

Apartheid Capitalism Murders Black Miners

One mile deep into the bowels of the earth where temperatures frequently exceed 120 degrees Fahrenheit, in the Kinross gold mine 60 miles east of Johannesburg, a fire broke out on the morning of September 16, trapping more than 2,000 black miners in the No. 2 shaft. According to civil defense officials, the mine's owners, the General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor), refused to cooperate in rescue efforts. The next day the final toll was 177 miners dead, 172 of whom were black, and 235 injured from the poisonous gases that filled the shaft. It was the

worst disaster in the history of South Africa's gold mining industry in whose racist hellholes disease, dismemberment and death of black miners are the handmaidens of apartheid superprofits.

In gold, capitalism finds "the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life" (Karl Marx, *Capital*). In the extraction of South Africa's mineral riches one finds the motor force of apartheid and the most brutal expression of its social relations, in which the masses of the world see an intensified reflection of

continued on page 14



Reininger/Contact

Daniloff Case: Reagan's Spy Flop

Reagan Goes Closer to Brink

SEPTEMBER 22—Every year, as the fall diplomatic season approaches, the Reagan gang predictably launches another round of Soviet-bashing. Currently the focus is on a Reagan-Gorbachev summit, and the U.S. bullies figure that if they just slam the Kremlin up against the wall hard enough and often enough, the Russkies will "cry uncle." So last week the U.S. summarily expelled 25 members of the Soviet mission to the United Nations, declaring them *persona non grata* (unwelcome persons) and ordering them to leave the country by October 1. This blatantly illegal action was Washington's petulant backlash for agreeing to release Soviet scientist Gennadi Zakharov, a UN employee arrested on espionage charges in late August, to the custody of the Soviet ambassador in exchange for similar treatment for U.S. *News & World Report* correspondent Nicholas Daniloff, arrested by Moscow on spying charges a week later.

The White House line, immediately echoed by the servile media from the *New York Times* on down, was that Daniloff was a "hostage" who should be immediately released without trial, whereas Zakharov was allegedly a "genuine" spy. "No Daniloff, no summit!" thundered the Oval Office, and above all "no trade." Reagan sent a letter to the Soviet leader alibiing Daniloff, but Gorbachev answered that the correspondent was indeed "a spy caught red-handed." After a few days of dithering by Washington, the two were turned over to their respective embassies, though they still face trials. Suddenly everyone from conservatives

U.S. heats up Cold War over Daniloff spy case, as Secretary of State Shultz meets with Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze (right).



William Safire and Evans and Novak to former Carter adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was complaining that Reagan went "eyeball-to-eyeball" with Gorbachev... and Reagan blinked. "Ronbo" limply replied, "I didn't blink." And to prove it he's going to beat up on some Soviet diplomats.

Even as the Reagan administration heats up Cold War II over the Daniloff case, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is pursuing the will o' the wisp of "arms control." At the Stockholm conference on "confidence building measures" the Soviet delegation tentatively agreed to a deal which would raise the hackles on any World War II Hero of the Soviet Union. The agreement would require NATO and the Warsaw Pact to give advance notice of all major land

exercises, invite observers to all maneuvers of more than 17,000 troops, and permit signatories to carry out unscheduled "snap inspections." The agreement is limited to Europe, so the Soviets won't get to "inspect" U.S. forces elsewhere; furthermore, it excludes air and sea exercises, allowing the Americans to continue unhindered their frequent provocative maneuvers off the Kola Peninsula and in the Sea of Okhotsk.

Already drooling, the *New York Times* (22 September) noted that such "snap inspections" would have allowed NATO to stage a provocation during the fall 1981 Soviet maneuvers along the Polish frontier aimed at sending a warning against a power grab by Solidarność, the yellow "union" of the Vatican, the CIA and Wall Street bankers. Whatever their practical impact such "détente" measures, far from lessening the risk of war, only embolden the imperialists, who see them as a sign of weakness. The Soviet Union will not be defended through treacherous "disarmament" negotiations with the imperialists, who are seeking a nuclear first strike against the homeland of the October Revolution, but through a return to the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky, of mobilizing

the world proletariat for socialist revolution.

"Nests of Spies"

The arrogance of the Reagan gang reflects the delusions of a mortally wounded imperialism, which still thinks it's master of the world even as it lives on borrowed billions from Japan, and wants to recover from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam by "bloodying" Soviet "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya to Angola to directly killing Russians in Afghanistan. Washington's order to the Soviet mission violated agreements going back to the founding of the United Nations in 1945, as UN General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuéllar insisted. But the U.S. thinks it's the "Leader of the Free World," and everybody else is just supposed to follow orders or else get the Grenada treatment. When American troops stormed the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada in late 1983 they outrageously subjected Soviet-bloc diplomats and their families to demeaning body searches, herding them into a hot box where they were kept for hours under the guns of the 82nd Airborne, and ransacked the Soviet and Cuban embassies and residences.

continued on page 13

**North's Workers League Cult Attacks
Marxist Spartacists**

Lord of the Fleas....8

ET/BT: A Calculated Provocation

Bloodbath Averted

On September 19 at the University of California Berkeley campus, the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency" carried out a violent provocation against a Spartacist League forum. It was obvious that this provocation was premeditated and carefully orchestrated beforehand. It was no coincidence that this calculated anti-communist assault was aimed at a forum entitled "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" Raising the BT's obsessive Stalinophobia to a new pitch of shrillness, one of their spokesmen called on during the forum discussion period charged that the SL is "more like the party of Thermidor that came up with the Moscow Trials."

In the same vein, a young woman evidently associated with the semi/ex-Morenoite milieu read from a typewritten sheet to defend the BT against Spartacist "distortions," charging that our recognition of the Soviet Union's right and duty to defend itself militarily, including through constructing a modern nuclear arsenal and making clear its preparedness to use it in response to an imperialist first strike, amounts to "calling for bombing the workers of Detroit." This anti-Soviet diatribe was heartily applauded by the BT. The BT's frenzied anti-communism was translated into the language of physical violence and sinister provocation when the meeting ended.

We print below, in edited form, a statement by Spartacist League Central Committee member Al Nelson at the beginning of the forum held in San Francisco on the night following the BT provocation in Berkeley. In addition to a 25-strong disciplined workers defense guard mobilized to ensure that the

meeting would proceed in an orderly and democratic manner, the forum was attended by a satisfying number of widely known leftists and defenders of democratic rights, who responded to our appeal to turn out in answer to the previous night's provocation. Among them were Professor Sam Wellbaum, recently of San Francisco State University; and San Francisco attorney Colleen Butler.

As is traditional at Spartacist forums, lively debate took place during the discussion period. Paul Kangas, a Peace and Freedom Party representative, raised the question of electoralism and SL comrades explained the Marxist fight for the political independence of the working class in response to questions on the current Republican drive to unseat liberal California judge Rose Bird. While 120 people attended the event, the section of chairs reserved for the BT remained empty. In attendance, spirit and political content, the forum was a powerful answer to the previous night's despicable BT provocation, and a reaffirmation that—as SL spokesman Joseph Seymour said in his presentation—"We are the party of the Russian Revolution because we intend to be the party of the American revolution."

