

**Nationalism Is a Deathtrap for Black Masses—
Build a Proletarian Party to Smash Apartheid!**

South Africa: Razor's Edge

On Thursday, March 21, rallies were held in South Africa to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville, the black township near Johannesburg, where police of the white supremacist regime mowed down 69 black demonstrators peacefully protesting the apartheid pass laws. This year black students in Sharpeville put up barricades and boycotted classes. At the strategic Vaal Reefs gold mine, the largest in the world, 40,000 black workers went on strike. And in the Eastern Cape province after a three-day "stayaway" shutdown by the black population of Port Elizabeth, the authorities celebrated Sharpeville by staging another massacre.

In Washington that evening, U.S. president Reagan vilely excused the police massacre at Uitenhage, saying that "rioting was going on" and that among South African blacks there is "an element... who want a violent settlement, who want trouble in the streets." The administration's South Africa policy of "constructive engagement" was revealed as nothing but embracing

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Durand/Sipa

Uitenhage, South Africa: Massively armed apartheid police state wants bloodbath. Black struggle for freedom needs program for proletarian power.



Campbell/Time

Reagan's Dollar Boom Going Bust?

"We are literally living on borrowed time."

—Paul Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board

And on borrowed money—hundreds of billions of dollars in foreign capital which has financed the most massive budget and trade deficits in U.S. history. The U.S. government's banker made his warning to Congress last summer as this country was rapidly overtaking Brazil as the world's largest debtor. Since then the vast flow of foreign funds into the U.S., which has pushed up the value of the dollar 70 percent since 1980, has increasingly alarmed the capitalist world. Britain's Iron Lady, Margaret Thatcher, warns her Washington ally of a possibly "brutal" shakeout in the currency markets. The conservative and pro-Reagan London *Economist* (2 March) editorializes, "everybody should understand why Superbuck is a menace to the planet."

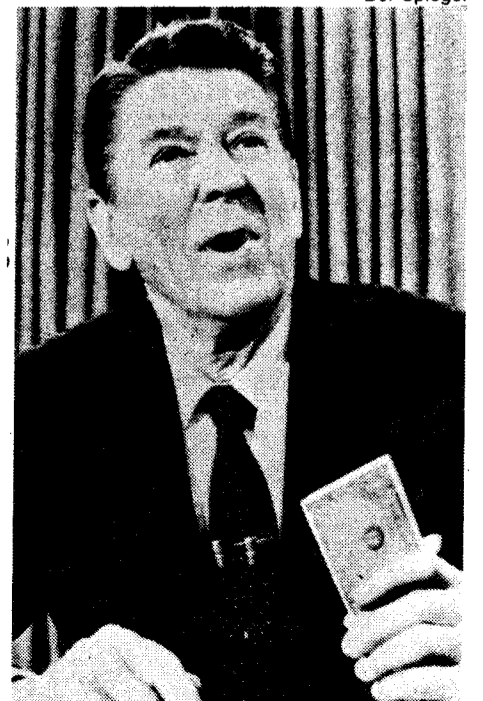
Throughout February the dollar soared to new heights. The British pound, worth \$2.40 in 1980, was down to \$1.05; French francs went from 4.5 to the dollar to 10.5 over the same period. But with volatile interest rates and nervousness over the soundness of the U.S. banking system, suddenly in mid-March the dollar began to fall sharply. Gold shot up almost 20 percent in less than a month. Hoping to dispel jitters on Wall Street, Reagan made an appearance at the New York Stock Exchange March 28, proclaiming that "We're going to turn the bull loose." But despite the bullshit, after rising six points the market then tumbled ten. Is Reagan's dollar boom on the skids?

Increasingly, U.S. manufacturers are screaming that they're being priced out of the export markets and undercut in the home market. Chrysler's loudmouth president, Lee Iacocca, stormed: "I don't care about the cause of it anymore.

I know the effect, and the effect is no good for America." Behind the plaint, "we can't compete with an overvalued dollar," are increasing demands and pressure for protectionism and trade war. The Japan-bashing has already begun. On March 28, the U.S. Senate voted unanimously (92-0) to condemn Japan's "unfair trade practices," while Republican Robert Packwood vowed: "We're going to have to give them an eye for an eye."

Reaganomics has produced unprecedented budget and trade deficits and threatens double-digit inflation, sky-high interest rates, and international financial crisis and trade war. Liberal Democrats and also some right-wingers have criticized Reagan's economic policies for undermining American competitiveness and mortgaging the country to foreign moneybags. In the last election, Mondale's sole domestic

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Der Spiegel

NYC Cops on Rampage

Cop Beats Woman at Abortion Center, Jails Her

The New York City cops are *really* out of control. On March 16, as NYC's rampaging "finest" were stepping off up Fifth Avenue to get their St. Patrick's blessing from the Reaganite archbishop O'Connor, a young woman was grabbed coming out of a Brooklyn abortion center. She was beaten up and arrested by an "off-duty" cop, then held for over 24 hours in a jail cell as the sadistic police repeatedly refused to treat her injuries.

The bigot cop Russell Bjune was outside the abortion center that Saturday with a group of "right-to-lifers," screaming obscenities and harassing the women patients, when 26-year-old Patricia Toro went in with a friend seeking an abortion. When the two women came out, Bjune was waiting. For all he knew, Toro could have just had a major operation: he grabbed her and threw her against a wall. When the injured woman went back into the clinic—to call the cops!—this "off-duty" cop in street clothes charged back in to arrest her.

They took Patricia Toro to the 72nd Precinct in Brooklyn and locked her up in a jail cell overnight. The clinic's Dr. Levy told the press, "I called the precinct several times and pleaded with them to take Miss Toro for medical care, because she had a bruise the size of a fist on her head" (*New York Times*, 21 March). They never did treat her.

Patricia Toro is lucky she isn't dead. The police think they're "the law"—and therefore above the law. Lately NYC cops have made open threats of military

insurrection against even the mildest slap-on-the-wrist indictments for the cop murders of black artist Michael Stewart, the son of a retired transit worker, and Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, as demonstrated by the 10,000 armed cops that swarmed around a Bronx courthouse last month. The night before the violent attack on Brooklyn homemaker Toro, a liquored-up NYPD sergeant and two cop buddies ran down two old men, a doctor and an East Side doorman, walking on Park Avenue.

The *Daily News* (19 March) editorialized that "There are many people in this town who believe that no matter what the circumstances, the men and women in blue close ranks automatically when one of their own gets into hot water. But in this case, quite the opposite appears true." But in this case, as usual, the cops are following the Mafia code of *omertà* and refusing to "squeal" on each other for the hit-and-run murder on Park Avenue. D.A. Morgenthau complains of a "conspiracy of silence," while the cops are pissed that he's trying to change the rules of the game—after all, the conspiracy is supposed to be organized out of the district attorney's office.

Inspired by the vicious social reaction emanating from Reagan's White House, an escalating wave of Moral Majorityite terror-bombings, death threats and harassment directed against women's elementary right to abortion has terrorized hundreds of medical clinics across the nation. And just as in the South sheriff's deputies by day are often white-

hooded KKK terrorists by night, "off-duty" NYC cop Bjune spends his spare time terrorizing women at abortion clinics. No official charges have been brought against him. A Congressional hearing in New York City in 1983 concluded that "racism appears to be a major factor" in police brutality here—an utterly self-evident truth. Koch's cossacks' kill rate has been 35.8 per year (*Village Voice*, 1 November 1983), and in the ghettos it's routine—like the young Latino man blown away by transit cops in February because there were complaints of somebody throwing lightbulbs onto the subway tracks.

The police think they are a law unto themselves, an enclosed society which, like the Mafia, runs a giant (self-) protection racket. Patrolmen's Benevolent Association chief Caruso's comment that the cop who gunned down Mrs. Bumpurs "only did his job" is the pretext they use to give legal cover to all their criminal activities. They figure they can do anything to anyone anytime, from the normal rampant corruption and shakedowns to bonapartist "cop power" mob action in periods of mounting reaction.

NYC cops were supposed to have cleaned up their act after the 1970s Serpico/Knapp Commission hearings, but they're the same old hardcore racist white ethnic army of thugs on the take they always were. Most have barely a high school education, and those who

make it as cops are the ones who enjoy inflicting violence and brutality in this violent and brutal city. The cops use this desperate situation to impose their own terror, understanding they will be protected from accountability for their actions by politicians who need their hired killers—not to "stop crime," but to keep the population paralyzed and fearful of fighting back.

When challenged the cops always claim they're a "thin blue line" standing between a helpless citizenry and "the jungle." But they're among the most dangerous marauders in "Fear City." And when the cops are terrorizing the population, who's going to protect society from the cops? As we stated in "Gruesome NYC Cop Hit-Run Murder" (*WV* No. 375, 22 March), what's needed is "An armed workers militia, drawn from responsible elements in the labor movement with prior military experience. Several times over the past 25 years the situation in New York City has been so bad that this somewhat utopian socialist demand has become immediately practicable and urgent, as it is now."

One of those times was in 1963-64, when the civil rights movement was spreading north, massive rent strikes swept Harlem and NYC police were unleashed, leading to bloody cop riots against blacks. The outcry against cop terror extended even into parts of the liberal establishment, who hoped to defuse the exploding social struggle by calls for "civilian review boards." We called instead for the self-organization of the ghetto into block committees and tenant councils to organize the struggle. As we noted in "Harlem Riot and After" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965), "such councils form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols to protect the community against future police riots—and such patrols are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution." ■

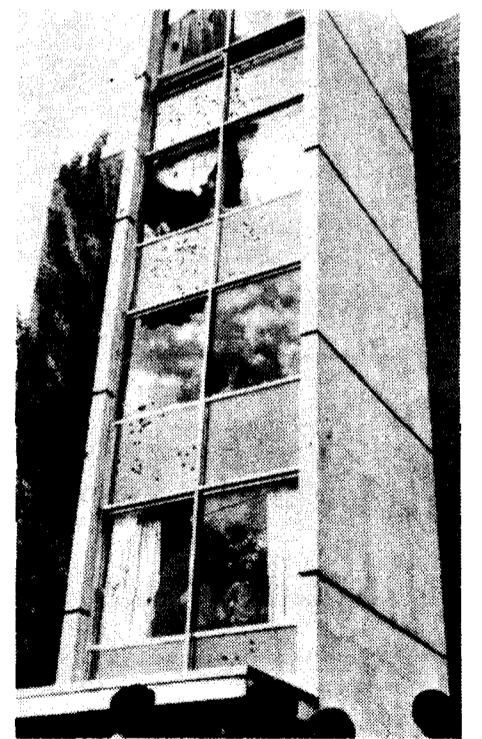
Letter

Remember Jackson State

Atlanta, GA
16 February

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*:

Unfortunately, in the article "Blacks Hated the Vietnam War," *Workers Vanguard* left out some of the atrocities committed against black people during the late '60s and early '70s (which were fairly thoroughly covered up by the media): "...hundreds of thousands of students were marching against the war, driving army recruiters off campus, even being shot down by the National Guard at Kent State." While the murders at Kent State are appropriately mentioned, we should remember that murders and attempted murders of blacks on black campuses were all too common. At Texas Southern University, May 16, 1967, police fired several thousand rounds into the dorms; at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, February 7, 1968, 33 students were shot with three dead at the hands of state troopers backed by the National Guard. In this regard, within ten days of the Kent State murders, there was a similar event at Jackson State College in Mississippi. Kirkpatrick Sale in the book *SDS* says the following: "On May 14, white police and state patrolmen in the city of Jackson, Mississippi opened fire on an unarmed and unsuspecting crowd of black students at Jackson State College, killing two and injuring twelve. Another wanton murder by officials of the state, but this time, no doubt because the students were black, the country was more subdued in its reaction: *The New York Times*, which had given a four-column headline and fifty-one inches of



1970: Dorm at Jackson State riddled by cop bullets.

copy to the Kent State killings, gave this story a one-column headline and six inches; the students, who had been outraged at Kent State, mounted protests this time at only some fifty-three campuses, most of them black" (p. 638).

Comradely,
Joe Vetter

P.S. To my knowledge, the only GI ever successfully court-martialed for a fragging was black and then he had to be brought to California for trial.

