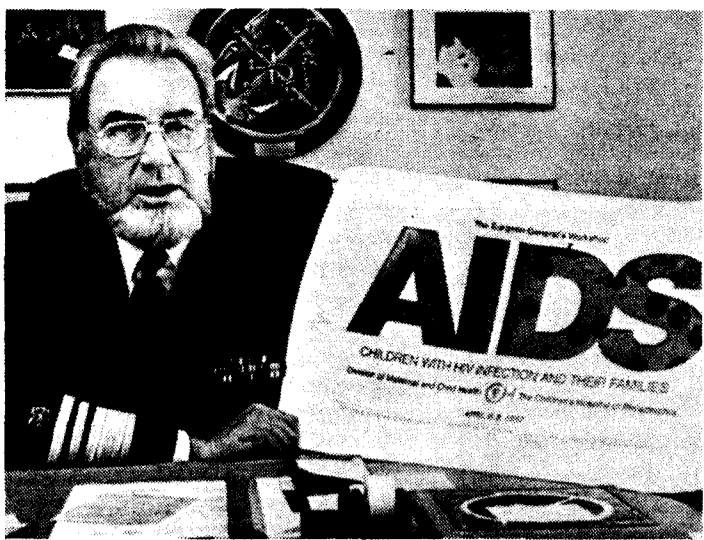


Crown Publishers



Eisenberg/Village Voice

Spanish Inquisition's Torquemada, the Ed Koch of his day.



Rick Reinhard

Fundamentalist bigot Phyllis Schlafly (right) is attacking Surgeon General C. Everett Koop for advocating sex education in public schools, including on use of condoms.



Brack/Black Star

positive for HIV antibodies is cruel, inhumane and unnecessary.

The disease exclusion clauses are grotesque, used today simply to enforce anti-foreign and other prejudices. (Homosexuals are *already* banned by law from the U.S. under outrageous "sexual deviance" exclusion clauses which are obviously used selectively and punitively.) Sometimes quarantine is a necessary measure for containing a highly infectious disease. But there is no scientific rationale for excluding these people—they *should be treated*. Syphilis, gonorrhea, leprosy, tuberculosis, ringworm of the scalp are all still on the INS books as diseases for which people can be denied entry. All are controllable, most curable, including leprosy in its early stages. In this advanced industrial age, disease is more than ever an *international* problem. What's needed is an international planned economy, run for human needs, not profit. The urgency of the AIDS epidemic only underscores the need to be rid of imperialist barbarism once and for all—for international socialist revolution!

The American government's self-righteous, arrogant viciousness in seeking to transfer the opprobrium for AIDS to "foreigners" is not of course unique. Japan is considering restrictions for "non-Japanese." The Soviet Union is considering testing all foreign students, and the West German province of Bavaria has proposed very severe measures to keep out of its borders any "non-Europeans" suspected of AIDS infection. In France, the growing fascist movement headed by Le Pen whips up AIDS hysteria against the largely Arab and black African foreign workers. AIDS hysteria will likely fall hardest on black Africans and Haitians.

The United States, a nation *built* by waves of disease-ridden immigrants, starting at least with the Puritans, has taken the lead in hysterical exclusions today. Our "founding fathers," after all, were undoubtedly as syphilitic (not to mention alcoholic) a bunch as ever tried with trembling fingers to put quill to parchment. The Irish potato famine victims who flocked to America in 1847 died by the thousands in typhus epidemics breaking out on sailing ships—10,000 died in one Canadian quarantine facility alone. When boatloads of slaves were eagerly imported in the South and cheap labor was wanted in the North, at a time when science hadn't the resources and knowledge to find cures, contagious diseases were simply a tragic, horrifying fact of life. Those who survived the passage were welcome—black slaves to backbreaking labor under the master's whip, immigrants to the lowest-paying jobs and filthy, cramped ghettos where typhoid, typhus and cholera spread like wildfire. In Chicago, for example, in 1851 a cholera epidemic wiped out every single person in a three-block area composed mainly of Norwegian immigrants, while in New York the Irish in the 1850s comprised 85 percent of the foreign-born admitted to Bellevue Hospital.