* * * * *

My name is Al Nelson, and I'll be chairing the meeting. Before introducing the speaker I would like to take a few minutes to explain the rather extraordinary measures that were taken tonight, and especially to thank all those comrades and friends who have responded to our call for defense of this meeting; it's very important.

The reason we have taken these measures—all these people looking menacing with armbands—is that we were expecting that a group that calls itself the "Bolshevik Tendency" would show up here. Last night eleven members and supporters of this group carried out a staged, violent provocation against the Spartacist League. Last night at our Cal Berkeley forum the BTers in attendance listened to the speaker and took part in subsequent discussion. When the meeting ad-

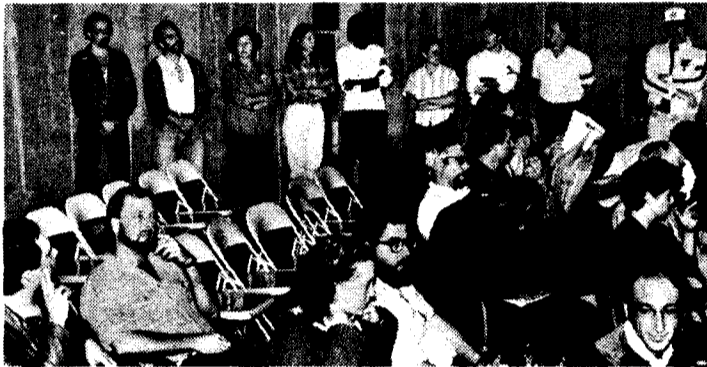
were out in the lobby outside the meeting—about ten Berkeley campus police came barreling into the lobby looking for the fight. This was, I believe, the intent of the provocation carried out by the "Bolshevik Tendency."

Our policy of asking the BTs to leave the room at the conclusion of our public meetings is several years old. We instituted it following an incident in which the BTs, who then called themselves the External Tendency (an odd name), seized on a very common thing in politics, a heated debate between individuals, and transformed it into a very widely circulated campaign of slander against the Spartacist League.



Al Nelson speaking (left) at Spartacist forum in San Francisco, September 20.

WV Photos



Defense guard ensures workers democracy at SF meeting, following ET/BT provocation the day before.

journed, as is our policy with this group, the BTers were asked to leave the room. At the door they resisted leaving and precipitated a fight, suddenly punching and kicking the comrades ushering them out.

Some of our comrades assaulted by the BT required medical treatment at a hospital emergency room. One is here with a cast on his arm. Immediately after the BT assault—I would say about two minutes after we had gotten everybody back in the room and the BTs

The ET/BT falsely claimed that what occurred was that two SLers beat up one of their members. They had a petition to this effect that was circulated in this country, Canada and Germany. These people, who are all ex-members by the way, never worked so hard when they were members.

So in order to protect ourselves and those who come to our public events from a repeat of this kind of sinister provocation, we adopted a policy of

continued on page 6



TROTSKY

The Road to Peace

At the height of the Korean War, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon warned that the Cold War between U.S. capitalism and the Soviet Union is rooted in irreconcilable class differences. Polemicizing against the "détente" illusions of his day, Cannon wrote that genuine peace will not be achieved through diplomatic double-talk, arms agreements or "summits," but through international proletarian revolution.



LENIN

The ultimate aim [of American foreign policy] is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system, overthrown by the Revolution in 1917. The United States is driven, as the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power of the world, to include all these aims in its program. That is what its diplomacy works for and that is what they are arming for.

Pacifist sermons will not deflect them from their course. Pseudo-serious chatter about the "necessity and desirability of peaceful co-existence" can deceive and disarm workers and sincere but impractical people who think the boon of peace can be bought with shibboleths. But peace cannot be secured that way....

The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace.

—James P. Cannon, "The Road to Peace" (November 1951)

Spartacist 4 Events

U.S./South Africa: "Free World" Butchers
Smash KKK/Nazi Terror! • Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!
 Speaker: Ed Kartsen, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, September 26, 7:30 p.m. Borough of Manhattan Community College, Room N402 For more information: (212) 267-1025 NEW YORK	Thursday, October 9, 7:30 p.m. Sever Hall, Second Floor Harvard University Sponsored by Spartacus Youth Club For more information: (617) 492-3928 BOSTON
---	---

Labor, Blacks Must Crush Racist Terror in Chicago!
 Speaker: Ed Clarkson
 SL Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Kevin Quirk
 member, ATU Local 241

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
 Hyde Park Hilton, Ontario Room
 4900 South Lake Shore Drive
 For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Oberlin Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Tuesdays, 8:30 p.m.
 Wilder Hall, room to be announced
 Oberlin College

Tuesday, September 30:
 "State and Revolution"

For more information: (216) 621-5138

OBERLIN

Young Spartacus Club Class Series

ABCs of Communism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.
 S.F. State University
 Room to be announced

Tuesday, October 7:
 "Reform or Revolution"

For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.
 DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon
 EDITOR: Jan Norden
 PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner
 CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau
 EDITORIAL BOARD: Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

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. 412 **26 September 1986**

NYC Transit Workers: Defend Austin Weekes, Anti-Racist Hero!

We reprint below a 22 September leaflet of the Committee for a Fighting TWU demanding reinstatement of black New York subway conductor Austin Weekes. In dredging up a six-year-old incident in which Weekes defended himself against a racist killer, the Brooklyn district attorney and Transit Authority sought to undercut a major victory for the right of armed self-defense won in the case of NYC subway clerk James Grimes. The need to defend that right is underlined in Koch's NYC

by the rise of marauding racist gangs—in 1982 a racist mob beat to death black transit worker Willie Turks in South Brooklyn and just this past July in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn another gang of racist thugs viciously beat black bus driver Phil Patten. At the same time the transit bosses are engaged in a massive Reaganite drug witchhunt. Last year over 12,000 TA employees were tested for drugs and alcohol, and 60 workers have been effectively fired "pending arbitration."

Reinstate Brother Weekes! Anti-Racist Hero! TWU Must Fight TA Victimizations!

Black transit worker Austin Weekes must be defended by our union and the rest of the organized workers movement! For an act of armed self-defense against an attack by known racist killers six years ago, Brother Weekes was arrested Sept. 11 at Transit Authority's Jay St. headquarters. By all accounts, Austin Weekes deserves a medal for his actions six years ago. He actually protected the other passengers from these two punks, attracting their attention with his cool demeanor, and telling other riders to move to the next car. He shot in self-defense after warning the two racists not to come any closer. At the time, these two punks were on the run from a racist baseball bat killing of an Hispanic man in south Brooklyn only three months earlier.

In a clear DA/TA conspiracy, Weekes was set up to be fired before being arrested. No sooner were the last suspension papers signed and stamped than the handcuffs went on and Weekes was thrown in the Brooklyn House of Detention with no bail. This summary suspension was a central part of the conspiracy to railroad Weekes. With the labor mobilizations for Brother James Grimes fresh in their minds, the DA/TA plotters wanted Weekes cut off and isolated from the organized labor movement.