WORKERS VANGUARD



TROTSKY

The Communist Manifesto and Trotskyism in South Africa

In his introduction for the first Afrikaans translation of the Communist Manifesto, which was produced by South African Trotskyists on the 90th anniversary of the Manifesto, Trotsky wrote:

"The Communists," declares the *Manifesto*, "everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." The

movement of the colored races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for the complete, unconditional, and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race. The credit for developing revolutionary strategy for oppressed nationalities belongs primarily to Lenin...

As the heir to the great tradition, of which the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* forms the most precious link, the Fourth International is educating new cadres for the solution of old tasks. Theory is generalized reality. In an honest attitude to revolutionary theory is expressed the impassioned urge to reconstruct the social reality. That in the southern part of the Dark Continent our cothinkers were the first to translate the *Manifesto* into the Afrikaans language is another graphic illustration of the fact that Marxist thought lives today only under the banner of the Fourth International. To it belongs the future.

—Leon Trotsky, "Ninety Years of the *Communist Manifesto*" (October 1937)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stenberg (Closing editor for No. 376: Liz Gordon)

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

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

No. 376

5 April 1985

TWUers Get No Contract, No Strike, Big Shaft

Lawe/Cuomo Strangle NYC Transit Union with Arbitration

At 12:01 a.m. on April 1 the 36,000-strong Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), powerhouse of NYC labor and long known for the tradition of "no contract, no work," joined the rest of New York's municipal unions in working without a contract. The last-minute arbitration deal worked out by Local 100 president John Lawe and Governor Cuomo and pushed through the state legislature is a *set-up* for transit workers: not only will wages and working conditions take another beating, but the city's union-busting,

takeback offensive will be escalated. The union tops' headlong retreat from doing *any* battle has so emboldened Koch and Transit Authority head Kiley that they smell real blood. It used to be that just the threat of a strike by the TWU would bring the bosses to their knees, but now it's Kiley who's denouncing arbitration because he prefers the iron fist.

NYC's workers and blacks are getting murdered on the job and off the job. The racist cops are on the loose. Almost every day it's a new victim, from

Michael Stewart to Eleanor Bumpurs; even elderly doctors on the Upper East Side aren't safe anymore. The heavily black and minority TWU, which once set the standard not only for New York but for transit unions throughout the country, now has among the worst wages and pension plans. The power is there to smash the racist union-busters, but while Koch is turning this traditional labor town into Open Shop Fear City, the union leaders are engaged in the disgusting spectacle of hiding behind each other's skirts.

What is necessary is for the unions to *fight and strike together*—and the TWU has the muscle to make that happen.

But this is impossible without a leadership willing to take on the Democratic Party, from Koch to presidential hopeful Cuomo, who hired Kiley to do the job on the TWU. Only class struggle will teach the arrogant bosses and bankers of this town some respect. This is the perspective of the Committee For a Fighting TWU, whose leaflet of March 29 we reprint below.

Committee For a Fighting TWU Leaflet: "For a Hard Solid Strike to Win!"

Our contract expires Sunday midnight. Most municipal unions are working without a contract as Koch turns NYC into an "open shop" town. Lawe crawled to Albany this week to beg Cuomo for a behind-the-scenes arbitration sellout like he gave us in 1982. Lawe is selling the most powerful municipal union in the country down the drain for a seat on the MTA board. For the last four years he has tried to put our 36,000-strong membership in the straightjacket of "binding arbitration." But all this bootlicking class collaboration has blown up in Lawe's face. Kiley, backed by Koch, Cuomo and Reagan want a bloody, union-busting confrontation. Cuomo, who took our COPE money and gave us Kiley and Gunn, told Lawe to go to hell. Accepting the TA's terms is total surrender; working without a contract means the same thing piecemeal. No wonder Kiley thinks he can get away with offering new hires \$4 an hour. We have two choices: *Eat shit from Kiley or fight!* We should have fought a long time ago—but we better fight now. Our union is at stake!

Backed into a corner, Lawe mumbles about a strike while cynically complaining he can't "control" the ranks. No sane transit worker can trust this Judas. We

don't need a strike like 1980 where we had the TA by the balls but Lawe sent us back with nothing but givebacks and Taylor "Lawe" fines to show for it. We need a *hard solid strike* but that requires a fighting strike leadership to shut NYC down like it did in 1966, and take the lead in bringing out *all* city labor.

We need to take control of our funds from the TA and replace the dues check-off with a system of elected shop stewards who collect dues and organize the shop floors, crew rooms and quarters! Immediate establishment of a strike fund! For immediate election of strike committees in all sections and regular mass meetings to run a strike and negotiations. Picket lines mean don't cross! In March 1984 we called for the TWU to express its solidarity with the Supervisors' Association when they were under the gun from the TA tops. Supervisors should join our picket lines to win back the rights they lost in the last contract.

Koch, Cuomo and Reagan want to give us the treatment that Thatcher's troops give the Irish in Northern Ireland and Botha's police give the blacks in South Africa. The Democratic House just joined with the Senate to pass Reagan's multi-billion dollar MX nu-



WV Photo

NYC transit workers on eve of 1980 strike demand: "Don't sell us out!"

clear first-strike missile battery and both parties intend to pay for this monstrous anti-Soviet war build-up out of the hides of labor and blacks, the elderly and youth. To stop the PATCOs, Phelps Dodge and Pan Am defeats, the racist murders of Willie Turks, Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart—we've got the power but we've got to play hardball to win.

We need an end to "probation," all new hires to get top pay from day one and full TWU rights and protection! MORE, Not LESS! A \$5000 increase

across the scale with a 100% COLA. No split shifts! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Restore the TA-paid 20-year pension! Abolish the beakies! End "controlled substance" victimizations! We want safe, clean, free mass transit. For the right to strike over safety! Restore the tradition of "No Contract, No Work" and the January 1 contract deadline. Let Koch ask "How am I doing?" in sub-zero weather!

Our union is going to have to mobilize its power to shut NYC down! It must take the lead in a militant strike of all city labor, especially the strategic sanitation workers, to smash the slave-labor Taylor law (as we smashed Condon-Wadlin in 1966), stop the racist cutbacks and begin to turn this city around. Dump MX union-buster Reagan and the union-busting, warmongering Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government.

COMMITTEE FOR A FIGHTING TWU

29 March 1985

TWU Militants Call for Union Action Against Cop Terror

Transit militants in Local 100 fought for this resolution to mobilize against racist police terror. Cops need to start feeling tens of thousands of outraged unionists breathing down their necks.

On September 15, 1983 eleven TA cops brutally beat to death Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old son of a retired transit worker.

On October 29, 1984 Emergency Service Unit cop Stephen Sullivan blew away with two close-range, 12 gauge shotgun blasts Eleanor Bumpurs, a black 67-year-old, infirm grandmother.

On February 7, 1985 after Sullivan received a slap-on-the-wrist indictment, 10,000 armed cops rallied in the Bronx for the "right" to commit racist murder with impunity.

On March 15 a berserk, drunken

police sergeant and his two partners committed a homicidal hit-and-run in their squad car, murdering a 70-year-old doctor and critically injuring a 72-year-old doorman at 72nd and Park Ave.

On the next day an "off-duty" cop-bigot harassed, beat up and then, refusing her medical aid, jailed overnight a 26-year-old homemaker for seeking an abortion from a Brooklyn clinic.

BE IT RESOLVED: That TWU Local 100 mobilize its membership and call on all NYC labor to join it for a protest rally at City Hall against the wanton rampage of intimidation, terror and racist murder by Koch's cops, backed by his killer-cop cover-up DA Morgenthau and coroner Gross.

submitted by:

Committee For a Fighting TWU

25 March 1985



WV Photo

20 July 1983: Transit workers demand vengeance for lynch mob murder of black TWUer Willie Turks.

S.F. Cops Manhandle Movie Star

Hands Off Marilyn Chambers!

SAN FRANCISCO—Seems like a woman can't take her clothes off in Reagan's America without being mugged by the self-proclaimed "guardians of public decency." First it was Vanessa Williams, the black Miss America dethroned by bigots because of nude photographs with a white woman. Now it's Marilyn Chambers, the former Ivory Snow girl and star of porn classics like *Behind the Green Door*. On February 1, thirteen of Mayor Feinstein's vice boys—with a dozen or more "backups"—raided the city's renowned Mitchell Brothers' O'Farrell "adult" theater and arrested Chambers at the close of her strip show. Claiming they were operating on a tip, the cops slapped Chambers with a prostitution charge, alleging that men in the audience "groped for her private parts." The cops are not admitting it if the groping involved any of the roughly 250 cop fingers present at the scene of the crime.

This small army of cops then grabbed the dangerous Chambers and tried to hustle her out the door stark naked. Downtown, they clapped her in jail for five hours while numerous cops dropped by with their Polaroids. During her show, one undercover cop had tried to entrap Marilyn on a "soliciting" charge by tossing \$5 bills on the stage, but Chambers—who says she refuses tips—didn't pick them up (finally the janitor got them).

One week later a dozen cops hit the Mitchell Brothers again and spent three hours searching the place—during several ongoing strip acts—for records of Chambers' employment, which was never in dispute. Under mounting negative publicity and with tongues beginning to wag around the Board of Supervisors offices, the D.A. "temporarily" dropped the charges.

Marilyn seems to have weathered the ordeal like a trouper, emerging from jail in a blue fox coat. She did admit worry over breaking the news of her first-ever arrest to her mother: "She just got over the X-rated films." In an interview with *Chronicle* columnist Warren Hinckle, Chambers observed, "I can't believe this happened in San Francisco. I've been coming here 13 years and it has always been a great town for strippers. Now it's turned into a place that no one would want to play. The cops here are just out of hand" (*Chronicle*, 4 February).

Next, the vindictive SF cops came after Hinckle, who had penned a couple of pointed and witty columns lambasting the arrest of Chambers. It was he who pointed out that the vice squad raid on Chambers was linked to legislation pending before the Board of Supervisors which would remove police depart-



Fegley/Playboy



Ressmeyer

Their morals and ours. We like Marilyn just fine. It's SF's own cop-loving "Iron Lady" mayor (right) who's the menace to society.

ment power to license "adult" theaters. The vice boys wanted to score big, and Marilyn looked like the biggest score in town. But their little plan blew up in their faces. As Hinckle quipped, "If the vice squad is allowed to continue to run amok, it won't be long before the SFPD becomes known, in Mencken's phrase, as a thundering herd of jackasses led by jackals."

So the cops actually staked out the *Chronicle* building and arrested Hinckle as he emerged from work. His "crimes": an expired car registration and two old charges, walking his basset hound (now deceased) without a license or a leash. "Tit for tat," Hinckle philosophically commented the next day. It just happened they pinched him the very night he had finished a column saying Police Chief Murphy should be fired. Funniest of all, Hinckle noted, was that his cop computer readout also listed a warrant out for him on a "lewd conduct" (215 MPC) charge, the same charge they busted Chambers for. "I think some of the fun-loving vice cops I'd been criticizing had hacked into the computer," Hinckle concluded.

The Cops Are Running Out of Control

This tale of the stripper and the columnist busted by vindictive cops on the make reads like something out of Dashiell Hammett. Whatever happened to San Francisco's freewheeling image? Two things: Dianne Feinstein and Ronald Reagan. And the cops want their piece of the action—or maybe a little more. Behind the idiotic excesses of these latest busts there's a far broader, more sinister pattern of police ambition to terrorize San Francisco and run the

city as their own fiefdom.

Last September the plainclothes cops pulled a commando raid on Lord Jim's, an "upscale" singles bar frequented by many attorneys. Cops held the terrified patrons at gunpoint for up to two hours while searching for the owner on charges that have since been dropped. Millions in potential damage awards are pending. Of course, this kind of harassment and terror are standard cop tactics against blacks and minorities, who don't have the clout to stop police shakedowns.

The cops have run riot against even timid, peaceful protests. During last summer's Democratic Party convention, they practically held the delegates hostage while cracking heads of tame marchers outside. And then in November, the cops smashed the lights of all the TV cameramen filming them as they repeatedly waded into demonstrators protesting the appearance of war secretary Caspar Weinberger. That time the media got a taste of the kind of cop treatment routinely handed out to minorities, leftists and labor.

We've had our own run-ins with Feinstein's cossacks. Ritchie Bradley, who tore down the Confederate flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center last year, was repeatedly harassed and subjected to racist slurs by cops who kept him in jail for hours. On the wall of the Northern Station the cops had posted a picture of the notorious "cowboys" of the Richmond police, models for the SFPD for their racist killings of blacks.