To the extent quarantining and exclusion for diseases became regularized prior to World War I, it was overtly class-biased. The notorious Ellis Island

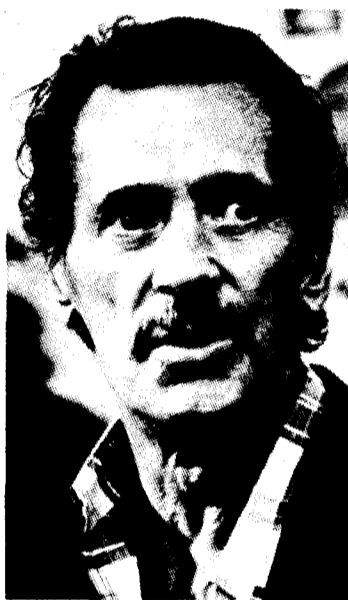
holding pens were reserved exclusively for those who made the sea voyage in steerage, while first class passengers were let into the U.S. after a few brief questions. The tragedies of separated families were enormous, as some five percent were rejected, with many committing suicide rather than face the uncertain voyage back to lonely, desperate poverty.

Chinese in the U.S. were victimized by sweeping Asian exclusion laws including the denial of immigration, land ownership and intermarriage. Savage prejudice against these workers, used as a reservoir of pathetically cheap

Hollywood star Rock Hudson at height of career and shortly before he died of AIDS.



Sygma



AP

labor, was most evident in California. During the 1850s "gold rush" era, racist mob violence drove Chinese out of the mining camps, out of town after town, industry after industry, wherever they were seen as competitors. When the Union Pacific railroad (built largely with Chinese labor) was completed in 1869, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (at the behest of the racist labor tops), which among other things prevented the wives of Chinese men in the U.S. from joining their husbands. The total ban on Chinese immigration existed from 1904 to 1943, when Congress magnanimously allowed 105 Chinese to enter each year! The intersection of this racism with fear of disease was evident in San Francisco in the 1900s, when an outbreak of plague led to proposals to raze Chinatown and forcibly detain the inhabitants. Proposals to "quarantine" AIDS victims today recall the burning infamy of the U.S. government's forcible incarceration of all Japanese Americans in concentration camps in the hysteria of World War II.

Prior to World War I the government began codifying the exclusion of whole categories of people, including polygamists, anarchists and other radicals, convicts, "lunatics," people with tuberculosis, prostitutes, illiterates and virtually all immigrants from Asia. Both the main U.S. immigration acts, the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, were passed during violent anti-red scares, xenophobia and resurgent racism. We oppose the exclusion of people from U.S. citizenship based on race, politics or sexual orientation—and the disease

exclusion provisions, too, should be consigned to the garbage bin of history!

"Safe Sex" vs. the Human Species

The fanatic fundamentalism of the clot around Reagan is so grotesque that Surgeon General Koop has become a hero in such unlikely quarters as New York's rad-lib *Village Voice*. The fundamentalists claim that we are *not* animals, thus we don't need condoms, because only lustful animals would ever do anything requiring one. It's all supposed to be done by a ghostly hand from above. Some of these hard-core nuts

from calling for nuking Russia to demanding obliteration of abortion to accusing Koop of advocating "safe sodomy." Koop simply wants to warn those who screw—including teenagers—that condoms may help stop the spread of AIDS. He noted in an interview with the *Village Voice* ("Citizen Koop," 12 May) that Schlafly actually "came right out and said she was willing to sacrifice that half of the adolescent population that was sexually active just to keep the other half from knowing there are condoms!" As for Judy Brown of the American Life Lobby, who claimed Koop was giving condoms to little kids, he said, "It's crude to say it but she doesn't have any idea of the configuration of an eight-year-old penis in reference to a condom."

We believe that people, especially young people, must *know* about sex because they're sure as hell going to *do* it anyway. Given that this disease is sexually transmitted, education about it, and about sexually transmitted diseases in general, is crucial. Especially for teenagers, this is a burning question. Young people must—and do—make new sexual contacts with new partners. It's called puberty. While many of the gay papers have done their damndest to make "safe sex" into the newest hot perversion, the problem is it's pretty boring. Since given the myriad uncertainties about AIDS and its means of transmission, condoms can't be assumed to guarantee 100 percent safe sex, non-contact masturbation seems to be about the best that truly "safe sex" has to offer.

So we are probably going to be seriously hit by this disease, until a cure or control is found. Think of pregnancy for a moment as a disease: some very strong-minded and/or undersexed individuals can protect themselves against the ravages of pregnancy. But our species in general did not evolve down to us through those people who find this easy to do. AIDS is a parallel process, albeit more generally deadly. And the practice of "safe sex," given normal patterns of sexuality, is pretty incongruous. As a general means of protecting the population, it isn't going to work, as it goes very strongly against the grain of a mammalian species.