But within days this legal assault on Brother Weekes and the right of armed self-defense against racist attack began to crumble. Over 100 of his neighbors signed a petition demanding that he be released on his own recognizance, re-

futing the DA's claim that he was a "threat to the community." Blacks know the real threat in Kochtown: *the racist killers in blue uniforms*—remember Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs and Dennis Groce; *the gangs of racist punks inspired by Koch's cops*—remember Willie Turks and Phil Patten; *and the paramilitary fascist groups*—remember Greensboro and the Klan in Connecticut!

A real slap to the TA and DA Holtzman's plan to railroad Brother Weekes came on Sept. 17 when the Grand Jury refused to return any indictment in this case. The next day, all charges were dismissed and Weekes was freed. This victory reaffirms the strength of the James Grimes victory, won through the independent political mobilization of transit workers, demonstrating on the streets of downtown Brooklyn, in defense of the right of armed self-defense.

But the vindictive Transit Authority does not care what the jury says. On Sept. 19, the day after all charges were dismissed, Brother Weekes was called to Labor Relations for a so-called hearing and summarily "terminated." What is behind this "bad work record" line the TA has fed the press about Weekes' firing? First, his young daughter is epileptic and Weekes had to take some time off to attend to her medical needs. Second, after injuring his foot on the job, he filed a claim for workers compensation. Since Weekes is a former workers compensation claims clerk for the state, no doubt he is extremely

capable of fighting on this case. So for the "bad record" of trying to be a good father, fighting for what's due him even under lousy workers compensation, and above all, for his courageous act of armed self-defense against a racist attack, the TA set him up to be arrested and fired.

Labor Must Smash the Drug Witch Hunt Blackmail!

The racist victimization of Austin Weekes comes in the context of a massive attack by management on union rights. Seniority rights, job descriptions, and safety rules are all being thrown out the window. The constant threat of discipline and suspension for standing up for your rights is being reinforced by a drug witch hunt. At the 207th St. Shop a worker was blackmailed into dropping a simple contract grievance with the threat of a drug test! TA honchos are talking about across the board drug testing, but for any worker who dares to stand up for his rights, there is the constant threat of drug-test blackmail and trumped-up results. The workplace is becoming a labor camp!

The official union "leadership" of Sonny Hall by their actions have endorsed the drug witch hunt, union busting and racist victimization. In the Weekes case, just hours after the charges were dropped on Sept. 18, a supporter of the Committee for a Fighting TWU raised the need for a union defense of Weekes' job at the United Motormen's Division meeting. Vice-President for Transportation Jim Jefferson screamed, "this has no place here; out of order!" and stormed out of the hall. The next day, when he was fired, Weekes said two



Austin Weekes

WV Photo

union officials sat there and looked at him as if he didn't exist. Last month, Sonny Hall denounced the Committee for a Fighting TWU for calling the cops what they are: racist killers. Several days later, two drunk TA cops, spitting race hatred, shot and wounded a black man, Ancil Joefield, on 14th St. These cops come from the same gang of killers at Union Square station that beat Michael Stewart to death.

Race terror and union busting, the attack on the right of armed self-defense and the drug witch hunting blackmail are the cutting edge in the U.S. capitalists' drive to crush domestic opposition to the "rollback" war drive against the Soviet Union. In this they have plenty of help from labor agents like Sonny Hall. To prepare this union to fight, we must abolish the class-collaborationist dues checkoff; we must break all ties with the racist, union-busting Democratic Party. And we must forge a workers party, politically armed with the class-struggle strategy and tactics leading to the mobilization of labor to fight for our class interests and against the growing racist terror that divides and weakens us.

For the Right of Armed Self-Defense!
For Labor/Black Mobilization
Against Racist Terror!
TWU Must Fight TA Victimizations!
Reinstate Brother Weekes!
Anti-Racist Hero!

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU

James Grimes Thanks Supporters

We reprint below a letter from the courageous black subway clerk James Grimes in response to an emergency fund drive launched by the NYC Labor Black League for Social Defense. The League was founded at a July 18 victory party in Brooklyn for Grimes and his family celebrating the dismissal of gun charges from his act of armed self-defense against muggers last January. The fund drive helped the Grimes family replace possessions stolen from their home the night of the party. More than 900 New York City transit and other workers contributed \$2,480.

MTA Co-workers and Friends,

I take out a moment, often, to dwell upon all of the support and donations rendered, in my behalf, by all of you.

I've always read about people extending themselves, in times of need, to the less fortunate, for one reason or another. Never did I ever contemplate being in need of supporters and donations from strangers, to get through another day.

Well, all of you are no longer strangers...you are all my friends...and if I never knew or understood the true meaning of such, I know now.

I've never been a man of many words, but allow me to humbly express my most sincerest thanks to all. Allow me to give you all a standing ovation, for without your support and donations, things may have been different.

Thank you and God bless each and every one.

Sincerely,
James Grimes



WV Photos

Stop Koch's Killer Cops!

On September 12, the Spartacist League and New York Labor Black League for Social Defense joined in a protest called by the Justice for Dennis Groce Coalition and the Lefferts Place Block Association at the office of the Brooklyn D.A. The demonstration was called over the racist police killing of 81-year-old Groce by two Transit Authority detectives last July 22. The elderly black man was gunned down in the vestibule of his apartment building in

the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn where he had lived for 45 years. A retired security guard and World War II veteran, Groce was the victim of five muggings and carried a gun to protect himself. The cops used this as an excuse for shooting him in cold blood. At the Brooklyn protest SL and LBL signs called "For the Right of Armed Self-Defense" and "Smash Racist Terror—From Brooklyn to Soweto," which was picked up by the entire demonstration as a chant.

Criminal Terror Bombings in Paris

PARIS, September 21—Since the start of this month, five bomb attacks have bloodied the French capital. All were perpetrated in public places at peak hours, reaping the highest number of victims among the civilian population. Carried out in the heart of the city, often directly under the government's nose, the attacks were clearly intended to mock the regime's claim to maintain "order." Is this a deliberate strategy to destabilize the shaky "cohabitation" of conservative Gaullist prime minister Chirac and Socialist president Mitterrand, in order to provoke police-state measures? Is it directed at the French government's imperial ambitions in the Levant? The whole affair abounds with suspicious contradictions, and as the secret police fan out their anti-Arab dragnets, this criminal, indiscriminate terrorism can only benefit the most sinister forces of racist and imperialist reaction.

It started when explosives were discovered in the Gare de Lyon RER (regional metro) station September 4. Then bombs exploded on September 8 in the post office facing Paris city hall (one dead, 18 injured), and four days later in a cafeteria in the business district of "La Défense" (41 injured). When on September 15 Chirac vowed "draconian reprisals" against the bombers, they promptly replied with another blast that day inside the Paris police prefecture, killing one and wounding 51. The next day the target was the Renault bar on the elegant Champs-Élysées with a toll



Lutte Ouvrière
The CRS, elite French SWAT team, in early morning terror roundup of immigrants.

of two dead and one seriously injured. Then, on September 17, during prime shopping time at 4:45 p.m., a powerful bomb was thrown at the windows of Tati, sort of a Parisian K-Mart, a cut-rate department store frequented by Arab immigrant workers. With a dense crowd outside the store, the attack killed five, and left 51 injured, one seriously.