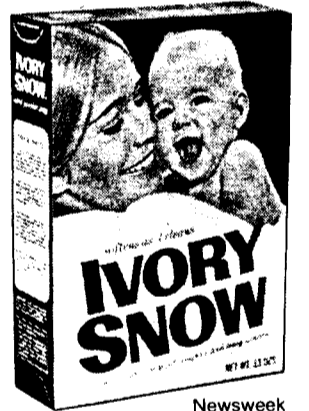
In the East Bay, phone worker Lauren Mozee—whom the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee defended along with her coworker Ray Palmiero against a racist management scab attack during the CWA strike—had an old mug shot of her flashed on TV by the cops, trying to paint the union militant and former member of the Black Panther Party as some kind of terrorist desperado.

Last November *Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen reported an incident illustrative of the ominous mood growing among the San Francisco cops. At 2 a.m. after the presidential elections, a police cruiser on Clement Street announced over the loudspeaker: "Ronald Reagan has just been re-elected president of the United States. Martial law has been declared. Please clear the streets!" This was no joke—it's a program. The cops' appetites are increasingly bonapartist: they want to be able to roam the streets, terrorizing, beating and arresting at will, without having to be accountable to anybody.

For years they've done exactly that to blacks and Hispanics. Now they want to do it to everyone. The appointment of the sinister Edwin Meese as U.S. attorney general, the nation's top cop, is another green light for the marauding cops.

The police are developing more ominous, sophisticated methods. A few days after Hinckle's "lewd conduct" charge got slipped into his computer file, it came out that the cops had also developed a program enabling them to break into and spy on confidential data files of the Public Defender's Office, via a computer shared with other city agencies. Chief Assistant Public Defender Peter Keane states that in over 1,000 major cases, "There is a presumption that (the defendants') right to independent counsel has been violated because of the police penetration of attorney-client confidence...and the only remedy is dismissal" (*Chronicle*, 20 February).

Meanwhile, Mayor Feinstein has her own ambitions. We've been calling her "Dixie Dianne" since her vicious, losing effort to keep the hateful Confederate flag flying in the face of the SL's determination that it would stay down. Maybe we should add "Frigid Feinstein"? With a hairdo that Herb Caen suggests is borrowed from *Planet of the Apes* and a demeanor to match, this power-mad would-be "Iron Lady" is preoccupied with sex—wiping it out, that is. She wants to turn "Baghdad on the Bay" to "Teheran on the Bay," with herself as ayatollah.



Newsweek

Under Feinstein's reign the vice squad has blossomed. In the past six years, no less than 150 undercover cops have "investigated" the Mitchell Brothers' O'Farrell Theatre, at \$20 a head. And every single one of them came away "offended," many repeatedly. In recent months, Feinstein has concentrated on trying to close the city's gay bathhouses by cynically exploiting the AIDS medical crisis. One police department source told Hinckle that "As a supervisor, [Feinstein] championed a series of unsuccessful ordinances to regulate commercial sex in all its evil forms" (*Chronicle*, 21 February).

Feinstein cynically plays at innocence and dismay when her cops run amok. But it's not for nothing that she's known as the "hands-on" mayor: she personally runs the city and its officials with an iron hand, from top to bottom. As an "answer" to the current scandal Feinstein is proposing more power to the police chief, Con Murphy. As the feisty muckraker Hinckle revealed in his column, Murphy is the guy who has a pleasure craft docked at Fisherman's Wharf in a berth reserved for commercial fishermen, in violation of Port Commission policy. He's also being investigated for possible interference in a police investigation. His deck hand, one Tony Hussein, was involved in a fight on the pier with Don Fuller, an

continued on page 10



Mayor Feinstein's vicious attack dog cops unleashed.

KKK/Nazi Racist Murderers Countersue

Greensboro CWP Victims on Trial Again

On 3 November 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina five civil rights workers and union organizers, supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), were methodically gunned down in broad daylight in a government/fascist conspiracy. The murderers took leisurely aim on their victims and let loose a barrage of gunfire that lasted almost a minute and a half, while TV cameras recorded it all. The feds and local cops were in it from the beginning, from the "former" FBI agent who literally rode shotgun for the Nazi/KKK death caravan to the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Two whitewash trials by federal and state "prosecutors" let their co-conspirator KKK/Nazi killers off the hook, acquitted by all-white juries. Now, with additional evidence of direct government participation, the survivors of the Greensboro massacre have brought a \$48 million civil suit against the KKK/Nazis, FBI and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents and Greensboro cops, in what they call their "last chance for justice."

Yet grotesquely and outrageously, once again the courtroom has been turned into a platform for the fascists, and once again it is the militant Greensboro martyrs who are being put on trial! Once again, the state is determined to drive home the "message" of Greensboro—that racist murder of civil rights activists, labor organizers and communists is no crime in capitalist America. From the beginning, this premeditated massacre, draped in the Confederate flag, was branded by the bourgeois press and liberal apologists for racist murder as "a shootout" between "two extremist groups." Now this obscene "equation" is a main line of government/fascist legal attack. The *New York Times* (31 March) reported: "Attorneys for Klan and Nazi defendants were joined by those representing the City of Greensboro and Federal defendants in efforts to show that anti-Klan demonstrators had provoked the



Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro massacre, November 1979. Wounded CWP leader Nelson Johnson kneels over body of murdered comrade.

shootings. In contrast to their position in previous trials, they now maintain that the Klansmen and Nazis acted in self-defense."

On March 11 the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund suit began in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. On the first day presiding district court judge Robert R. Mehridge, Jr. agreed to hear an obscene countersuit brought by the Klan/Nazis against their victims. If North Carolina capitalist "justice" prevails yet again, the widows of the murdered victims will be ordered to pay money to their husbands' killers! This is like making survivors of "Angel of Death" Dr. Mengele's hideous "medical experiments" pay him reparations for "defamation of character"! Ironically, the Klan's countersuit invoked a Reconstruction law originally enacted to protect free blacks from KKK violence. No wonder the hulking killer Nazi Roland Wood sits defiantly in the courtroom with a T-shirt that says "Lee Surrendered... I Didn't."

In the civil suit, for the first time some

36 Greensboro cops, two FBI agents and two ATF agents are defendants alongside 20 Klansmen and Nazis. Among the new evidence the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund suit hopes to bring out in court, according to a press release distributed by them, is the role of Edward Dawson, a long-time Klan member and former FBI agent:

"[Dawson] acted as a Greensboro police informant and agent provocateur by attending five planning meetings of the Klan; recruiting Klan members to participate in the attack; leading the Klan on a reconnaissance trip the night before the rally; and riding in the lead car of the Klan caravan, yelling racial epithets at the marchers. All of this information was passed on to Detective 'Rooster' Cooper, Dawson's control agent... Detective Cooper, himself in an unmarked car, surveilled the Klan caravan as they gathered and drove across town and, as they opened fire on the marchers, Cooper's partner took pictures of the massacre."

As evidence of active government collusion at every level mounts, the Klan and the bourgeois state authorities are united in furious assertions that the victims of this death squad "deserved" to die because they were communists. As the lawyer for the Nazi murderer Roland Wood said at the federal trial, "He is a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were. That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop the Communists." In Reagan's America, they are trying to make fascist murder of union organizers, black militants and communists juridically defensible, giving a green light to fascist terror across the nation.

As we wrote at the time of the federal trial last year, the survivors of the KKK

assault "deserve every penny they can get and the cop/Klan conspiracy must be exposed. But it will not be in the courtrooms of Winston-Salem or any capitalist court that real justice will be done." Reagan's racist dogs of war can and must be stopped by labor/black action! When the KKK threatened to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre with an obscene provocation in black Detroit one week later, militant auto workers and the Spartacist League quickly organized a 500-strong demonstration vowing, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

This was the first of several mass independent labor/black mobilizations, organized *against* the liberals' and black Democrats' efforts to stop us, which have successfully kept the racist terrorists off the streets of the big cities thus far into the Reagan years. "No More Greensboros—Fascists Off the Streets!" was a rallying cry as 5,000 predominantly black workers and youth stopped the KKK from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982 and triumphantly took off down the fascists' planned march route in a



WV Photo

Mass labor/black action kept KKK off streets of nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

concrete taste of labor/black power. The Greensboro martyrs and all victims of racist murder will be avenged through socialist revolution that completes the unfinished tasks left over from the Civil War.

Contributions to assist the Greensboro massacre survivors in their suit against the murderous government/fascist conspiracy may be sent to: Greensboro Civil Rights Fund, 1324 North Capitol Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20002. ■

Spartacist Forums

Striking Civil Liberties Victory in Reagan's America **MARXISTS VS. FBI REPRESSION**

FBI forced to admit: Marxists are not terrorists! Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel, will speak on the strategy behind the SL lawsuit against the FBI's sinister attempt to brand Marxists, black and labor activists and other political opponents as terrorists—the first successful legal challenge to the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

- For Class-Struggle, Anti-Sectarian Defense Against Government Repression—Fight the New McCarthyism!
- For Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan and Nazis!
- A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!
- How to Defend Democratic, Civil and Labor Rights—A Marxist View on Law, the State and Revolution

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Spartacist League General Counsel
Special Guest Speaker at NYC forum: Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney

Friday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.
Harkness Theater, Butler Library
Columbia University
(Take IRT #1 to 116 St. & Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Wednesday, April 17, 7 p.m.
Undergraduate Library
Howard University
For more information: (202) 636-4547

NEW YORK CITY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

This forum commemorates Toni Randell (1943-1982), founding secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Survivor of Greensboro Massacre Salutes SL Victory Against FBI

The Spartacist League suit and settlement represent a victory for all justice-loving people. The false designation of an organization as violence-prone or terrorist is a major part of the mind control tactics of the intelligence apparatus in this country. These designations are a direct part of the larger efforts to silence dissent and destroy organizations. We know this from the Counter-Intelligence Program, or COINTEL-PRO, of the '60s. More recently, on November 3, 1979, our party was victim of five brutal daylight murders by the combined forces of the Klan, Nazis, Greensboro police, agents of the FBI and agents of the BATF

[Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms]. These murders could not have occurred without the aid of government intelligence. In this period of growing resistance and growing repression, it is important for all organizations and people in the progressive community to strengthen this outlook of mutual support and cooperation. We applaud the work of those involved in the suit for securing this victory for all the people.

Nelson N. Johnson
Communist Workers Party
and victim of Klan and Nazi
attack in Greensboro, 1979

Reagan's Dollar Boom...

(continued from page 1)

program amounted to cutting the budget deficit by raising taxes as he denounced Reagan for burdening future generations. But for Reagan the future is now. He doesn't give a damn about four years hence—he's running a war economy because he's driving toward war with the Soviet Union. On his scale of things a \$200 billion budget deficit or a \$125 billion trade deficit is insignificant compared to the mad dream of destroying the "evil empire" of communism.

The U.S. war drive against the Soviet Union also means economic war against Washington's imperialist rivals. The flow of capital heading toward Wall Street and the Pentagon has crippled the West European economies. The hapless finance minister for Mitterrand's unpopular-front government in France complains: "We've adopted austerity, brought down inflation, seen unemployment rise, only to have it all threatened by U.S. [interest] rates which are outside our control" (*Business Week*, 28 January). To dampen the outflow of funds, the West German Bundesbank has just raised interest rates in the face of more than 10 percent unemployment, a figure that would have been unthinkable a decade ago.

The Reagan gang is living in a fool's paradise on borrowed time and money. They're glorying in the "strong" dollar as the symbol of "America's comeback." For them, it's the financial equivalent of the invasion of Grenada. They contend that foreigners' desire to accumulate dollars flows from the superior performance of the American economy in the past few years. "I think the problem of the dollar today is that our trading partners in the world have not caught up with us in economic recovery," Reagan declared. In other words, it's their own fault. This takes gall, since Reaganomics has done no small damage to "our trading partners."

The main point here, however, is that foreign money men are *not* investing in American productive resources but in dollar holdings. Of the \$90-plus billion in foreign funds which flowed into the U.S. last year only \$11 billion went to purchase industrial and commercial assets directly and another \$6 billion went into the stock market. Most of the rest went into *short-term* bonds and notes. Stephen Marris of the Institute for International Economics warns: "Should foreigners decide that they don't want to put any more money in the U.S. the budget deficit would have to be financed exclusively by Americans, and then all the horrible things that people said would happen will happen, but only worse" (*New York Times*, 3 March).