So we have a big problem. And it's necessary to understand it from a materialist perspective: we are subject no less than any other species to various parasites, bacteria and viruses. Now we are being targeted by a new one. There is nothing unusual about this; diseases have to start sometime, somewhere, as some organism makes an adaptation and finds a new way of perpetuating itself. Those who attempt to find some meaning, usually racist, in the hypothesis that AIDS may have originated in Africa would do well to remember that *people* also originated there. Stephen Jay Gould made it crystal clear: "AIDS represents the ordinary workings of biology, not an irrational or diabolical plague with a moral meaning.... If AIDS is natural, then there is no *message* in its spread." ■

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Spectre of Trotsky...

(continued from page 5)

Brest-Litovsk treaty really about? Three and a half years of imperialist war with Germany broke the old Russian army; soldiers were deserting en masse. As Lenin put it, the peasants in uniform were voting with their feet for peace. When the new Bolshevik government entered peace negotiations with the central powers at Brest-Litovsk, the German high command demanded a peace of surrender, annexing Poland, the Baltic lands, Byelorussia and much of the Ukraine. Voicing the indignation of many Communist militants, Bukharin called for "a holy war against militarism and imperialism." Lenin did not oppose such a war in principle. But he

working classes to topple Hindenburg/Ludendorff. Again, Lenin did not oppose Trotsky's maneuvering in principle; he simply didn't believe it would work. Without a peace treaty he feared the German high command would immediately resume the offensive, and the German workers would not rise up in time to save the Soviet republic. Lenin's judgment proved realistic. When Trotsky broke off negotiations in mid-February, the Germans did resume the offensive, threatening Petrograd, and dictated even worse peace terms. And the German revolution did not break out until nine months after the Brest-Litovsk treaty was finally signed.

The Gorbachev line that Lenin opposed revolutionary war in principle is totally fraudulent. This was clearly shown in the 1920 Russo-Polish war when Lenin and Trotsky, as it were, switched roles. In the spring of 1920 Po-

litical thoughtfulness should be turned into an offensive and revolutionary war began to grow and acquire strength. In principle, of course, I could not possibly have any objection to such a course. The question was simply one of the correlation of forces."

So much for the Gorbachev line that Trotsky was a compulsive military adventurer!

The hardliner on the Bolshevik Central Committee for a revolutionary war against Pilsudski's Poland was none other than Lenin. In particular, he argued that the road linking Soviet power with Germany, then still in the throes of revolution, lay through Warsaw. Speaking to a congress of leather industry workers in October 1920, shortly after the Red Army was turned back from Warsaw, Lenin stated:

"The Versailles Peace has turned Poland into a buffer state which is to guard against German contact with Soviet communism and is regarded by the Entente as a weapon against the Bolsheviks....

"Had Poland turned Soviet, had the Warsaw workers received from Soviet Russia help they awaited and welcomed, the Peace of Versailles would have been smashed, and the entire international system set up as a result of the victory over Germany would have collapsed. France would not then have had a buffer protecting Germany against Soviet Russia."

So much for the Gorbachev line that Lenin opposed using the Red Army to promote revolution in capitalist Europe!

And it's worth noting that a major cause of the Russian defeat in Poland was that Stalin, then senior commissar on the southern front, repeatedly defied orders from the Soviet Supreme Command to reinforce Tukhachevsky's main army outside Warsaw. This failure allowed Pilsudski, aided by French military advisers, to successfully attack Tukhachevsky's flank. (For a discussion of the 1920 Russo-Polish war and the disputes generated by it within the Bolshevik leadership, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution,'" *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 29, Summer 1980.)

Return to the Path of Lenin and Trotsky!

Gorbachev and his intellectual supporters doubtless think they're being very clever in handling the explosive Trotsky question. They are rehabilitating him in a backhanded way without actually condemning Stalin for murdering the co-leader of the October Revolution. They have conceded that Trotsky was subjectively a revolutionary while portraying him as an ultraleftist and military adventurer. But Gorbachev will be no more successful in bending the history of Soviet Russia to his line of "peaceful coexistence" than Stalin was in falsifying the history of the revolution with the executioner's bullet.

Politically thoughtful Soviet workers as well as intellectuals will want to see for themselves what Trotsky had to say. If Gorbachev's talk of *glasnost* and removing the "blank spaces" in Soviet history are to mean anything, the state

The Last Words of Adolf Joffe

Adolf Joffe was one of Trotsky's oldest and closest political collaborators, joining the Bolshevik Central Committee with him in July 1917. His health failing and persecuted by the Stalinist regime, he committed suicide in 1927. Near his deathbed was found a letter to Trotsky.