Now the government of Mitterrand and Chirac is on the hot seat. The authorities have used the "anti-terrorist" measures to escalate cop repression against immigrants. Paramilitary police units in combat gear (CRS anti-riot squads and mobile gendarmes) are combing the major cities. Entry visas are required for all foreigners from outside the Common Market (including immigrants already residing in France). And citizens are called on to turn in "suspects" for a bounty of up to one million francs (\$150,000). *Le Monde* (18 September) obliquely called this "a decision without precedent since the Second World War"—that is, since the time when the Nazis and Vichy regime organized mass denunciations against Jews and resistance fighters.



AFP
Paris, September 17, 4:45 p.m. Bomb attack on Tati, working-class clothing store patronized by Arabs, kills 5, injures 51.

Following the bourgeois parties' victory at the polls over the discredited Mitterrand popular front last March, the police began running wild—and not just against dark-skinned immigrants. The fascists, too, are emboldened: only an accident which blew up the perpetrators prevented a horrendous racist slaughter in Toulon in August. With the country rent by unemployment and anti-Arab racism, as the government plans to sell off state industry wholesale, French rulers need a strong repressive apparatus right now. The secret services are increasingly calling for "counter-terrorist" acts, meaning a carte blanche for assassination. Chirac blusters, "if we catch a terrorist red-handed, he will talk"—the language of the torturers in the French army during the Algerian War.

Meanwhile, the *Journal du Dimanche* (21 September) declares that France is preparing to undertake joint military "retaliation" together with the Israeli army, adding that in two weeks Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres will be meeting in Paris with Mitterrand and Chirac to work out together a secret plan against terrorism. That is one week before the anniversary of the 1973 October War, and a bare two weeks before Peres is scheduled to turn over his office to Likud "leader" Shamir. Is this what all the cryptic remarks about a possible "Syrian connection" are about—joint French-Israeli military action as a prelude to another Near East war, with France returning to its pre-1967 role as a prime Israeli ally and arms supplier?

For months, France has been rocked by random and criminal bomb attacks: eleven dead and 190 wounded since last December. In the eye of this terrorist storm is the enigmatic George Ibrahim Abdallah, imprisoned on charges of being the head of the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (FARL). Supposedly a Marxist Maronite Christian with a political itinerary allegedly running from the National Syrian Social Party through the Lebanese Communist Party and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, there's no telling what he stands for. The "FARL" claims responsibility for the assassination of a U.S. military attaché and an agent of the Mossad (the Israeli secret service). But in the name of liberating Abdallah, the "Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Near East Political Prisoners" (CSPPA) plants bombs in trains, in the subway and at discount stores patronized by Arab customers! And Abdallah does not repudiate this group.

What's behind the initials CSPPA? There's no way we can know. But quite often, behind this kind of grouplet, one finds the hand of a secret service—and we do not exclude the fascists, the CIA

and the Mossad. Allegedly aimed at freeing Abdallah, the attacks come two months before he would be eligible for parole—as if the perpetrators wanted to prevent his release. Moreover, the wanton terror against random individuals can only whip up popular frenzy for an "anti-terrorist" crackdown. Elements inside the state apparatus could have very well concluded that time is ripe for putting into practice a "strategy of tension" whose goal is to install a "strong state." Bonapartist tendencies in the state apparatus have been growing as the police, army and secret services pressure the government more and more openly.

As for the reformist workers parties, "Socialists" and "Communists" alike have joined in an obscene "anti-terrorist" unholy alliance with the right-wing parliamentary parties around the Mitterrand-Chirac government. CP general secretary Marchais politely urges Chirac to "take care" not to "exacerbate racism" with all the repressive, racist measures which the CP has approved. The reputedly leftist daily *Libération* (16 September) joined right-wingers in claiming that the attacks were because "all governments since the 1970s negotiated blow for blow with terrorists"! And even "SOS Racisme" got caught up in the "terror" frenzy; its leading spokesman, Harlem Désir, supported the government's "security" measures, only expressing concern over "the temptation in France to take this out on the Arab immigrants."

The rightist daily *Le Figaro* calls openly for a police state, denouncing the "bleeding heart liberalism" of the "leftist intellectuals." Obviously the fascists feel the wind in their sails, but the political crisis has only begun. For the moment Le Pen, leader of the National Front, the strongest fascist force, which got 10 percent of the vote in the March elections, merely castigates Chirac's inability to cope with the situation,

calling for a "government of national union" while demanding harsher and more overt anti-immigrant measures. But already a fascist police "union" is denouncing "plutocratic democracy" and proclaims that "only a strong regime, founded on the concept of order and nation, caring nothing about all the humanitarian decadent theories, shall be our salvation" (*Le Monde*, 18 September).

French imperialism patched together present-day Lebanon, laying the basis for this cycle of communalist conflicts where all sides carry out their murderous squabbling, always at the expense of the Palestinian people. French soldiers (along with the U.S.) disarmed the PLO in the Beirut camps in 1982, thus allowing the massacre of Shatila and Sabra by the Maronite Christian Phalangist hired guns of the Zionists. French imperialism believed it could manipulate the nationalist and communalist hatreds in the Near East with impunity. But Paris was no more able than Washington to find a solid foothold in the Lebanese quagmire. And now the daily horror of Beirut is being transported to France.

But the few sticks of pentrite found at the Gare de Lyon are small change compared to the terrorists with imperialist state power. Mitterrand's government ordered the bomb attack against the *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand, killing one pacifist and attempting to assassinate the entire leadership of Greenpeace, in order to "protect" its nuclear *force de frappe* (strike force). The gigantic arsenal of thermonuclear arms at the disposal of the imperialists is the biggest terrorist threat of all. The American imperialists openly state that their war program aims at "decapitating" the Soviet Union, just as they attempted to do with their murder/terror raid against Libya's Qaddafi last spring. And while U.S. warships were attacking Libya from the north, French troops in Chad were putting pressure on Qaddafi from the south.

Above all, the imperialists need "terrorism," and the more irrational the better. The bombings only make sense as a giant provocation whose purposes are the opposite of the demands of the shadowy "FARL/CSPPA." They can only strengthen French ties to Israel and the U.S. in the name of "anti-terrorism," the code word for the anti-Soviet war drive in the Mediterranean. Washington was piqued at Paris' refusal to let its F-111s overfly France for its Libya raid in April. The next time around they figure they will get cooperation. The Ligue Trotskyste de France, which demanded "Reagan/Mitterrand Hands Off Libya!" and condemns the indiscriminate Paris terror bombings, insists: Down with the imperialist terror—French troops out of Africa, Lebanon and the Pacific! ■



AP
French troops (along with U.S.) disarmed PLO in Beirut, paving way for Sabra/Shatila massacres.

Tennessee Book-Banners Target Goldilocks

Last July a bizarre trial opened in federal court in Greenville, Tennessee which has become a focus for the nationwide onslaught against the separation of church and state. Seven Protestant fundamentalist families sued a local school board for using "heathen" textbooks that supposedly threaten their children with "eternal damnation." Claiming religious discrimination, the parents want to ban the Holt Readers (standard for 10 million elementary students in 15,000 school districts of all 50 states) as un-Christian and un-American, and to replace them with texts that conform to their ignorant Bible-thumping bigotry. U.S. district judge Thomas Hull directed both sides to prepare for final arguments by September 24.