Seventy billion dollars courses through the global currency markets every day. The British financial journal *Euromoney* (November 1984) noted how quickly and easily this volatile market can turn against the dollar: "A sudden rumour or a panic in the market can distort rates on a scale that defies all rational analysis." As if to underscore this point, the closure of 70 Ohio savings banks a few weeks ago sent the dollar momentarily plunging as the price of gold jumped \$36 in a single trading day. Throughout the capitalist world the word is: the higher it goes, the longer it stays up, the harder the dollar is likely to fall. What they're worried about, quite simply, is a crash.

Reaganomics, the War Budget and the Dollar

The Reagan "recovery" is not about building new factories and providing productive jobs for American workers. Dying industrial cities like Detroit and Youngstown are *worse* off than ever. Rather, the economy has much the

—28 March 1985

The New York Times Business Day

Federal Budget Deficit

(Billions of Dollars)

The Dollar's Recent Decline

Index of Dollar's Value
Trade-weighted value of the dollar against 15 major currencies, weekly averages. Base period 1980-1982 equals 100

U.S. Trade Deficit

(Billions of Dollars—Seasonally Adjusted)

Dollar vs Pound

Weekly averages, units of British pounds per dollar, right scale, inverted

Dollar vs Mark

Weekly averages, units of German mark per dollar

Daily Afternoon London Gold Fixing

Dollar Tumbles For a Second Day

Banks, Rates Stir Concern

currencies, rose to 77.6, the highest level in six months.
Traders note that short-term interest rates in Britain are above 13 percent, reflecting an increase the Government imposed earlier this year to halt the pound's plunge toward parity with the dollar. As a result, investors fearing the dollar can earn twice as much as the pound.

Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. Source: Morgan Bank

The New York Times/March 28, 1985

character of a speculative boom. Massive exploitation of the working masses is combined with heavy government borrowing and an orgy of financial swindling. The Ohio bank run was set off by wheeler-dealings of a government securities trader in Florida; the pin-striped proper Bank of Boston was nailed for laundering \$1.3 billion of Mafia drug money; huge amounts of "greenmail" are paid out to buy off corporate raiders, and the biggest swindles involve Reagan's Pentagon and its military contractors, from \$7,600 coffeepots to billion-dollar "cost overruns."

The financial press now abounds in speculation about speculation on the dollar. Many experts have thrown up their hands in bewilderment. The markets have just gone bananas. The *Economist* (19 January) insists, "nobody can really make economic sense of the present value of the dollar." "We are entering the danger zone which escapes all analysis," exclaimed Michel Luftalla of the French bank Crédit du Nord. The new dollar crisis thus highlights the fundamental economic anarchy and irrationality which besets the capitalist world.

Emerging as the supreme imperialist victor in World War II, the U.S. ruling class sought to impose its own financial

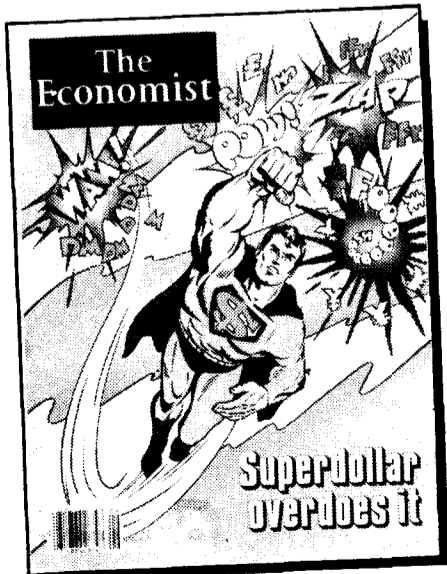
order on the postwar capitalist world. In the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement the Treasury pledged it would exchange the dollar for gold at a stable rate of \$35 an ounce. Foreign governments were bluntly told to eat American paper. The international dollar standard was to be the monetary side of the so-called "American century." And like the "American century," the dollar standard was buried in the swamps of Vietnam.

Given the extreme unpopularity of that dirty colonial war, Lyndon Johnson dared not raise taxes to pay for it but instead ran the printing presses. At the same time, he was also trying to piece off the angry black masses through "Great Society" poverty programs. The resulting inflation undermined and eventually toppled the dollar standard. In August 1971, Johnson's successor, Richard Nixon, reneged on the Bretton Woods pledge, devalued the dollar and closed the gold window. This signaled the end of American economic hegemony in the capitalist world. We wrote at the time:

"Just as Hitler's coming to power in 1933 marked the end of the post-World War I period, so the dollar devaluation, the turn toward protectionist nationalism and the imposition of state wage control in the U.S. mark the end of the post-World War II era. . . . The American working class is paying the price for the reverses suffered by 'its' ruling class."

—"American Empire Shaken," *WV* No. 2, November 1971

Since August 1971, the international monetary "system"—or rather, the absence of any system—has been based on fluctuating exchange rates, often wildly so. As the "dollar overhang," accumulated from the years when the U.S. currency was considered "as good as gold," was liquidated in the 1970s, the dollar floated down against the major West European currencies and Japanese yen. Far from reversing the American economic decline in the late '60s and '70s, the Reagan years have highlighted and intensified it. The "recovery" from the 1981-82 depression, the worst since the 1930s, is based on savage attacks on the workers and black and Hispanic poor, on the one hand, and unprecedented foreign borrowing on the other. This is the underlying cause of the "strong" dollar.



Even Reagan's Tory allies warn that Superdollar's "a menace."

The Reagan gang has tried to finance its trillion-plus dollar war buildup against the Soviet Union by *cutting* taxes for corporations and men of wealth. All the MX missiles, Trident submarines and other Pentagon hardware could not, of course, be paid for by taking school lunches away from black ghetto children. So this anti-Soviet nut, who ran for election on a program of eliminating the federal deficit, has run budget deficits *greater* than the total accumulated in the entire history of the republic until 1980! And to help finance these massive deficits, it has turned the United States from the world's largest creditor into a net debtor nation for the first time since 1917. Last year 40 percent of newly issued Treasury bonds and bills were taken up by foreign money men.

Why are they so willing to place their money in the U.S.? To prevent huge budget deficits from generating runaway inflation, Volcker's Federal Reserve has pursued a tight money policy, driving real interest rates (subtracting for inflation) to historic highs. In the past real interest rates in the U.S. have averaged in the 2-3 percent range. In the Reagan years they've run 8 to 10 percent, attracting hundreds of billions of dollars from Europe and Japan. To prevent a run on their own currencies, West European governments were forced to raise real interest rates to comparable levels. Former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt complained in 1981 that these were the highest interest levels since the time of Jesus Christ. In this way Reaganomics in 1981-82 helped push the U.S. and its NATO allies into the worst depression since the '30s.

But the flood of foreign money-capital into the U.S. in the past few years cannot be explained simply in terms of interest-rate differentials. There is also the "safe haven" theory of the dollar. The moneyed class of this world sees reaction triumphant in the wealthiest, most powerful capitalist country. The bipartisan budget ax is dismantling half a century of social programs. Even Social Security, once considered sacrosanct, is under attack. Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air controllers union within months of taking office, and with no resistance from the wretched AFL-CIO union misleaders, set the stage for a major capitalist offensive against labor.

The 1981-82 depression saw the giveback contract throughout American industry. *Three million* unionized workers—one out of every six—have been forced to take wage and benefits cuts by the rapacious employers and cowardly, legalistic labor bureaucrats. The result has been a sharp increase in the rate of exploitation of the American working class. The share of corporate



Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker.

profits in national income jumped from 6.5 percent in 1982 to almost 10 percent last year (*Business Conditions Digest*, January 1985). By historic standards this represents a marked shift in favor of capital. No wonder the exploiters and parasites of the world, from the oil sheiks of OPEC to the cocaine lords of Colombia, view Reagan's America as a "safe haven" for their wealth.

No "Safe Haven" in a Crash

The "safe haven" explanation for the strong dollar also implies that the other

major capitalist countries are unsafe or, at any rate, less safe. There is an important element of truth here. Margaret Thatcher is every bit as bloody-minded a reactionary as Reagan. But she rules over a long-decayed economy: even the discovery of North Sea oil could not stop the industrial rot. And the year-long coal miners' strike—the greatest class battle in West Europe in a decade—shook the Iron Lady. The miners were in the end defeated, stabbed in the back by the Labour Party tops and Trades Union Congress bureaucracy. Yet their incredible heroism and combativity demonstrated to the world that Thatcher's Britain is riven by class hatred and class war.

In France the Mitterrand popular front took office in 1981 promising unparalleled prosperity amid the world depression. Instead its policy of "Keynesianism in one country" produced unparalleled budget and trade deficits and a run on the franc. After the Mitterrand Socialists did a U-turn, imposing on the French populace an austerity program more severe than any attempted by their right-wing predecessors, it has produced bitter worker resistance and a dangerous rise of fascism. Even in West Germany, long



Workers Hammer

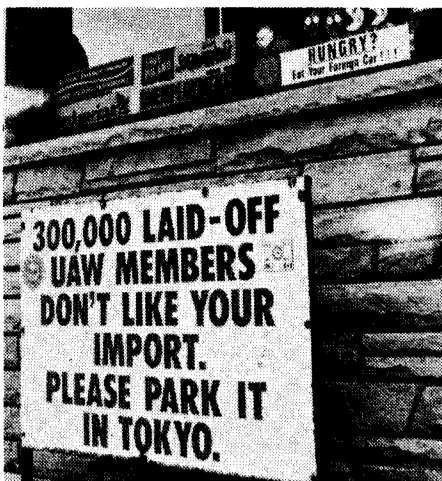
Heroic coal miners' strike shook Thatcher's Britain to its roots.

regarded as America's most important and loyal Cold War ally, widespread pacifist sentiment is coupled with resurgent German nationalism, and the German workers' will to fight was shown by the half-million-strong metal workers strike last spring.

The role of Japan in the present dollar crisis is quite different. The West European economies want to attract foreign money-capital and to bolster the value of their currencies, but cannot. Japan, Inc. deliberately restricts the inflow of foreign funds and encourages the undervaluation of the yen to better compete in export markets. When Wall Street and Washington call for the "internationalization of the yen," the Tokyo bureaucrats nod politely and do nothing. If America's rulers want to turn their country into the world's largest debtor, the Japanese will be happy to oblige. Indeed Japan, Inc. is quietly becoming the world's largest creditor. Last year it invested almost \$50 billion abroad, much of it in U.S. Treasury bonds. And if the Japanese pull this money out, they can topple the entire speculative house of cards.

If the strong dollar has weakened the competitiveness of American industry both at home and abroad, one might naturally expect its trading rivals to favor the present currency alignment or misalignment. However, West European industrialists are adamant, almost hysterical, in denouncing the strong dollar and demanding that Washington

**UAW
"Solidarity
House"
protectionist
poison, right.
Anti-Asian
Toyota-bashing
in Indiana,
far right.**



WV Photo



AP

intervene to bring it down. Why? First of all, the present exchange rates make rational economic calculation all but impossible. Moreover, the additional profits made from selling in the U.S. due to the overvalued dollar are more than offset by the outflow of capital to America. To counter this by jacking up interest rates threatens West Europe's weak and fragile recovery.

While the strong dollar is painful for important sectors of world capitalism, the real fear is a crash. And that fear is becoming stronger and more widespread. "I am convinced more and more that a crash is coming," asserts British monetary expert Stephen Marris (*Newsweek*, 11 March). Since Marris is a Keynesian liberal, some might dismiss his dire prediction as politically prejudiced against Reagan. However, similar views are expressed by staunch right-wingers. Alan Greenspan, Wall Street economist and former head of the Council of Economic Advisers under Gerald Ford, remarked: "At some point, we'll run into a glut of dollars in the international markets and the... downturn could be quite pronounced" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 February).

A massive and sustained run on the dollar would send interest rates internationally through the ceiling, very possibly setting off the Latin American debt bomb and with it a tidal wave of bankruptcies. It would force the Reagan administration to pay for the anti-Soviet war buildup by running the printing presses, generating double-digit inflation, and/or imposing an austerity program which will make the present budget cuts look like generosity itself. In short, the fall of the dollar could lead to a major political crisis within Reagan's America.