"I have never doubted the correctness of the way you have pointed out, and you know that for more than twenty years, ever since the 'Permanent Revolution,' I have been with you. But I have always thought that you lacked the inflexibility, the intransigence of Lenin, his resolution to remain at the task alone, if need be, in the road that he had marked out, sure of a future majority, of a future recognition by all of the rightness of that road. You have always been right politically, beginning with 1905, and I have often told you that with my own ears I have heard Lenin admit that in 1905 it was not he, but you, who were right. In the face of death one does not lie, and I repeat this to you now.

But you have often renounced your right position in favour of an agreement, a compromise, whose value you overestimated. That was wrong, I repeat: politically you have always been in the right, and *now more than ever you are in the right*. Some day the party will understand this, and history be forced to recognize it.

Moreover, don't be afraid today if certain ones desert you."

—from *The Last Words of Adolf Joffe: A Letter to Leon Trotsky* (16 November 1927)

publishing houses should bring out the writings of Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October Revolution. There the Soviet reader will find courageous denunciations of Stalin's crimes and betrayals at the time, not half a century late. They will learn of the existence of tens of thousands of Left Oppositionists in the USSR who went to their deaths rather than betray the heritage of October.

They will also find a program to overcome the corruption, social pathology (e.g., widespread alcoholism) and political and economic malaise of Gorbachev's Russia. And they will find a program to end once and for all the terrible threat of nuclear holocaust which hangs over mankind. That program is to return to the road of Lenin, to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to restore soviet democracy by ousting the Kremlin bureaucracy, and extend the October Revolution to the entire planet. ■

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ИЗВЕСТИЯ

Неделя

20-26 April 1987

глубинный, один из величайших писателей XX века, Михаил Шатров — автор знаменитых фильмов «Шестое июля», «Большинство», «Синие кани на красной траве», «Так победим!», «Дипломатия совести», «Брестский мир».

Телевизионные фильмы «Штрихи к портрету Ленина», Ленинские темы касались и его первые драматические произведения — «Имени революции», «День тишины».

Секретарь правления Союза писателей СССР, лауреат Государственной премии СССР Михаил Филиппович ШАТРОВ — сегодня гость нашей 13-й страницы.



Михаил Шатров

— Михаил Филиппович, специальное заседание проводит на читательской конференции «Брестский мир», опубликованная в апрельском номере журнала «Новый мир». Текст ее завершается датой: 1962 — 1987. Вы работали над этой четвертью века?

— Нет, «Брестский мир» — моя первая повесть о Ленине, написанная в 1962 году. Она была опубликована в журнале «Новый мир» в 1967 году. В 1987 году я работал над этой четвертью века.

TOWARDS THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

THE BREST PEACE

Excerpts from the new play by Mikhail Shatrov

NEW TIMES

30 March 1987

From the Editors: Seventy years. Is this a long or a short time? The answer to this common rhetorical question is that, on the one hand, it is a long time, but on the other, seventy years is of course a short time. It was at the tragic moment of the resump-

preciated the courage of the partisans of capitalism and fascism who did not want to go on fighting in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

of the revolution. It was at the tragic moment of the resump-

Play on Brest-Litovsk treaty, originally written in 1962 by Mikhail Shatrov (shown above in *Izvestia Weekly*), portrays Trotsky and Bukharin as authentic Bolshevik leaders.

insisted that the fledgling Soviet state did not *at that moment* have the forces to wage it. Even Shatrov's play has Lenin arguing against Bukharin: "A revolutionary war requires an army—we have no army." The Soviet state soon built the Red Army, led by Trotsky, which drove the forces of 14 imperialist powers out of Russia.

Under the slogan "neither war nor peace," Trotsky sought a middle way between Bukharin's call for a revolutionary war and Lenin's willingness to sign a peace of surrender. His formula: "We interrupt the war and do not sign the peace—we demobilize the army." Basically, this was a maneuver to buy time for the German and Austrian

lish strong man Joseph Pilsudski (lately the hero of Solidarność) invaded the Soviet Ukraine with the aim of annexing it. A successful counteroffensive brought the Red Army to the borders of national Poland. The question was then posed pointblank: conclude peace with Pilsudski or go over to the offensive in a revolutionary war against Poland.