The trial has been dubbed "Scopes II," referring to the famous "monkey trial" over the teaching of evolution in Tennessee schools six decades ago. If "Scopes I" was tragedy, as Karl Marx suggested about history repeating itself, this latter-day version is certainly farcical. There were the plaintiffs on the stand railing against fairy tales such as *The Wizard of Oz* ("it portrays witches as good"), *Cinderella* (nix the magic wand) and *Goldilocks* (she beat the rap for breaking and entering)! But in Reagan's America, this is no joke. The book-banners are in league with top cop Ed Meese as he calls for Legion of Decency vigilante squads to "clean up America" from the locker room to the bedroom, and from the classroom to the 7-Eleven store.



Cynthia Johnson

Meese and his porn report fan the flames of the book-burners (Warsaw, Indiana, 1981).

Today these backwoods bigots are on the cutting edge of the Moral Majority inquisition against "secular humanism." The fundamentalists' "expert witnesses" denounce carbon dating (undermines the Book of Genesis) and object to study of the Renaissance because its central idea "was belief in the dignity and worth of human beings." Favorable references to other religions are unpardonable ("Christ is the only way to salvation"). Naturally they object to the science of evolution (now referred to as the "E-word"—unmentionable, like the F-word). Even the metric system offends (promotes "one-world government"), and criticism of "free enterprise" is out because "capitalism is ordained by God" (*Newsweek*, 28 July).

They also want to throw out children's readers where "Jim cooks" and "Pat reads to him," promoting the accursed equality of the sexes and male/female role reversal. They're not satisfied with removing *Catcher in the Rye* from school libraries like prudes did in the '50s and are doing again. But blacklisting *Goldilocks*? The Tennessee

totalitarians pronounce the innocent babe guilty of "situational ethics" (eating that porridge seemed like a good idea at the time) and invading private property. These loco parents are so worried about the schools turning kids into "deviated preverts," to use the *Dr. Strangelove* lingo, we're surprised they didn't accuse the tyke of bestiality for sleeping in a bear's bed! And what about that transvestite wolf in grandma's clothes in *Little Red Riding Hood*?

In probing the paranoid mindset of these small town inquisitors, columnist Russell Baker (*New York Times*, 10 August) points out that their righteous indignation may have missed the big picture. After all,

"...these are not ordinary bears lumbering off to fish with their paws or steal the bees' honey, are they? These are porridge-eating bears. These are bears that have chairs and beds custom built.... In short, these are bears that bear watching."

And who was watching? Perhaps it was that old Watergate B&E man, G. Gordon Liddy. Of course, Baker goes on, Liddy would worry that "if caught, he might be sealed in a diplomatic pouch and shipped to Bearland where, imprisoned in deepest Siberia, he would be powerless to foil whatever the plot might be." Who could miss it—brave little Goldilocks had been sent on a national security mission against the Russkies!

One must have pity for the hapless children denied the delights of fairy tales and the knowledge of dinosaurs, as well as shudder to think of the dreary and



Myers/Warsaw Times-Union

dangerously ignorant adults such "education" is designed to produce.

Rural Idiocy Goes Mainstream

The Greenville case has become a battleground between the religious right and defenders of secular education. The book-banners' legal case is being financed by Concerned Women for America, a right-wing Washington lobby headed by the wife of TV evangelist Tim LaHaye. On the other side, the liberal People for the American Way has sent prominent New York City attorneys to represent the school board. And it's no isolated incident. In October an Alabama federal court in Mobile will try a case brought by 600 fundamentalist parents aimed at removing any taint of "secular humanism" from school curricula. That case is endorsed by Mr. Segregation himself, George Wallace, and by the self-anointed preacher presidential candidate Pat Robertson.

These cases are not simply obscure Bible Belt lunacy. In 1983 District Judge Hull dismissed the present case—as without constitutional merit, only to be



Who knows what evil lurks in the heart of this seemingly innocent young thing?

directed to try the case by the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. For their part, the textbook publishing companies are gutting scientific education by cowardly capitulation to the clamor of the fundamentalist zealots. Last year the California Board of Education rejected all elementary and junior high school science texts submitted because they failed to discuss evolution. Now U.S. secretary of education William Bennett is using his pulpit to bully schools into stuffing religious values, "respect for property," and flag-waving down the throats of school kids. And he is backed by liberals such as NY governor Cuomo.

The ambush of secular education by the religious right targets blacks especially. Busing to achieve integration has been virtually eliminated, defeated by racist mobs from Boston to Louisville with the aid of Northern Democrats in Congress. When the schools were first ordered integrated, across the South whites fled to newly formed racist private schools, just as the plaintiffs in Greenville are sending their children to lily-white "Christian academies." But with their man in the White House, reactionaries realized that you don't need segregated private schools when you can run "neighborhood" public schools along the same lines. And it's not just who is taught but what.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee recently filed an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education's fight against an unconstitutional law mandating the teaching of biblical "creationism" whenever scientific evolution is taught. As the SL/PDC legal brief stated: "Evolution, the science of man's 'descent with modification' is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack.... The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority" (see "In Defense of Science," *WV* No. 410, 29 August).

From Nazi Germany to Reagan's America, trampling scientific education under the jackboot of racist reaction is a key component in the drive for social regimentation. Black people are all too familiar with the violent oppression which lies behind enforced ignorance. Richard Wright wrote in *Black Boy* that the proscribed topics for blacks in talking with Southern white men included: "American white women; the Ku Klux Klan; France, and how Negro soldiers

fared while there; Frenchwomen; Jack Johnson; the entire northern part of the United States; the Civil War; Abraham Lincoln; U.S. Grant; General Sherman; Catholics; the Pope; Jews; the Republican party; slavery; social equality; Communism; Socialism; the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution; or any topic calling for positive knowledge or manly self-assertion on the part of the Negro."

Now that arch-segregationist Rehnquist is chief justice of the Supreme Court, Meese's deputy Bradford Reynolds has branded Justice William Brennan, an Eisenhower appointee, not merely a "secular humanist" but a "radical egalitarian" to boot for holding that the post-Civil War 14th Amendment (mandating "equal protection of the laws") was an unfulfilled promise of "universal equality, freedom and prosperity."

Book-Banners, Book-Burners and Cross-Burners

Sixty-one years ago, populist war-horse William Jennings Bryan led the reactionary charge against schoolteacher John Scopes in Dayton, Tennessee for teaching Charles Darwin's scientific theory of evolution. The Scopes trial came on the heels of the anti-Communist Palmer raids which threw the country into a "red scare." The year before, as a wave of nativist racism swept the country, Congress passed restrictive immigration laws directed at "inferior" Southern and Eastern Europeans. As KKK lynchings spread racist terror across the South, Bryan himself refused to repudiate the Klan at the Democratic convention. 1925 was also the year thousands of Klansmen marched in Washington, D.C. (It was a "celebration" of this march that was stopped by the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 27 November 1982.) The parallels to the present are inescapable.

Where the book-banners are at work, the book-burners are not far behind... and with them the cross-burners as well. Today, as Tennessee bigots try to straitjacket children's minds through the courts, the Meese police descend on shopping malls in search of "smut." A threatening letter from the attorney general's Pornography Commission was enough to get *Playboy* removed from 15,000 outlets. And after prime time preacher Jimmy Swaggart hurled hellfire and brimstone at rock music magazines in a nationally telecast sermon, the Wal-Mart chain removed *Rolling Stone* from its stands across the South and Southwest. When they start going after *Goldilocks*, what's next?