Protectionism—Trade War—Shooting War

Whatever the various factors behind the present sky-high dollar, there is no question about the consequences. The mammoth U.S. trade deficits are increasing the already strong pressures for protectionism in the world's largest market. Liberal economist Fred Bergsten noted, "the current administration has adopted more import controls than any of its predecessors since at least the 1920s." So much for the Reaganites' "free market" baloney! And now Congress is seriously talking about an import surcharge. Viewing this situation the *Economist* (2 March) warned, "unless Superbuck returns to earth fairly soon, he will be too late to prevent a trade war. And then the zaps, pows and whams will cause real pain."

One cannot, of course, accept at face value all the complaints against the "strong" dollar coming out of the Fortune 500 boardrooms. Many of these same corporate bigwigs have been crying for protectionism for years, even when the dollar was considered undervalued. Their problem is that, from video recorders to autos, the Japanese are building better products. During the current trade talks in Tokyo, U.S. negotiators have objected to quality controls on telephones as an "unfair trade restriction"! As for No. 1 Japan-basher Iacocca, the day Reagan lifted auto quotas, this flag-waving rebuild-er of the Statue of Liberty announced that

Chrysler would import 200,000 more cars a year from its Japanese partner Mitsubishi. What he's interested in protecting are his profits, period.

It's now politically expedient for U.S. businessmen to blame all their troubles on the dollar. Some of their troubles definitely are caused by the dollar, such as with Caterpillar Tractor, whose exports have nose-dived since 1981, or machine tools, where imports have almost doubled from 25 percent to a whopping 42 percent of the American market in just over two years. But American capitalists are not only losing out in heavy industry, the decaying "rust bowl." Last year U.S. high-tech companies lost market shares to foreign competitors in seven out of ten international markets. While the chauvinist American labor bureaucracy tries to blame it all on "cheap foreign labor," Silicon Valley—supposed to be the archetype of the "super economy"—is already *non-union* and *low-paid*. The simple fact is that the Japanese are outstripping the U.S. imperialists in productivity and efficiency.

Scapegoating foreign workers for the ills of U.S. capitalism ties the workers to their bosses and is an absolute bar to class struggle at home. Recently the AFL-CIO's Lane Kirkland actually *welcomed* the appointment of Reagan's new chief of the anti-Labor Department, William Brock, on the grounds that he had pursued a "tough line" in trade negotiations with the Japanese. Assembling in February for its annual exec board confab in Florida, even the hidebound AFL-CIO bigwigs felt compelled to issue some "self-criticism." Of course they didn't have in mind class struggle as an answer to the 15 percent membership loss since 1980 or to the fact that wage gains for union workers have trailed non-union workers three years running. Quite the contrary—the labor fakers recommended "less adversarial" relations with the bosses, and contracts that "include use of arbitration or mediation rather than strikes" (*New York Times*, 22 February).

Kirkland & Co. also passed a resolution that reaffirmed their vicious anti-Soviet militarism, while complaining

that Reagan should have raised taxes in order to pay for it. That, in essence, is the program of the Democratic Party—on which loser Walter Mondale ran for election and got creamed. What unites Reagan and the Democrats is their bipartisan support for the anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats aren't even for cuts in Reagan's military expenditures; they're for "limiting the increase." And on every Reagan scheme to boost nuclear first-strike capacity, from the MX (which Jimmy Carter initiated) to Star Wars, the Democrats in Congress have given their support. The Democrats' differences with Reagan are tactical: they want "more bang for the buck" and more prudent financing, i.e., higher taxes imposed on working people.

During the Vietnam War the liberals and labor fakers pretended they could have guns *and* butter; today the butter's gone, and you're lucky if you can get cheese on a welfare line. After Carter/Mondale's double-digit inflation burn, none of the capitalist politicians are talking about any government spending for schools, jobs and housing. The anti-Soviet war drive necessarily means war on blacks and workers at home. From Reagan to the Democratic mayors, whether NYC's racist Ed Koch or Detroit's black overseer Coleman Young, the bourgeoisie is busting unions, unleashing the racist cops and slashing social spending.

The mad ambitions of the U.S. ruling class to dominate the world and roll back Communism are far beyond the capacities of American capitalism. The Soviet Union through its collectivized economy, despite Stalinist bureaucratic deformation, has in the past 20 years achieved a rough nuclear parity. The capitalists are bleeding the productive wealth of America, posing a future of more depression, racism, permanent pauperization—and with the ever-increasing threat of nuclear Armageddon. This poses the urgent necessity to organize a revolutionary workers party that will lead the fight for a workers government that will take industry out of the hands of its corrupt and predatory owners, rebuilding this country with a planned socialist economy. ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

racist murder. Democratic Senator Teddy Kennedy, meanwhile, joined Republican Secretary of State George Shultz in hypocritically denouncing the "evil" of apartheid.

In Pretoria, government spokesmen hastened to push Reagan's anti-Communist buttons, blaming it all on a supposed Soviet plot orchestrated through the banned African National Congress (ANC). And speaking on ABC's *Nightline* program, Prime Minister P.W. Botha declared, "I am going to keep order in South Africa, and nobody is going to stop me." That week 29 black groups, notably the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF), were banned from holding any meetings. On March 30 the army occupied black townships throughout the Eastern Cape region.

* * * * *

The massacre at Uitenhage was the racist regime's answer to eight months of defiant struggles by the oppressed black population of South Africa. A massive boycott last August by the Indian and "coloured" (mixed-race) communities doomed Botha's "reform" constitution to reinforce apartheid disenfranchisement and provide the executive with new martial law powers. Peaceful protests of rent increases in black townships around Johannesburg were met with police terror and the unprecedented introduction of the army. They were followed by black gold miners battling the police and army in September. In November came the massive two-day stayaway general strike in the industrial Transvaal. In February, black squatters at the Crossroads shantytown outside Cape Town erupted in defiance of government plans to move them to an isolated township far from the city. Even though more than 250 blacks have been killed by Pretoria's security forces since the beginning of 1984, it hasn't stemmed the waves of revolt. But things cannot go on this way indefinitely.

South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation. The system of apartheid—a bogus partition in which the whites give up nothing—is coming apart. Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation any more. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath, something on the scale of the partition of India in which hundreds of thousands died, and a very one-sided bloodbath in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority.

Yet the *class* principle can prevail. In South Africa there is a black proletariat

with a growing sense of its power. Over the past decade it has entered into struggle, from the gold mines and industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth. By its very bulk, this five-million-strong working class has forced the petty-bourgeois black leadership to take it into account, but not programmatically. The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. A Bolshevik party must be built to lead a victorious struggle for "amandla," power, for the oppressed, through workers revolution.

Instead of the mass starvation and internecine tribal strife which have marked the "independent" neocolonial states of black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, based on the higher levels of industry and culture, in which whites will also have a necessary place. Only such a perspective of a black-centered workers government, through forging a multiracial working-class vanguard which struggles for class power, can break down the iron white-vs.-black line.

South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there is the possibility for a workers state, because here the black population has been partially absorbed, at the bottom, into a modern industrialized society which can, based on the revolutionary reorganization of society, provide a decent life for its citizens. The white population must have a place in an anti-racist society; the model is how Trotsky offered thousands of tsarist officers a job to do, placing their skills at the disposal of the new Bolshevik regime and the Soviet peoples. South Africa's two and a half million coloureds, who comprise a strategic part of the Cape proletariat, and the nearly one million Indians, mainly a commercial population, are no less a vital component.

* * * * *

South African whites are an oppressor people who can easily and guiltily envision the terms of oppression reversed, and are determined not to be on the receiving end. That makes them extremely dangerous. South Africa is unique. Unlike Ulster Protestants, Israeli Jews, the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, and, formerly, Cypriot Greeks, where the group on top is not qualitatively, if at all, economically advantaged, in South Africa you have, in bulk, one whole people exploiting another. Ulster is the triumph of ideology over social reality, for Catholic and Protestant alike are impoverished even by the standards of run-down British capitalism. In the Near East, Palestinian Arabs are at most half a social revolution behind the Israelis. But the Afrikaners have the qualitative military, economic, technical and cultural superiority to carry out the bloody "scorched earth" program which the Zionists can only dream of imposing on the Shi'ites and Druze of Lebanon.

While the Botha regime is not crumbling, it has plenty of problems which cannot be solved by the *sjambok* (whip) and Uzi machinegun. A new

March 21, 1985 was a hot day in the black township of Langa, near Uitenhage, site of the big Volkswagen auto plant outside Port Elizabeth. A crowd gathered for the funeral of an African student activist killed by police the previous week. They boarded buses for nearby Kwanobuhle where the funeral march was to take place. When police arrived and ordered them off the buses, black men in shirtsleeves, women with sunshades and young children decided to walk instead. Their numbers swelled to 300-500.

A "hippo" police armored troop carrier drove through the procession, stopped and turned broadside on a rise up ahead. The funeral-goers then noticed a second "hippo" coming up behind them. With the first shot, a boy cycling at the head of the crowd fell dead, his head burst open. Then

came a withering crossfire from automatic weapons lasting five deadly minutes. Afterwards, police placed stones among the bodies to make it look like the blacks had been throwing rocks. They claim they killed 19; witnesses say at least twice as many were murdered.

On a hill overlooking Langa township, heavily armed poor whites looked down on the slaughter below. They feared the spectre of slave rebellion, wrote a foreign reporter, their intonation spanning centuries of Afrikaner history as they remarked that the police "did the right thing" in shooting down the marchers. "If the blacks had got into the white area it would have been much worse" said one. "Sure, some whites would have died, but a lot more blacks would have died with them" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

generation of urbanized black youth burn with anger at their grossly inferior schooling, limited job prospects and the denial of their birthright. Black workers, getting a taste of their growing social power, refuse to continue servilely groveling before the white *baas*. With stones and petrol bombs, with boycotts and strikes, the black masses are defying not just the pass laws or residential restrictions but the whole oppressive structure of apartheid rule. The South African bourgeoisie—the English in the mines and the Afrikaners on the farms—thrived for a century on the slave labor of blacks. Now they need to stabilize a layer of black skilled workers

and the beginnings of its organization. What this means is that today treason trials, mass arrests and the killing of some scores of blacks are insufficient to choke off black struggle. Two days after the Uitenhage massacre, a number of black collaborators of the apartheid regime were killed in the townships. And on March 24 an estimated 35,000 blacks, reportedly the largest demonstration ever in the Eastern Cape, streamed into Kwanobuhle to turn the funeral that had previously been broken up by the police into a mass protest. But Botha has made clear his intention to crush those "fomenting disobedience, violence and destruction." The Uitenhage massacre could be the signal for unleashing a Sharpeville many thousands of times over.

In a recent *New York Times* (27 March) article, the generally perceptive reporter Alan Cowell remarked that "Compared with 1960...the white authorities [now] seemed adrift, reliant as ever on force, but unable to provide any other answer to the questions spawned by their own troubled racial history...." This reflects a pervasive misunderstanding of South Africa shared by the American bourgeoisie and the American "left." What's posed is not granting token democratic rights to an oppressed *minority*. In South Africa, a racial caste of 4-5 million whites share in the superexploitation of the 26-plus million blacks, Indians and coloureds. An important 1983 ABC-TV special on the rise of South African black unions was titled "Adapt or Die." But on the political level, South African rulers *cannot* adapt. White supremacy, whether in the form of apartheid or by some other name, is the foundation of South African capitalism, just as slavery was to the pre-Civil War American South.

What does majority rule, "one man, one vote," mean in South Africa? To the white minority, it can only mean one thing: "Drop dead." But they don't want to drop dead, and *they have all the guns*. ABC's Ted Koppel referred to a slogan painted on a South African wall, "Boer go home." But the Boers *are* home. The Afrikaners see themselves as a "white tribe of Africa." These trekkers who conquered the *veldt* (plains) lost the Boer War, but they won the country. In contrast to whites in Southern Rhodesia, the Afrikaners are not a settler colony anymore. The Rhodesians, like the Israelis in Lebanon, couldn't afford to lose steady casualties, even only ten a week—trivial numbers in the abstract, but not with such a narrow population base. The Afrikaners, however, have the weapons, a sufficiently large white population, an ideology and the religion, history and bloody-minded determination to prevail.