Of the top Bolshevik leaders Trotsky most strongly advocated an immediate peace. In his 1930 autobiography, *My Life*, he explained his position:

"Even more perhaps than any one else, I did not want this war, because I realized only too clearly how difficult it would be to prosecute it after three years of continuous civil war....

"A point of view that the war which

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 3)

mountain border areas of India and China. Meanwhile Sri Lanka has been developing closer ties with India's arch foe Pakistan, to whom Colombo appealed for assistance in setting up an air defense system after the Indian operation. India is already angered by reports that Pakistan has the bomb, and by the U.S. decision to provide Pakistan with AWACS radar planes.

A veritable gaggle of close allies of U.S. imperialism—Britain, Israel, South Korea, Pakistan and Singapore—are providing training and equipment to the Sri Lankan government. The *Wall Street Journal* (29 May) clearly expressed the imperialists' preoccupations:

"Trincomalee in the hands of pro-Soviet forces would be a strategic disaster for the U.S. It would provide Moscow with one more stepping stone, extending its reach from Vladivostok in the Soviet Far East through Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam toward the vital oil routes out of the Persian Gulf, now again a major U.S. concern. Bear bombers and anti-submarine warfare



WV Photo
Boston protest against Sri Lankan prime minister Premadasa, July 28.

Rouen...

(continued from page 2)

branch of the Flunch called by the LTF in conjunction with two groups of "anti-opportunist" members or former members of the CP, Tribune Communiste and the Union Communiste de France. Some 70 people participated in a spirited picket line.

The escalating confrontation around the racist segregation in Rouen is a crystallization of the current political situation in France today. Le Pen's National Front openly parades defending the Nazi-collaborationist Vichy dictatorship as the trial of the SS "Butcher of Lyon" Klaus Barbie continues its grisly testimony. While Le Pen pursues his rabid attempts to whip up anti-AIDS hysteria, the reactionary ruling coalition of Jacques Chirac has openly declared that it needs the support of

ILWU...

(continued from page 11)

Mayor Feinstein, who wants the home port for the *Missouri* battleship group) demanded the shipyard strike be settled, metal trades bureaucrats took less than 24 hours to ram a contract down the workers' throats. And Herman's gang (aided by the silence of fake militants in the union) used the excuse of "military cargo" to unload one of the Redwood City barges in Oakland last month. These company cops, tied hand and foot to capitalism, are disciplining the working class for imperialist war.

The PMA's assault on the hiring hall is aimed at the core of the ILWU. To

operating from Trincomalee would further tilt the naval balance toward the Soviets."

The Indian capitalist ruling class very much fears the growing possibility of a U.S. imperialist-brokered encirclement. Tapping the ugly divide-and-rule legacy of British imperialism, the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive fuels anti-Tamil communal slaughter.

Class Struggle Not Communalist War!

The policies of indiscriminate terrorism endorsed by the Tamil nationalist guerrillas have escalated the communalist slaughter. The latest incident in the cycle of inflammatory racialist violence was on June 1 when passengers on a bus hired by Buddhist monks were machine-gunned in an ambush attributed to Tamil guerrillas. Thirty-seven people were killed, most of them monks. In Colombo, hundreds of Sinhala youth have been lining up at army depots to volunteer, while the Indian high commissioner has warned Indian citizens in Colombo to gather at hotels for safety.

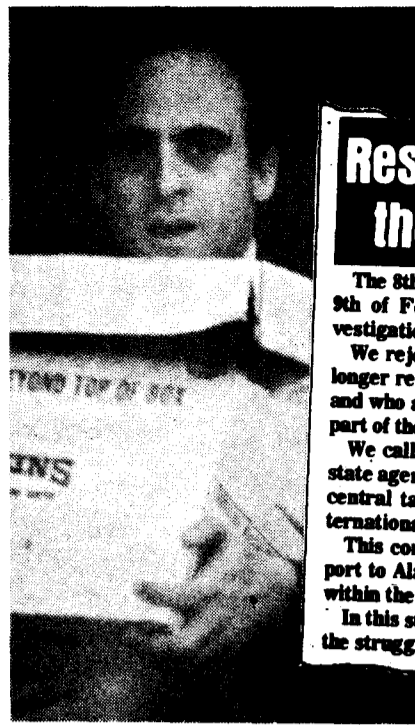
The editor of the liberal magazine *Lanka Guardian*, Mervyn de Silva, laments that "Only a miracle can help us avoid the impending implosion" (*Lanka Guardian*, 15 May). The Sri Lankan left, which for years has been wedded to popular frontism, allied with the most chauvinist Sinhalese forces (notably supporting the "Sinhala Only" movement which first unleashed the anti-Tamil frenzy), is now in despair. But even at this late and ominous hour, it is desperately necessary to forge the Bolshevik-type party, intransigent in its fight for an internationalist revolutionary working-class perspective, that our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are fighting for.