As Bible Belt Reaganites try to keep Darwin out of the schools, Reagan proclaims the bastardized racist doctrine once called "social Darwinism"—the survival of the richest and whitest, and the devil take the hindmost. Meanwhile, mad scientists are supposed to design a Star Wars shield that will protect all white, middle-class Americans while only the "unfit" and what Reagan calls the Soviet "Evil Empire" perish in the nuclear holocaust. In this context mass ignorance has a definite social function in regimenting capitalist society for the war aims of its desperate rulers. But in trying to cloud men's minds with the superstitions of the Middle Ages, they only grease the skids for a return to an irradiated Stone Age.

As the yahoos from the Tennessee hills and hollows to the White House and Pentagon head toward thermo-nuclear Armageddon, they would take us all down with them. Today defense of the scientific, cultural and social achievements of civilization, from the Renaissance through the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions (including the French Revolution and the American Civil War) to the conquests of the proletarian October Revolution, is one inseparable task as the choice of socialism or barbarism starkly confronts mankind. Under world communism, science will truly be put at the service of human society instead of being the handmaiden of mass destruction. ■

The Istanbul Synagogue Massacre

The September 6 Sabbath massacre of 21 Jewish worshippers in Istanbul's largest synagogue was an act of hideous indiscriminate terrorism whose perpetrators and purpose are as shadowy as its results were grisly. The victims were descendants of the Sephardim, refugees from the Spanish Inquisition who spoke Ladino, a medieval Spanish dialect intermixed with Hebrew. Under the Ottoman sultans this Sephardic community flourished as a center of learning and commerce, growing to number 200,000 by the end of the 19th century. When Kemal Atatürk established a secular republic in 1923, Jews were granted political and religious equality. During World War II, Turkey unlike the imperialist "democracies" opened its doors to Jewish refugees from the Nazi holocaust and many became citizens.

There are plenty of forces in the world that cannot bear the existence in a secular state with a predominantly Muslim population of a 500-year-old Jewish community living in relative peace, a refuge from the ravages of the "enlightened West." Israeli war minister Yitzhak Rabin pointed the finger of blame for the Istanbul massacre at the supposedly omnipresent but ever-elusive Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, but even the arch-terror-mongers in Washington shrugged their shoulders at that or the alleged "Libya connection." Within Turkey there are far-right Islamic fundamentalists, but even more likely are the Turkish fascist organizations like the "Grey Wolves" with close

ties to the brutal dictatorship running the country. But the Western press omitted mentioning them as possible suspects to avoid embarrassing their NATO allies in Ankara.

In Jerusalem, General Ariel Sharon caused another of the interminable flaps

desperate Palestinian refugees, who have known nothing but devastation and death and have nothing to look forward to but fantasies of blood vengeance, to criminal indiscriminate terrorism, from airplane hijackings to synagogue bombings.



Bodies were mutilated beyond recognition in hideous anti-Semitic massacre.

in the Zionist coalition government by blaming the Istanbul massacre on Prime Minister Shimon Peres' supposed "appeasement" of the Arabs by his recent visit to Morocco to line up reactionary Arab regimes to help keep the Palestinians under the Israeli jackboot. But it was Sharon's 1982 blitzkrieg into Lebanon, backed by the Zionist-corporatist "Labor" Party, and the Nazi-like holocaust committed under his command at Sabra and Shatila which drove members of a generation of

The Zionist terrorists demonstrated their own attitude toward "gentile" houses of worship in 1982, when Alan Goodman, an American-born Zionist who went to Israel to realize his bloodthirsty fantasies in an army uniform, shot his way into one of Islam's holiest shrines, the Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem. Goodman sprayed the congregation with machine-gun fire, killing one and wounding 40. Israeli police and riot troops moved in and attacked the Arabs who were trying

to capture the mass murderer. Only last month, the former Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim (Jews of East and Central European origin) along with other prominent rabbis issued a *halachic* edict (religious law) complete with map demanding the "Third Temple" be built on the very site occupied by the Dome mosque.

The Istanbul synagogue massacre benefits above all the Zionists, who here find common cause with Islamic fundamentalists, fascists and other anti-Semites. A close friend of Menachem Begin and fellow Zionist-Revisionist, Abba Achimeir, wrote in 1933: "I wish that a million Polish Jews might be slaughtered. Then they might realize that they are living in a ghetto" (quoted in Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* [1983]). And following the bloody birth of Israel, this became the official policy of the new Zionist state. In 1950-51, Israeli army agents set off bombs in Baghdad's ancient Jewish community to sow panic and facilitate "ingathering" to Israel (Uri Avneri's *Haolam Hazeh*, 19 May 1966).

The imperialist dismemberment of the Near East and the Israeli dispossession of the Palestinians have sown a whirlwind of terror. As with the Balkans on the eve of World War I, the imperialists go out of their way to fan the flames of nationalist and religious hatred, for they are a pretext to world war. A socialist federation of the Near East will lay the basis for overcoming these deadly hatreds, dealing out implacable revolutionary justice to the cold-blooded murderers of the Istanbul synagogue massacre and all the genocidal butchers. ■

ET/BT...

(continued from page 2)

requiring them to leave at the conclusion of our meetings. We do not exclude them from our meetings. When they come in they can take part in the meetings. They are called on in proportion to their weight in the meeting. But when the meeting is over, they must leave. And they've been doing that. They can go out and stand in the hallway or the lobby and sell their material and talk to whoever they want—but outside.

Their despicable behavior last night completely justifies our policy. Had the fight the BT started taken place inside the hall in a room full of some 75 people, including children; if this melee had been going on there when those cops came barreling in, then it doesn't take too much imagination to figure out there would have been a number of people beaten by the police, and some arrests would have taken place. Besides, who would resist leaving a meeting after it's over anyhow? Last night's events answered that question clearly: provocateurs seeking to inflict not so much their own violence on our members, but seeking rather to bring the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state into play against our revolutionary organization. And if that's paranoia, there's a lot of evidence for it. We've been dealing with these people now, as an organized group, for about four years, and they've gotten increasingly frenzied.

Most of you who follow our publications know that we've had a number of successful lawsuits against what we call the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun—one against then-attorney general George Deukmejian (now governor of California), against the FBI, the Moonies' *Washington Times*, and the Secret Service. We've won those suits, but it cost us a lot of time and a lot of money. And these provocations and slanders being carried out by these ex-members of ours, the self-styled Bolshevik Tendency, are a new, sinister tactic that cannot help but fit neatly into the campaign by Reagan and Meese and

their various ideologues on the campuses like the *National Review* types and "Accuracy in Academia"—right-wingers who monitor left-wing professors on campus to make sure they teach the right values to the impressionable students. Their campaign is to equate political dissent, on the campuses or anywhere, with violence and terrorism. When the BTs started the slanderous petition I told you about we were in the middle of a couple of these suits and did not appreciate it one damn bit, I'm telling you.