Genocide is not the aim of South Africa's rulers—they hardly want to kill off the black proletariat that has produced their golden egg. But their whole security set-up is designed for repression on a mammoth scale. They're



English/UPI-Reuters

Apartheid police prepare to attack black squatters at Crossroads, near Cape Town.

in industry and to contain the labor militancy of the emerging black unions.

In the interests of economic development, there has been a quantitative narrowing of the wage gap between white and black workers. Through the Wiehahn reforms, black unions have been permitted to organize, though the regime tries to hamstring them with elaborate state controls. Recently several employer associations called on the Botha government to implement its vague promises of reform. But government spokesmen, representing the *verligte* ("enlightened") wing of Afrikaner nationalism, replied that "Businessmen should not call for black political participation without understanding the implications of what they were advocating" (*Washington Post*, 15 March). What may be economically rational for segments of the ruling class is not politically possible.

* * * * *

Sharpeville 1960 brought a decade of police state silence. All black resistance was crushed. South African society has experienced important changes in the quarter century since then, centrally the consolidation of a black working class

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probably already calculating what Henry Kissinger once cynically called the "raped nun gap"—how many atrocities against whites to allow, or instigate, to prepare foreign opinion for the bloody holocaust of blacks. (Recall the Western scare propaganda about raped nuns in Stanleyville which paved the way for the 1961 UN intervention against Lumumba in the Congo, engineered by Teddy Kennedy's elder brother JFK.) And when Botha lets loose it won't just be with Israeli machine guns firing out of gun slits of hippo troop carriers. The black townships were designed for civil war, laid out like giant concentration camps encircled by highways and empty "free fire zones," so they can be isolated and, if necessary, *napalmed* into submission. Pretoria is prepared to impose a peace of the graveyards.

The contradictions of the Botha regime can be seen in the gold miners' strike last September. After careful study and passing elaborate legislation, the government had granted a highly circumscribed right to strike. One of the tamer black unions went through all the procedures and finally declared a first-ever legal strike. The *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed the advent of "enlightened" labor relations in South Africa. But as soon as the legal strikers walked off the job, their example spread like wildfire through the gold mines, and the government responded by sending in the troops and shooting down unarmed strikers in cold blood.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, the power of the black proletariat is still politically straitjacketed by nationalism. And this is no accident, for the structure of South African society subjects the black population as a whole to the most hideous forms of colonial oppression. They are treated as aliens in their own country, without legal rights, colonial subjects constantly threatened with deportation to their *kraals* on the starving bantustans. The capitalist class and its state apparatus are entirely white (except for black cops who rarely rise above sergeant). There is no black bourgeoisie in South Africa. The very depth and totalitarian nature of this internal colonialism has tended to produce a nationalist-populist outlook among the black African masses, including the industrial working class. Historically, the black struggle has been under the sway of nationalist formations, principally the African National Congress.

At the same time, for the black unions, having to deal with economic reality tends to cut across nationalist principles, and there have even been reports of joint white-black union action, such as at the Highveld Steel plant where common mass meetings were held (*Work in Progress*, October 1984). In meetings of the National Forum, a nationalist coalition rivaling the UDF, exclusion of whites was rejected by leaders of black unions formerly associated with the Black Consciousness Movement. But politically the South African black unions are still inchoate where they are not directly integrated into one or another nationalist popular front.

In the case of the ANC, the strategy of seeking alliances with the more "liberal" wing of imperialism and its "own" ruling class extends back to its founding. Hoping to exploit the sometimes sharp antagonism between British capital and Afrikaner nationalism the ANC supported British imperialism in both the First and Second World Wars. And following the savage repression in the wake of Sharpeville, in 1964 ANC leader Luthuli appealed to "South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America... for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of *apartheid*." As if the City of London and Wall Street, the butchers who slaughtered blacks in the "Mau Mau emergency" in Kenya and communist guerrillas in

Indochina, are any more humane than Afrikaner leaders Malan, Verwoerd and Botha! They're just more remote and cool.

The "moderate" nationalist ANC talks of "multiracial democracy," but means by this a "power-sharing" deal with elements of the white racist ruling class, from the United Party in the 1950s and '60s to the Progressive Federal Party today. Meanwhile, Bishop Tutu, picked as the black savior of South Africa by the Nobel Prize committee, warns of the danger of a bloodbath, appealing for the intervention of the American imperialists. So that in the South African black movement talk of interracialism is exclusively associated with popular-front do-gooders of the CP/ANC stripe, and those who warn of the danger of a bloodbath turn out to be weepy friends of the Kennedys. The more militant of the nationalists, such as AZAPO which demonstrated against Teddy Kennedy's visit to Soweto last January, close their eyes to the dangers looming over them and harden up the enemy camp, driving whites into the Afrikaner laager.

The black movement in South Africa



Wide World

35,000 black people defiantly marched on March 25 in funeral for youth killed by cops in township near Uitenhage, Cape Province.

doesn't seem to realize that they're looking down the barrel of a cannon that's being wheeled out to blow them away. They vastly overrate the humanity of their oppressors. Botha & Co. are now looking for provocations—and they may get them. ANC sources indicate that their guerrillas are shifting their military strategy from attacking exclusively strategic installations to "softer" targets, exercising "much less caution about incurring [white] civilian casualties" (*Work in Progress*, February 1985). This, combined with their talk of moving from sporadic bombings by small commandos to "people's war" is a deadly dangerous fantasy, playing directly into the hands of the Afrikaner hardliners. Any actions along this line will trigger a monstrous slaughter without threatening Pretoria militarily. In contrast to such light-minded playing at war, well-selected actions by the black workers movement can strike the apartheid system in its Achilles heel, its absolute dependence upon black labor.

Unlike the Bishop Tutus, we do not talk of bloodbaths as an excuse to preach pacifism and reconciliation with the apartheid state. Blood will flow in South Africa: the question is whose blood, when, where, why and how. Certainly there is no solution in South Africa without a civil war. But if it is fought on a purely white vs. black, national basis it will be a disaster for the oppressed. One only has to look at Angola where a few hundred South African soldiers drove almost all the way to Luanda before the Cubans intervened to stop them.

* * * * *

In the United States, the anti-apartheid movement has centered on the slogan of "divestment." This is a call for an international strike of *capital*, to force Pretoria to abandon apartheid, whose net result will be to allow some

sharp speculators to buy South African shares at a discount. Only after Mondale's ignominious defeat in the November elections did black Democrats begin staging symbolic arrests outside the South African embassy in order to refurbish their tarnished credentials. When Kennedy tried to cash in on the South Africa issue with a visit in January, the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* ran an incredulous headline, "He's teaching us morals?" Who is demanding that the bloodsoaked American imperialists stop exploiting. Botha must be asking. The white racist U.S. ruling class can have "one man, one vote" and still keep the blacks on the bottom. The divestment campaign is an appeal to the "democratic" hypocrisy of the mass murderers of My Lai and Hiroshima to get their South African ally to clean up its act.

For starry-eyed American reformists exemplified by the *Guardian* (3 April), the Uitenhage massacre "has created a crisis for the apartheid regime, as there is a virtually universal disbelief in the official version." The mortal danger to South Africa's black masses is ignored as they see only "apartheid's agonies."

tribalism. The most elementary democratic demand or social gain can only be achieved in an anti-capitalist revolutionary context. The fundamental political right of "one man, one vote"—real majority rule—would mean the overthrow of white supremacy and would sound the death knell for the white ruling class. Those such as Bishop Tutu, the UDF and ANC who preach a "peaceful" end to apartheid through moral suasion and "economic sanctions" of international finance capital disarm the oppressed ideologically in the face of impending catastrophe in which it will overwhelmingly be the blood of the black masses that flows.

Today hundreds of thousands of black, coloured and Indian workers are enrolled in black unions, which have repeatedly broken through the labyrinth of state controls to unleash mass strike action. The economic organization of the black workers is a necessary condition for the South African workers, but it is not sufficient. A recent book titled *Power! Black Workers, Their Unions and the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (1984) reports a revealing remark by a shop steward of a black union in Port Elizabeth:

"We long for the day when there is majority rule government in South Africa and [imprisoned ANC leader] Nelson Mandela is our Prime Minister. But when that day comes we must have an independent trade union organisation to make sure the black workers don't get kicked around simply because our people are in power."

For the oppressed to emerge victorious from the inevitable civil war in South Africa, they must be organized and led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.

Continuing Lenin's struggle for independent communist parties in the fight for a Fourth International, his companion-in-arms Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, wrote to his supporters in South Africa in 1935. Trotsky noted:

"The Bolshevik Party defended the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination with the methods of proletarian class struggle, entirely rejecting the charlatan 'anti-imperialist' blocs with the numerous petty-bourgeois 'national' parties of czarist Russia.... 'Only thanks to this irreconcilable class policy was Bolshevism able to succeed in the time of the revolution to throw aside the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the national petty-bourgeois parties and gather around the proletariat the masses of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities.' —L.D. Trotsky, "On the South African Theses," *Writings* [1934-35]

In South Africa today, the construction of a Bolshevik party based on the black proletariat is more urgent than ever, but also the possibilities are possibly better than in the past. The government has a lot on its plate right now, and its highest priority probably isn't tracking down inconspicuous red nuclei in the workers movement. As a result of what has happened to government informers in the townships in recent months, there seems to be an involuntary relaxation of security control within the black population.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular-frontism, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. A workers revolution in South Africa, with its concentration of industry and wealth, will be the motor force for the liberation of the desperately impoverished black masses throughout the continent. Where to begin? Now is the time for internationalist communists, black, coloured, Indian and white, to undertake the construction of unobtrusive nuclei, in and oriented toward the workers movement, laying the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

* * * * *

The savage apartheid dictatorship in South Africa is the result of uneven and combined development in which the latest advances in industry and technology coexist with imposed colonial backwardness of the oppressed black masses, condemned to suffer the most brutal aspects of serfdom, slavery and

Nazi Uses Canada Court To Whitewash Holocaust

TORONTO—For close to two months a Canadian courtroom had provided a forum for fascist genocide in the trial of a notorious Nazi hate-monger and terror-monger. On February 28, Ernst Zundel, the author of "The Hitler We Loved and Why" and one of the largest purveyors of Nazi filth in the world, with a network covering 45 countries and 18 languages, was found guilty in a Toronto court of publishing false statements likely to incite hatred. It says a lot about Canada that in 1985 the Nazi Holocaust is being "debated" in the courts and that Nazis and their apologists are recognized as "expert" witnesses. Zundel and his gang of fellow fascists paraded into court every day, wearing construction hard hats, and used the courtroom to force concentration camp survivors to relive the unspeakable horror of Hitler's death camps. Zundel's lawyer Doug Christie attacked them as "liars," and demanded

Henry Morgentaler, an Auschwitz survivor. Joe Borowski, a dangerous lunatic and former NDP (New Democratic Party, Canada's social democrats) Manitoba cabinet minister, said he wished Morgentaler had been sent to the ovens. Toronto "pro-life" leader Laura McArthur cites "medical evidence" from Nazi concentration camps as "proof" that women rarely get pregnant as the result of rape! Women at Morgentaler's Toronto abortion clinic are terrorized by daily mass pickets of these "pro-life" Nazi-lovers.

Last year, prior to the trial, Canada's most notorious fascist, self-declared KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson, and his Nazi sidekick George Graham attempted to frame up and jail two postal workers, Trotskyist League supporters Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, for defending themselves and others at a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration in Toronto against

number of any of the so-called "democratic" capitalist countries (even China took 25,000). Expressing the rampant anti-Semitism of the Canadian government, one official's response to Jewish immigration was the infamous statement, "None is too many." Meanwhile, the "Aryan" Nazi scum, the mass murderers and sadistic torturers of the fascist regimes, were welcomed with open arms. According to Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, close to 3,000 of Hitler's killers and their collaborators still reside in Canada today.