For the right of Tamil Eelam! No to communalist bloodletting! Trinco must not fall into the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

these fascist gangsters to stay in power and to win the presidential elections of 1988. The reformist misleaders and their "far left" hangers-on are attempting to channel popular revulsion to Chirac into a new Mitterrand popular front. (During the last presidential campaign, the CP even joined in the chauvinist backlash when the Communist mayor of Vitry, a Paris suburb, bulldozed an immigrant workers' hostel.)

But last winter's student strikes, mass protests against racist cop murder, and the powerful railway workers strike are still fresh in the memory. The power of the working class must be brought to bear to stop the fascists in their tracks with massive united-front demonstrations and political strikes. The racist Flunch flunkey and his fascist/cop protectors have upped the ante: the workers movement and the oppressed must mobilize their forces now to overwhelm this dangerous offensive of rightist reaction. ■

beat them longshoremen must take control of a strike out of Herman's hands. For an authoritative, democratically elected strike committee, led by a fighting, class-struggle leadership! A militant coastwise strike, backed up by unions in rail, airport and trucking, would galvanize maritime workers from Vancouver to San Diego and sweep away years of givebacks. It could smash the PMA's "steady man" system, restoring daily hiring for all jobs from the union hall, with a sliding scale of hours and wages to provide jobs for all. With Reagan on the ropes, and the Democrats trying to prop him up, now is the time to smash the union-busters with some hard class struggle that can win and win big. Shut down the coast and spike the Herman/Rubio sellout! ■



Resolution on Security and the Fourth International

The 8th Congress of the WRP, held in Hammersmith, 8th and 9th of February 1986, reaffirms its support for the ICFI investigation, Security and the Fourth International.

We reject the attacks by the Banda-Slaughter group, who no longer represent the British section of the Fourth International, and who are attacking Security and the Fourth International, as part of their continuing attack on the ICFI.

We call on the ICFI to continue the fight to expose the role of state agents in the workers movement throughout the world as a central task in the building of the revolutionary leadership internationally.

This congress sends its warmest fraternal greetings and support to Alan Gelfand for his struggle to expose the state agents within the SWP in America.

In this struggle, he doesn't act as an individual, but represents the struggle of all workers for their democratic rights.

WV Photo

WL's Alan Gelfand: his suit against the SWP was attack on entire workers movement.

David North and the Law...

(continued from page 6)

doing exactly that. According to North's *Bulletin*, Slaughter was "among the leading protagonists and most forceful advocates" of the smear job on Hansen and offered to testify as a witness on Gelfand's behalf. Since the WRP split, Slaughter has shamefacedly disavowed the "Security and the FI" and the Gelfand case, claiming they were "frame-ups." For his part North has clung to every despicable hallmark of Healyism.

David North loves the law. Last year, after our special issue of English-language *Spartacist* (No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86) on "Healyism Implodes," we found ourselves vilified at great length in a 14-part series in North's *Bulletin*. The first installment defended Hormel strike leaders for filing a court suit against the scabherding International, coyly commenting, "We will consider the Spartacist position on the use of the capitalist courts in a later article" (*Bulletin*, 1 April 1986). As we noted in response, the Northites "will be hard put indeed to consider the elementary labor principle that the bosses' courts are not the vehicle for solving disputes in the labor movement" ("Lord of the Fleas," *WV* No. 412, 26 September 1986). And of course they didn't. It's not just the courts, the Workers League also loves the cops. In 1971 the WL championed the New York City cop "strike," aimed at increasing bonapartist terror against blacks and working people!

For more than 20 years, the Spartacist League has exposed the Healyites' crimes against the workers movement. When Ernie Tate was beaten we raised the biggest outcry we could, printing his account and appeal for workers democracy together with an editorial, "Oust Healy" (*Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967). We campaigned against the "Security" smear campaign, including picketing Healyite meetings with signs asking, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" and defending Joseph Hansen as an authentic revisionist. When we first heard of the sinister Gelfand suit, which the SWP shamefully kept under wraps for close to four years, we immediately sought to defend the SWP and the workers movement against this criminal provocation. The SWP refused our appeal for more information. Now they're appealing to the judge for retribution, with all the cringing faith in the capitalist courts of their "Watersuit" against the FBI where the SWP sought a legal license for its quirky brand of reformism.