Let me say something else: politics is not always simply program and line. We know these people very well. Our organization is known by many of you very well, too. You don't know much about our internal life, but take my word for it, we don't expel people casually; it's a very unusual thing in our organization. One of these people was expelled for cheating the organization financially. Another was expelled when he got arrested after shaking down a small bookstore owner here in San Francisco, pulling a knife and trying to con the merchant out of two dollars on a couple of books. Another abused a party position of high trust, on the Control Commission, for factional reasons. Two of them are known to be wife-beaters.

You may think these are *ad hominem* arguments, but these are true facts. Most of these people simply quit. They all are politically hostile ex-members of the Spartacist League, who couldn't take the heat of being revolutionists in the Reagan years. They very much have the smell of the "God That Failed" crowd of the 1950s, only there's a certain quality of frenzy here that I've never seen in 25 years of politics.

Last night, after the BT's provocation, many of our friends said, "Why don't you just keep these creeps out of your forums?" Well, there's a principle involved here. Comrade Trotsky observed that it was the Stalinists who introduced violence and political suppression into the workers movement. We Marxists, in contrast, have always placed the highest value on political

consciousness, free and open debate within the labor movement to achieve clarity of purpose. In our whole history going back to 1964 we have never excluded any organization from our public events, and we will not be forced into doing so now. If these people had come here tonight, we were prepared to take them into this meeting. We will also ensure that this meeting and all of our public meetings will take place in an orderly fashion, without disruption. That is our responsibility and obligation, too, to protect ourselves and to protect those who come to hear our views, with critical opinions of their own or otherwise. You have a right to listen to those views without some dubious people disrupting the meeting and trying to pull the police into it.

Therefore our ground rules for the Bolshevik Tendency people remain the same; had they come here tonight we would have told them so. We would also have pointed out that there are 25 people wearing armbands here, and should they have decided to cause a disruption, they would have been politely asked to leave, and escorted out of the meeting. The BT has been pushing toward a provocative physical assault for about the last year, getting increasingly hysterical.

I don't know what Part Two of their campaign is going to be. We'll see. So again I'd like to thank all those who came here tonight, on very short notice, to defend the principle that a workers meeting has the right to take place without disruption and provocation. ■

Free Eleuterio Gutiérrez!

For one year, militant Bolivian miner Eleuterio Gutiérrez has been imprisoned without trial by the rightist regime of president Víctor Paz Estenssoro. Rotting in San Pedro jail in the mining town of Oruro, Gutiérrez, underfed and deprived of adequate medical care, is the victim of a vicious frame-up at the hands of the U.S.-backed regime, which jails union militants and leftists as part of its campaign to throw thousands of miners out of work, close the nationalized mines and break the back of the combative Bolivian workers movement.

The Oruro-based *Guía Obrera* (9 July), published by a group of former members of Guillermo Lora's Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers Party), reports that Gutiérrez was a skilled worker for more than 12 years at the state-owned Bolívar mine. Several times a delegate to congresses of the miners federation, he was active in the near-insurrectionary March 1985 general strike, as well as in the

struggle to nationalize Totoral, one of Bolivia's most important private mines, and stood as a POR candidate in the July 1985 elections.

In the midst of a nationwide general strike against the Paz regime's brutal austerity plan, Gutiérrez was arrested at his home on 18 September 1985. He was framed up on the charge of "stealing technical materials" from the mine—shortly after a notoriously right-wing boss was caught red-handed doing just that! The government's only "witness" is a known criminal who admits being threatened by mine police to incriminate Gutiérrez.

Today this union militant's case takes on new urgency as the government carries out a new crackdown against the miners and the entire labor movement. Free Eleuterio Gutiérrez and all victims of Paz' right-wing repression! Telegrams demanding Gutiérrez' freedom should be sent to: President Víctor Paz Estenssoro, Palacio Quemado, La Paz, Bolivia.

Bolivian Workers Strike Against U.S. Troops, IMF Starvation

On August 29, the rightist regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro decreed a state of siege in Bolivia to crush a wave of strikes and mass worker and peasant mobilizations. The Paz government arrested 260 labor and opposition leaders, sending many into internal exile in jungle prison camps. The immediate "subversive threat" cited by Paz was the march "for peace and life" by 7,000 tin miners and their families from the mining town of Oruro to the capital of La Paz. The miners' march could have had explosive consequences, coming after an August 22 demonstration of 20,000 on the second day of a 48-hour general strike called by the powerful Central Obrera Boliviana (Bolivian Workers Federation). The COB struck against the presence of United States troops in the country and the government's starvation economic policies dictated by the bloodsucking bankers of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Six weeks earlier, Ronald Reagan sent a contingent of 160 soldiers and officers from the 193rd U.S. Army brigade plus two dozen Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents, allegedly to root out "narco-terrorism" in Bolivia. When the troops arrived with six Black Hawk helicopters aboard a huge C-5 Galaxy transport plane (which the Bolivian interior minister likened to "a UFO landing in someone's backyard"), the drug traffickers had split. While claiming to have destroyed 255 "drug factories" (peasant huts), the Rangers have not seized a single gram of cocaine. But that's hardly the point: the

AP
Bolivian army surrounds militant tin miners marching on capital, August 29.



union and civic leaders denounced the plan to turn Bolivia into "Honduras South"—a site for permanent American military "exercises" threatening the entire region.

Paz Estenssoro was installed as president a year ago on orders of the U.S. State Department in order to carry out a drastic austerity program designed to pay off the \$4.9 billion foreign debt (about \$800 per person, in a country where the annual per capita income is \$550) by tightening the belts of the workers and peasants. Paz smashed a general strike last September with a state of siege that was applauded by imperialist spokesmen as necessary to

and work supplies" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 31 July). Jobless miners left the camps by the busload, many heading for the coca regions in search of work. In August the government announced plans to eliminate the jobs of another 8,000 workers, closing seven out of 24 Comibol mines and unloading nine on miners' "cooperatives."

With the miners forced to the wall by this "white massacre," eliminating more than half the workforce in a single year, the march on La Paz was born of desperation. On August 22, a meeting of virtually the entire population of Oruro decided to go on foot the 150 miles to the capital in the dead of winter. The Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* (31 August) reported:

"After a walk of six days... sleeping in the open along the road, their feet blistered and their lips swollen with thirst, some 7,000 men, women and children made it to within 40 miles of [La Paz] in a 'march for peace and life.' Along the route they found the first signs of solidarity. Peasants gave them shelter and the little food they had."

The marchers planned to begin a hunger strike in the capital's schools and churches. But the government sent tanks instead, and thousands of troops surrounded the marchers in the virtually unpopulated area of Calamarca as air force jets streaked overhead. The leaders were singled out for arrest and the rest sent home on army trucks. In the capital, troops cordoned off the university and occupied COB headquarters. Despite a 24-hour miners strike, there was no serious challenge to the crackdown.

Earlier, in response to Paz' starvation program, the COB responded by calling a *consulta popular* (people's referendum) on government economic policies. Held in late July, the reported turnout of 1.5 million was more than voted in the elections a year ago, attesting to the breadth of opposition to the government's murderous austerity program. Peasants, who were effectively disenfranchised in the parliamentary elections, flocked to the COB's ballot boxes. But for the union bureaucracy under Juan Lechín, the point of the exercise was to pressure Paz to "modify" his policies. Instead of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary struggle to bring down the regime, it atomized them. Instead of a workers counteroffensive aimed at a proletarian fight for power, the reformist union tops called a pitiful hunger march to be followed by an impotent hunger strike. While the Paz government was already starving the Bolivian people into submission, the COB tops offered to do the job for him!