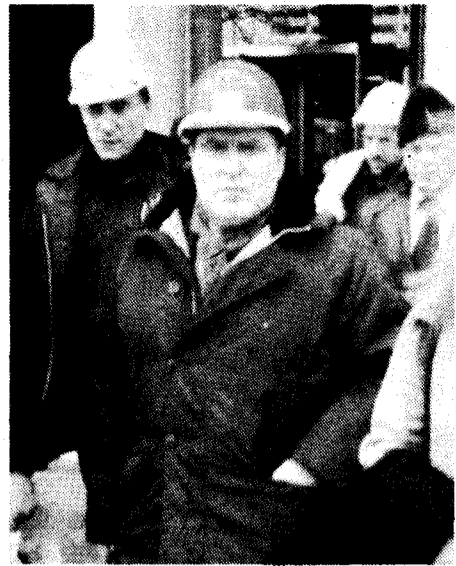
Documents acquired by the Wiesenthal Center under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act reveal a whole network of former members of the Romanian Iron Guard, the mass murderers of tens of thousands of Jews during World War II, in and around the Toronto area. These documents indicate that the most wanted Nazi killer, the "Angel of Death" Dr. Mengele, was allowed to "slip" through the Canadian government's grasp. Dutch Nazi Jacob Luitjens, on the Dutch government's list of 15 most wanted war criminals, continues to live comfortably in Vancouver despite repeated extradition requests. And the "Butcher of Lyon" Klaus Barbie's second-in-command, Count Jacques Noel Duge de Bernonville, lived in Quebec from 1946 to 1951 under the protection of the Canadian government which refused to extradite him to France where he had been sentenced to death for murder and torture.

Following World War II the surviving Nazi killers were eagerly recruited by the triumphant imperialist powers as "freedom fighters" in their Cold War against the Soviet Union and put in the service of U.S. imperialism's drive to reconquer Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation. As Sol Littman, the Canadian representative of the Wiesenthal Center, commented, Canada became a "dumping ground" for a number of Nazis who couldn't be sheltered in Europe even with official aid:

"Canada was certainly the junior partner to the British and American intelligence services. We tried to be a good partner in that respect and certainly we played a role. When people could no longer be safely kept in Europe and had to be taken out, Canada became one of the places that they were warehoused."

—The New Edition, 5 February

Repeated requests by the Soviet Union for the deportation of many of these killers have been turned down on the



Eizinga/Maclean's

Nazi filth merchant Ernst Zundel.

grounds that Communist courts mete out unfair justice! We demand the immediate extradition of the Nazi war criminals demanded by the Soviet Union, to be tried by their surviving victims!

Only the Working Class Can Smash Fascist Terror!

The trial of Nazi filth merchant Zundel was an obscenity from start to finish. The Canadian courts essentially provided a platform for anti-Semitism, race hatred and fascist terror, while the Canadian state (founded by counter-revolutionaries defeated in the American Revolution of 1776) continues to shield and protect Nazi war criminals. Furthermore, the "hate laws" under which they convicted Zundel are in fact designed for use against the left and working-class movement (one could be witchhunted for inciting "class hatred," for example, by standing up for working-class rights).

In 1981 Zundel and his ilk got a taste of the kind of treatment they so richly deserve. Over 600 angry protesters, mainly Jewish and many concentration camp survivors, marched on the "Zundel Studios" in Toronto. Met by fascist placards reading "No Truth to 6 Million Story! Gigantic Jewish Rip-Off!" and "Holocaust is a Lie!" the outraged protesters broke through a line of cops and drove Zundel and his fascists into a headlong retreat into their "studio."

What's desperately needed to stop the fascists are mass mobilizations of the labor movement and minorities to crush these killers, like the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK terrorists from marching in their white sheets and hoods through the streets of predominantly black Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. The international Spartacist tendency is committed to mobilizing the power of the working class and its allies among the oppressed and specially exploited to stop Nazi terror, as part of our fight for socialist revolution which will rid this planet of fascist filth once and for all. ■



Yad Vashem

Nazis slaughtered six million Jews in death camps like this one in Mauthausen, Austria.

autopsy reports as "proof" of the existence of gas chambers!

The bourgeois press gave wide circulation to Zundel's anti-Semitic lies, with headlines like, "Gas chambers are fakes man tells trial," "Women happy at Auschwitz, trial told," and "Holocaust survivor is accused of lying by Zundel lawyer." The currency given Zundel's "views" in the press can be measured in the rise of right-wing and fascist terror in the streets. A Jewish synagogue was firebombed in Vancouver in the midst of the trial. And anti-abortion reactionaries are continuing their vicious campaign of anti-Semitism against Dr.

provocation and harassment by Richardson and Graham. On August 29, Ontario provincial court judge J.S. Climans threw this outrageous KKK/Nazi frame-up out of court after Richardson and Graham were exposed on the stand as lying, psychotic fascist terrorists.

Canada: Haven for Nazis

It's no accident these fascists and right-wing terrorists run amok in Canada. During the years of Hitler's Holocaust against the Jews in Europe, from 1933 to 1945, Canada accepted only 5,000 Jewish refugees—the lowest

absolved the cops of any wrongdoing. The scandal-wracked police department knows the mayor will support them.

The real killer sharks, you see, aren't just the great whites feeding off the SF beaches—they're the cops running amok in the streets of San Francisco under the direction of Feinstein. The deadly message of the arrest of Chambers, of Hinckle, of the cops' rampages against the media and the Democratic Party rad-libs, is that in this period of reaction *nobody* is safe from the vicious praetorian guard of Reagan's "evil empire." Things are so bad, it's looking like it's going to take a socialist revolution just so an honest citizen can while away an hour or two in an "adult" theater.

We say: Hands off Marilyn Chambers! Miss Ivory Snow sure beats the orange juice queen, anti-gay bigot Anita Bryant, Moral Majority Phyllis Schlafly and their sister Dianne Feinstein. ■

Marilyn Chambers...

(continued from page 4)

officer of the Masters, Mates and Pilots union. Fuller, charged with battery and now the object of a federal investigation, claims he was trying to organize new members in the union. A private investigator says he has evidence that Murphy "marshaled the cops to get Fuller and then sicced the feds on him through his brother Dan Murphy, who is the head of police intelligence" (*Chronicle*, 22 February).

The predictable pattern following exposés—"investigations," whitewash, "reorganization"—is underway. The city's Office of Citizen Complaints' new head, Frank Schober, a former general in the California Army National Guard, conducted a two-week "investigation" of the Chambers/Hinckle arrests and

Gun-Waving Cops Invade S.F. Elementary School

SAN FRANCISCO—"Armed S.F. Cops Invade Classroom—33 Children Ordered Out in Police Drill" blared a *San Francisco Chronicle* headline on March 29. You'd think the cops would have had enough getting their rocks off terrorizing movie stars, journalists and TV cameramen. Nope, now they're busting into elementary schools, ordering 10-year-old black kids at gunpoint to "march!"

According to the front-page account in the *Chronicle*, on March 13 two jackbooted, rifle-bearing cops burst into Taylor Elementary School, roamed through the school halls and the yard, then took over a fifth-grade classroom and ordered

the teacher to move her 33 students to the library. One teacher later said, "There were two or three shots fired." Another teacher had to be treated for high blood pressure after the raid, while children cried in fear that "they were going to kill me," as one seven-year-old later told a reporter.

The cops say that the incident was the result of a "training exercise" at an abandoned junior high school building, now a cop training center, across the street from Taylor Elementary. What sinister scenario are the cops "training" for that means terrorizing young black kids? Nothing is beyond the sick appetites of the SFPD run amok.

Beat Massey Coal—Bring Out the UMWA!

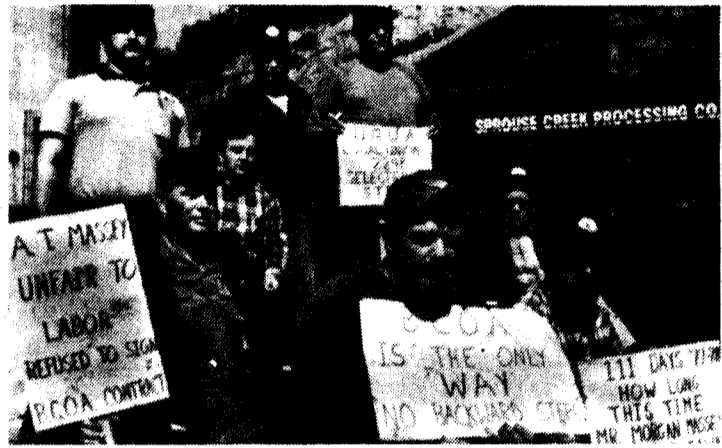
South Africa-Style Union-Busters In West Virginia

A United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) leaflet asks: "Do Fluor and Shell Want South African Conditions For American Workers?" The answer, loud and clear, can be found on the picket lines of embattled West Virginia coal miners on strike for six months against A.T. Massey. Co-owned by Fluor Corp. and Royal Dutch/Shell, Massey is the nation's second largest coal exporter. The company is trying to import into Appalachian coal country the kind of slave-labor conditions Fluor subsidiaries are notorious for around the globe. As its 1982 annual report states, Fluor seeks out for investment slave-wage reactionary "countries with favorable economic and political environments," like South Africa, South Korea, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and most recently, Chile. Fluor built the massive Sasol coal to oil conversion plant for the South African government where more than 6,000 black workers were fired and deported to the desperately impoverished bantustans for their participation in the two-day Transvaal general strike last November.

The UMWA struck Massey on October 1 when the company refused to sign the union's national contract. In addition to a lengthened work day, reduced benefits and the elimination of elected safety committees, Massey is demanding separate agreements at each of its many subsidiaries which the company claims are "contractors." As Fred Decker, president of Local 1160 put it: "Massey can terminate a contractor at one mine, and all the men working for him will be laid off. Then the next day, Massey can bring in a new contractor and hire completely new men" (*Sunday Gazette Mail*, 24 February).

In mid-February, the Massey-owned

Sprouse Creek processing plant in Lobata, West Virginia started running scab coal. West Virginia is a stronghold of the UMWA and Massey's provocation amounted to a declaration of war. The strikers responded with mass rallies, reinforced picket lines and demonstrations in front of Norfolk & Western Railroad coal trains. After weeks of guerrilla warfare, on March 27,



Six months on strike: determined West Virginia miners need power of whole UMWA to beat union-busting Massey and strikebreaking cops.

a Mingo County circuit judge levied \$200,000 in fines against the UMWA International for violations of injunctions which limit pickets to ten per gate.

On March 13, a union sit-in kept Norfolk & Western foremen and cops from pulling out a loaded train. The same day, a 15-truck scab convoy carrying unprocessed coal set out for Sprouse Creek from Kentucky. It was guarded by hired gun thugs, the state police and a company helicopter. When the scabs got to the state line, they met hundreds of area miners who parked their cars and trucks into a "serpentine," a roadblock which allows cars, but not trucks, to pass. After state police cleared the highway, the miners themselves held up the convoy for more than three hours but the trucks eventually got in.

The next day, another scab convoy, led by an armored vehicle, *smashed through* the serpentine. As one striker told *WV*, "Our people retaliated by throwing rocks and anything else they could get their hands on. They came out in the papers and said that we had guns and all that stuff which was not true. If they'd had guns, they'd have shot the guy probably." Reportedly, a company

truck carrying guards and dogs was stoned and after its occupants fled, it was overturned and set afire. The coal trucks did not come back out that day but on March 15, a third convoy rammed a striker's car off a mountain road, sending four to the hospital.

The scab coal must be stopped and the union ranks know how to do it. In February, when Massey threatened to fire all the strikers at Sprouse Creek, repeated union protests mobilized as many as 1,500 Teamsters, Steelworkers and community supporters, along with UMWA members from three union districts at the processing plant. These forces are needed now to stop the flow of scab coal. Truckdrivers, railroad and river barge workers: Massey coal is too hot to handle!

Guillermo...

(continued from page 12)

around the Marines' table, chanting and calling for "Marines Off Campus!"

I was among the most vocal of the protesters and was singled out. A big burly undercover police officer named Joseph Johnson, well over six feet tall, came from behind me and seized me around the throat in a choke hold. You may have seen the picture on the front [page] of the *Daily Cal*. I was jerked up in the air, off my feet, and carried by the neck for about 30 feet. I was breathing only with extreme difficulty. And I can only remember thinking to myself, "Am I still breathing?"