For David North to rail against the SWP takes real *chutzpah*. In relation to any Marxist proletarian principles, the

Healyites have all the programmatic and moral stance of a revolving door. Or as comrade Trotsky put it in speaking of the "morals" of the social democrats, liberals and anarchists who railed against Bolshevik "amoralism": "...they are ready for any baseness—rejection of convictions, perfidy, betrayal—in the name of ambition or cupidity. In the holy sphere of personal interests the end to them justifies any means. But it is precisely because of this that they require special codes of morals, durable, and at the same time elastic, like good suspenders" (*Their Morals and Ours*).

To the pursuit of the Healyites' base interests, rank opportunism and financial advantage correspond base means—like dragging leftists through the capitalist courts and other eager forays across the class line. Their support for the mythical "Arab Revolution," beginning over the 1967 Mideast war, provided an elastic enough concept for the Healyites to fill their pockets and to embrace any act by any of the colonels, sheiks and oil-rich strong men according to who was dispensing the patronage. He who pays the piper calls the tune. And in 1979 the Healyites grotesquely heralded the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'ath regime in Iraq, a monstrous crime against the international working class. Later the Healyites supported Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran in its war against Iraq, as they have backed every anti-Soviet force on the perimeter of the USSR—from Mao's Red Guards to the CIA-backed mullahs in Afghanistan to the Solidarność failed counterrevolution in Poland. This is all part of the "heritage" which North defends.

Insofar as the Workers League can claim a coherent political core, it is virulent anti-Sovietism and gross capitulation to the worst elements of the pro-imperialist, racist labor tops. As we concluded our article "Healyism Implodes":

"Morality" for Marxists is inextricably tied to program. The Spartacists' unwavering adherence to revolutionary Trotskyism—our genuine, concrete defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, our commitment to building an international party of proletarian revolution—this has been our political compass. From that also comes a certain superstructure, a certain morality."

—*Spartacist*, No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86

Anything goes under the mantle of Healyism, and North, a Healyite's Healyite, could go anywhere. This gang has traversed the class line so often that who or what they are is forever dubious. On those rare occasions when they talk of principles and feign Marxist orthodoxy, it's time to "hold fast to the opposites"—to borrow a page from Healy's shell game "dialectics"—and above all *hold on to your wallet*. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Put Nazi Duke On the Run!"



WV Photos

June 8—Atlanta Spartacist League pickets radio station where fascist David Duke broadcasts his Democratic Party presidential bid.

ATLANTA, June 9—When fascist terrorist David Duke came to Atlanta, capital of the "New South" and site of the 1988 Democratic convention, to announce his presidential candidacy, he was met with angry protests of outrage. Yesterday morning, the Spartacist League picketed outside the studios of WGST radio with placards declaring "Nazis Equal Genocide!" and calling "For Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!" as they chanted, "Smash the fascist Klandidate—Forward to a workers state!"

Duke, a former Nazi and KKK "wizard," parades as a "mod" fascist, the founder of the "National Association for the Advancement of White People." He was appearing on the *Counterpoint* talk show hosted by rad-lib Tom Houck. While Houck claimed that the sinister Kluxer was only presenting his "viewpoint," a Spartacist sign proclaimed, "What Does Free Speech Mean for David Duke, Klaus Barbie, Charles Manson? Murder!" Other SL placards read "Do Not Love Your Enemy!", "All Working People Must Stop This Filth!" and "For Class War, Not Race War!"

On very short notice, the Spartacist League initiated a campaign to drive out Duke with his obscene calls for geno-

Atlanta Demonstrators Picket Democratic Party "Klandidate"

cide. A June 7 protest telegram was circulated stating:

"Duke and his organization are fascist terrorists committed to the mass murder of blacks, unionists, Jews, gays, immigrants and leftists. It is grotesque that this radio platform for fascist race-hate should be staged one day after Duke's fellow Klansmen in Greensboro, North Carolina 'celebrate' the bloody murder of five anti-racist militants eight years ago. Duke and his Klan/Nazi cohorts were behind the brutal racist attack on Forsyth County marchers five months ago. What Klan/Nazi racist terrorists stand for [is] revealed in mass murderer Klaus Barbie."