Finally Johnson put me down and two other officers grabbed me as well. One of them, by the name of Finger, twisted my left arm behind my back, and as I tried yelling against the Marines' presence he twisted it more and more, pushing my arm up higher between my shoulder blades. I could also feel one of the cops grinding his knuckles into my shoulder. The intent and the effect was to cause me such extreme pain as to silence me. They were finally successful in doing this. Subsequent medical examination revealed that my throat had been internally bruised, ligaments in my left elbow were torn and the radius bone in my arm had been fractured.

I was the victim of a vicious assault by the UC police, but they have tried to turn me into the assailant. I have been charged with four separate crimes: battery on a police officer, resisting arrest, vandalism and disturbing the

peace on the campus. If convicted of these charges, I face up to two years and nine months in prison. This is the classic cop tactic: beat somebody up—particularly if they are black or Hispanic—and then charge them with assault to cover it up.

I ask everyone here for their support in beating this frame-up. The label of being a "cop attacker" can have very dangerous, indeed deadly consequences. As a Hispanic, my life would be in jeopardy if I'm stopped by the police and their computer reports that I have a record as a "cop attacker." Many black and Hispanic youth have been murdered by the police for less.

The job of the campus police is supposedly to protect students from crime, to make sure coeds get to their dorms okay and to regulate traffic flow. But this is not the case. The cops have become a law unto themselves, an out-of-control killer elite SWAT squad. Ever since 1964, when students surrounded a police car in Sproul Plaza for many hours and began the Free Speech Movement, the police on campus have been arming themselves, determined that such a thing will never happen again.

We know they have batons, pistols and repeater shotguns in their squad cars. We want to know: what kinds of reserve arms do the UC police have? Do they have M-16s? Tear gas generators? Sniper rifles with night scopes? Submachine guns? And what are the police "contingency plans" to use these arms? Clearly the intent of the campus police is to kill students in the event of a new major student upsurge.

The mentality of the police was

captured in a recent statement by UC police chief Bowles after the Moffitt Library police riot. Referring to his cops he said, "They've had training, but they've never really been there under fire." *Under fire!?* This outrageous remark is intended to serve the same purpose as the "anti-terrorist" barriers now surrounding Reagan's White House: to create a "State of Siege" mentality to justify repression of political protest. They want to bludgeon public opinion to facilitate their bloody counterrevolutionary policies in Central America and South Africa.

When 38 students were arrested last December for a protest against apartheid, the university and district attorney were the only ones to prosecute those charges among the over 1,000 anti-apartheid arrests nationally in the recent past. Many of those students have gone to jail. When the cops rioted in front of Moffitt Library a few weeks ago, clubbing demonstrators, reporters and bystanders alike, UC police chief Derry Bowles called for "nonviolence" training...for student protesters! The police subsequently announced that photographs and videotapes of that demonstration would be used to prosecute students who were present. As with me, here too the cops want to portray their victims as the aggressors.

Everyone knows that there is massive surveillance of student protests, yet in court, in response to discovery motions filed by my attorney, the police said they had no files on me, the Spartacus Youth League or the Spartacist League. This is stonewalling. What is the extent of this surveillance and other intelligence

The full strength of the UMWA must be brought to bear against the company and its courts. Militant miners have more than once turned injunctions into scraps of paper. Jimmy Carter found out the hard way when he slapped a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order on the UMWA in the 110-day strike of 1977-78. A year earlier a federal judge fined Local 1759 \$300,000, but he changed his mind after 80,000 miners joined the "anti-injunction" strike and shut down half of U.S. coal.

There's no doubting the combativity of the UMWA ranks. Unfortunately it's not matched by the union tops. "Progressive" UMWA president Rich Trumka, just like his predecessors Sam Church and Arnold Miller, keeps the union politically chained to the strike-breaking Democrats. Talk about "labor lieutenants of capital": the UMWA tops were out there campaigning for newly-elected West Virginia senator (and former governor) Jay Rockefeller! On March 20, Trumka met with West Virginia governor Arch Moore and said he was counting on Moore to help end the strike. Moore wants to end it all right: that's why he sent his troopers into the coal fields, just as the company requested. As the Sprouse Creek picket lines swelled to over 1,000, on February 19 Trumka ordered them reduced as a "gesture of good faith." The next day 50 pickets were arrested, so the day after that 1,500 pickets showed up.

In West Virginia, 70 percent of Massey's annual coal production is non-union. The two largest non-union mines in the state, Elk Run Coal in Boone County and Marrowbone Development in Mingo County, are Massey operations. A solid victory at the organized mines and processing plants could spark a much-needed organizing drive throughout the coal fields.

The Brookside, Kentucky strike in 1974 (made famous by the award-winning documentary *Harlan County, U.S.A.*) dragged on for 13 months before a nationwide work stoppage was called. In five days the strike was won. It'll take more than "business as usual" unionism to beat A.T. Massey too, but the mine workers' history points the way to win: miners throughout the coal fields ought to "take a holiday" and shut the scabherding company down solid. Victory to the A.T. Massey strikers! ■

operations? And who has access to these files? Do the campus cops share their information with other police agencies, the FBI, the CIA, or military intelligence agencies? What is the extent of their infiltration of student groups? These are questions that need to be answered.

As Marxists, we understand that the UC police are part of the state apparatus whose job is repression on behalf of the capitalists. We do not believe the police can be fundamentally reformed under capitalist rule. But the UC police—whose job on campus is clearly not to protect students but to attack them with deadly force—should be dismantled. At the minimum, they should not be allowed to carry guns. The choke hold should be banned.

The cops who assaulted me, the cops who rioted and beat students in front of Moffitt Library, the cop who pulled his gun on the demonstrators in front of Moffitt, the cops who repeatedly ran their patrol car into the crowd that night should be fired. We urge the students who were hit by that car to file charges. There are savage hit-and-run laws in California—the cops in that car are guilty of assault with a deadly weapon.

The UC police are a bonapartist hit squad. They more and more resemble the crazed Manson family. All the victims of the vicious UC police attacks should unite. There should be maximum coordination between our defense efforts. And all who are opposed to these beasts run amok, the students and citizens of Berkeley should join together in massive protest against UC police violence. Thank you. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop the Charges Against Guillermo and the Anti-Apartheid Protesters!

Cops Bash Berkeley Students

BERKELEY—"All who are opposed to the beasts run amok, students and citizens of Berkeley should join together in massive protest against UC police violence," declared Guillermo Bermúdez at a rally on the University of California campus here March 28. A 22-year-old junior and Spartacus Youth League member at Berkeley, Bermúdez was viciously assaulted by the UC cops on January 29 after leading a spirited protest against Marine recruiters. As he recounts in the speech reprinted below, Bermúdez was subjected to a potentially lethal choke hold and then dragged off in a "hammer lock" which broke his arm. The front-page photo of this atrocity, featured in the *Daily Californian*, shocked the campus, and according to the *San Francisco Examiner* (19 March), "In response to the Bermúdez incident, the Berkeley City Council banned the use of choke holds by 'any police force' in the city." But meanwhile the UC and its cops have cooked up lying criminal charges against our comrade, including "battery" on the cop who choked him. Guillermo faces up to nearly *three years* in prison for engaging in political protest on the Berkeley campus.

The cop assault and frame-up of Guillermo Bermúdez is the most violent and serious incident in a full-scale police rampage at UC, clearly aimed at quashing all student protest and clearly directed from on high. So extreme has been the UCPD crackdown that the liberal Berkeley Police Review Commission (PRC) and the none-too-radical Associated Students (ASUC) have issued public statements, scheduled and held public hearings and made the usual appeals to the powers that be to bring their goons to heel. Bermúdez and other SYL supporters attended the March 18 PRC hearing, in which over 48 victims, witnesses and opponents of the cop rampage testified in lurid detail about what's coming down in Berkeley today: clubs and drawn guns against student demonstrators.

The university and its PD ostentatiously boycotted the proceedings, save one spy who left shortly after Bermúdez' attorney Valerie West discovered him tape recording Bermúdez' testimony and exposed her discovery to the body. Said PRC member Osha Neumann: "After four hours, what I've heard is a

powerful indictment of the UC police" (*Grassroots*, 27 March-9 April). No wonder UC "Reichschancellor" Heyman considered the hearing "decidedly not helpful." The following are some examples of the systematic harassment and violence meted out by the UCPD to anyone exercising the democratic right of protest:

- Steve Rosing, one of five of the 38 anti-apartheid protesters arrested during a peaceful sit-in on December 7 who are still facing trial, testified: "Before I knew it I was being choked.... I was being stretched by the neck, hurt, got dizzy, passed out a couple of times.... I was choked twice—I'm told that three times and there's permanent brain damage."

- Laurie Berezin, another of the UC 38, testified that the cops first choked her then "picked me up by the inside skin of my arm," threatening to break it if she didn't "cooperate."

- Annie Haught, a participant in the February 27 "BART Alert" protest against U.S. war moves in Central America which was brutally attacked by club-wielding cops, reported that she

SYL student leader Guillermo Bermúdez attacked by cop Joe "Choke Hold" Johnson. Deadly force, mass arrests, club-swinging rampages as Berkeley cops stomp student protests in Reagan's America.



Scherr/Daily Californian

was hit in the breast without any warning by a UC cop.

- Jeff Miller, present at the anti-Marine protest, testified that he was standing next to cop Johnson when he choked Guillermo Bermúdez, and then as Miller and two others watched Bermúdez being dragged away, they were shoved by a Sergeant Finger. When they went to Sproul Hall to file a complaint, Finger arrogantly dared them to "take your best shot."

Local attorney Norris Lyle testified that while on campus on December 7 he saw five or six cops with guns drawn chase someone down, throw him to the ground and hold a gun to his head. When Lyle protested to D.A. Horner who was present, he was told that this was "usual UC procedure." This is not the only incidence of guns being drawn against demonstrators at Berkeley—a witness to the February 27 demonstration testified to the PRC that he saw a cop draw "a shiny metal object that he got from his hip" and aim it at protesters. At this same demonstration, a UC prowl car was used repetitively as a "cattle prod," deliberately ramming into the legs of marchers.

Clearly the UCPD believes itself to be and acts as if it were a law unto itself. About the only thing the UC cops

haven't done is kill any students—yet. The Reaganites have made repression of political dissent the order of the day on the campuses. And they reserve a special place for Berkeley—the cradle of campus protest—in their version of Hitler's "stab-in-the-back" theory, i.e., how liberal dissent supposedly caused U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese. Reagan's attorney general Edwin Meese won his spurs in no small measure by his vicious prosecution of Berkeley Free Speech Movement activists, his role in the destruction of the Black Panther Party and in the repression of "People's Park," when as an Alameda County assistant D.A. he declared that anyone attending a political demonstration deserves to be shot. Now, UC and its campus gestapo want to make an "example" of a young Marxist, to show that opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive is *verboten*.

On February 19 over 150 students turned out for an SYL-initiated rally demanding charges be dropped against Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters. On March 22, hundreds of students participated in the traditional "Charter Day" student protest where the upcoming hearings of Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters were announced from the podium.

A veteran militant and H.W.U. Executive Board member, Stan Gow, explained the importance of the Guillermo Bermúdez defense effort to the March 28 rally:

"Labor has a lot to lose in the general strangling of academic freedom and of student protest.... They had a lot to lose in the '50s, in McCarthyism, and they do now. And I have lived through both eras.... I'm a longshoreman now, but I went to UC back in the days of the post-World War II GI Bill.... Then Rule 17 ruled the campus. That meant no student politics allowed on campus. That was the time of McCarthyism triumphant, of the special University of California professors' loyalty oath.... The only way these special acts were overthrown was by the militant student struggle."

A mass, united-front mobilization of Berkeley students, Bay Area labor and black organizations is needed now to stop the cop rampage and the regimentation of youth. Drop the charges against Guillermo and the anti-apartheid protesters!

We print below Guillermo's speech at the March 28 rally, which reiterates the testimony he delivered to the Berkeley Police Review Commission.

Guillermo Bermúdez: "Marines Off Campus!"

My name is Guillermo Bermúdez. I am a junior at UC Berkeley and I am a member of the Spartacus Youth League chapter on campus. On January 29, the Marines set up a recruitment table on Sproul Plaza. Aware of the bloody terror the Marines have spread around

the world, from the Philippines to Nicaragua, I and other members of the Spartacus Youth League approached other student groups and proposed a joint protest of the Marines' presence. A crowd of 75 to 100 students gathered

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Berkeley students protest cop attacks, South Africa apartheid, on "Charter Day," March 22.