Among the SL demonstrators' chants was "Kill Nazi Barbie—Smash Nazi Duke!"

David Duke is running for the Democratic Party nomination, and it's no accident. This spring he went to New York City to stand in front of a pizza parlor in Queens, the assembly site of the Howard Beach lynch mob that mur-

dered young black man Michael Griffith last December, and called for neighborhood "ethnic purity." This is the same racist slogan raised by Democratic president Jimmy Carter during his 1976 campaign. In 1980 and '84, various KKK outfits endorsed Ronald Reagan as their favorite "Klandidate."

Duke came to Atlanta taking his cue from black Democratic mayor Andrew Young, who in a speech in Greensboro last month obscenely said he'd march with the Klan if only they didn't wear their robes. (The favorite garb of fascist Duke is a three-piece suit.) At the picket of WGST, Spartacist protesters carried signs reading, "Andrew Young Said He Would March with the Klan—We March Against the Klan!" Young, like Democratic front-runner Jesse Jackson, is a member of the same racist capitalist party as Nazi Duke. We say: Break with the Democrats—Forge an integrated, class-struggle workers party!

Opposition to Duke's appearance was widespread, made all the more intense by TV coverage of KKK lynchers through Greensboro, North Carolina on Sunday. A local support group of interracial families mobilized a call-in to jam WGST Sunday night. The SL picket received extensive coverage on Channel 11 and WGST radio itself. When the evening news reported yesterday that Duke would formally announce for president at the Marriott Hotel in Marietta, the hotel canceled 30 minutes later. And a flood of calls induced the downtown Atlanta Ritz-Carlton to cancel the fascist creep's press conference. Today Duke finally had his announcement on the steps of the capitol with ten thugs in tow, protected by the state of Georgia.

Unlike liberals and pseudo-socialists who call on the bourgeois state to "ban the Klan," and who even "debate" these fascist killers (while their fellow KKKers are greasing their lynch ropes and wiring their bombs outside), we Trotskyists seek to mobilize the workers movement, at the head of the oppressed masses, to crush these deadly race-terrorists. Spartacist demonstrators chanted, "David Duke is Nazi scum—Put the Nazis on the run!" ■

Contra "Priest" Unfrosted

It's been the dog days of the Contragate hearings. Democratic-controlled Congressional committees try to control the damage by delving into the minutiae of who bilked whom in the giant Iranscam. TV coverage went live again when Oliver North's secretary Fawn Hall took the stand to tell all: "I can type," she asserted. Ogling senators questioned her about the National Security Council shredding party, and how she slipped documents past White House guards inside her boots and clothes.

Hall also told how North arranged a photo opportunity with Reagan for supposed Catholic cleric Thomas Dowling. In June 1985, Dowling testified as a character witness for the

CIA's mercenaries. The *New York Times* (4 June) reported:

"The witness, Thomas Dowling, who said he had visited Nicaraguan rebel camps, appeared in full clerical garb before the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs...and disputed reports of human rights abuses by the contras. Characterizing the rebels as 'extremely religious,' Mr. Dowling told the subcommittee that the persons associated with Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista Government 'put on contra uniforms and commit atrocities'."

Now it turns out that "Father" Dowling simply dressed up in a cassock and ordained himself as a priest of the unknown "Old Roman Catholic church."

The *Times* account continued: "Last

year, Mr. Dowling was pictured in clerical garb in a newsletter distributed by Causa International, an anti-Communist lobbying group affiliated with the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church." Moon is another self-ordained "reverend," whose CAUSA front has sponsored death squads from Honduras to the Philippines.

We've already commented on the uncanny resemblance of the Contragate hearings to the TV comedy show "Saturday Night Live." Now we have a bogus "padre," the Father Guido Sarducci of Carlucci's NSC, blessing the bunch of wild and crazy guys in the White House basement and their contra Causa.

Earlier, Congress had a ludicrous debate with Assistant Secretary of State Abrams over what is a lie. Democratic Senator Boren queried why Abrams told demonstrable falsehoods instead of the old Nixon-style non-denial denial. Regarding this country's rulers, what is truth? If contras are Christian freedom fighters, does that make Hitler the champion of equal opportunity for Jews?

Stalin said paper will take anything



Nachtwey/Black Star

Contras pray for Yankee invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua.

that is written on it. The Contragate hearings show the United States Congress will take anything that's said to it. If Wedtech money pieced off Jessica Hahn, the PTL Bible belle from Babylon, we can't help asking, "Did Ollie North shoot the Pope?"