UPI
Bolivian tin miners, brandishing dynamite, resist 1971 military coup.

purpose of this deployment of U.S. "rapid deployment" forces, as Southern Command chief General John Galvin told top Chilean officers, was to "back-up local forces and insure a friendly government." The last time American Special Forces were running around the country was in 1967, when the CIA supervised the murder of Che Guevara.

The U.S. strike force has joined elite Bolivian "Leopard" troops in launching terror raids against peasant communities to stamp out their only profitable crop, coca leaf, which has been cultivated in the Andean highlands for centuries. Now President Paz has announced that the American soldiers will not be leaving after 60 days, as he had originally claimed. But this Yankee invasion—which Paz agreed to without consulting his own parliament, or even the chiefs of the Bolivian armed forces—set off a storm of protest, including mass workers strikes against the presence of imperialist troops. American planes couldn't even land in Santa Cruz until the army broke a strike at a strategic oil refinery. Peasants held mass protest meetings in provincial capitals while

break the back of the militant Bolivian proletariat. He reduced the world-record 50,000 percent annual inflation by drastically cutting or eliminating food subsidies, raising the price of gas ten times and overall slashing real incomes by half. Over the past year Bolivia has paid 60 percent of its total foreign exchange earnings to the foreign bankers. The result, in the poorest country of South America, has been mass unemployment and starvation.

Meanwhile, the catastrophic fall of primary commodity prices, which has come crashing down on everyone from OPEC to America's ultrarightist silver kings, the Hunt brothers, has sent the price of tin and oil (Bolivia's other legal export) plummeting through the floor. This economic catastrophe is now being visited on the mining camps of the windswept *altiplano* (high plains). By mid-year, 7,000 miners out of a workforce of 27,000 of the state-owned Bolivian Mining Corporation (Comibol) had been fired. The union struck, demanding "immediate supply of food to company stores, as well as medicine

As point man for Reaganomics in South America, Paz Estenssoro's program is to close the mines and burn the coca fields while paying off the imperialist debt. He intends to bust the combative unions by destroying the mining proletariat altogether, eliminating the most class-conscious workers sector in Latin America. It's "The end of the road for Bolivia," noted a columnist in the London *Guardian* (3 September), as the entire country goes bankrupt—dramatically disproving the New York banks' dictum that led to the '70s lending spree and the '80s debt bomb. For the immiserated working people (the highest-paid skilled miners make \$1.25 a day) of the altiplano, the "magic of the marketplace" literally means death. It would take a revolutionary struggle occupying the mines and erecting workers soviets to counter this "democratic" counterrevolution.

In 1952, the Bolivian workers overthrew the "rosca" (cabal) of tin barons. When Paz Estenssoro's victorious Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) tried to siphon off proletarian discontent by nationalizing the mines, radicalized miners demanded workers control. But while workers militias destroyed the bourgeois army that served as the guard dogs of capital, the COB leadership under Lechín—braintrustered by the fake-Trotskyists of Guillermo Lora's POR (Revolutionary Workers Party)—chained the workers movement to the bourgeois-nationalist MNR through the device of *cogobierno*—"co-government," the Bolivian name for the popular front. The MNR brought in Yankee advisers to rebuild the army, and soon launched a union-busting wage-slashing assault on the labor movement. The MNR regime led to 18 years of brutal military rule. And now the man who nationalized the tin mines is denationalizing Comibol.

In 1982 the militant miners sparked a general strike that toppled the discredited "coca-generals." A "leftist" parliamentary government quickly became a very unpopular front as it attempted to impose IMF austerity on its base. In March 1985, 12,000 miners commandeered company trucks and trains to descend on La Paz chanting, "Workers to power!" The government was afraid to put troops into the streets for fear they might go over to the workers, the army was unwilling to take over a bankrupt state, bourgeois reaction was disorganized as the proletariat occupied the capital. As we wrote in "Bolivia on the Brink" (*WV* No. 387, 20 September 1985):

"... the situation cried out for a revolutionary vanguard fighting for power. And as the panicked rulers frothed at the mouth against the spectre of Trotskyism, at a time when the ranks were escaping the control of the COB bureaucracy and thousands of militant miners were meeting daily in strike assemblies, it was the failure of the ostensible Trotskyists to fight for soviets that sealed the fate of this sharp prerevolutionary crisis."

The desperate middle classes, who had greeted the miners as their last hope, turned drastically to the right which overwhelmed the discredited left in July 1985 elections. In August, a servile Bolivian Congress installed Washington's man Paz as president, who then decreed the IMF austerity his predecessor failed to impose.

Today the workers, peasants and urban poor of Bolivia are reaping the results of the March betrayal, as the Paz government's surgical repression succeeds (for the time being) in clamping a lid on mass protest. A terrible vengeance is being exacted for the failure to seize the revolutionary opportunity. The situation is deeply ominous for the Bolivian toilers, veterans of decades of heroic struggles. Their salvation will be under the banner of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International, so that their combativity can ignite a revolutionary explosion by the big battalions of the proletariat throughout the Americas, from the Southern Cone of Argentina, Brazil and Chile to the United States itself. ■

Lord of the Fleas

Our party, the Spartacist League, is currently being subjected to the "polemical" attentions of one David North. In fact, a series on "The Politics of the Spartacist League" appearing in North's *Bulletin* is already in its 13th part and still going. But who or what is David North? He is the little lord of neo-Healyite, anti-Healyite, total Healyism—i.e., of nothing—who heads the American Workers League (WL), a very small and very discredited staphylococcal pimple on the rump of ostensible Trotskyism.

Why North chooses this moment to work us over at such length must have something to do with his having become, at the moment, the top dog in a fragment of what used to be called the "International Committee" (IC), an unpleasant formation once built by Gerry Healy in his own image. When Healy was ousted last year by backstabbing intrigues among his lieutenants, including North, the "IC" broke into at least four pieces, with splits within its sections in several countries.

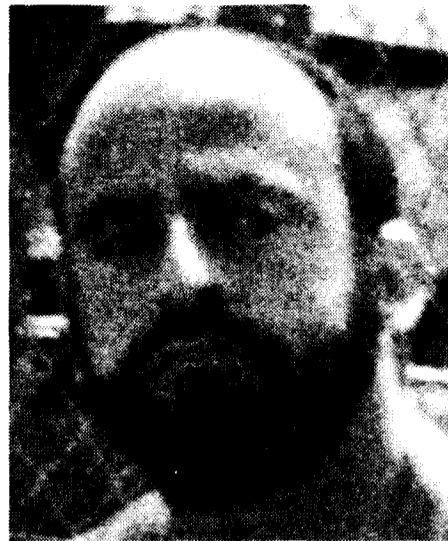
Only someone who wanted to be "the leader," never mind of what, would rush to claim Healy's mantle. Healy's IC was an appendage of his British organization, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), which was distinguished by its physically brutal internal regime and by its capacity, unmatched by garden-variety opportunists, for wild swings of political line in pursuit of egregious and often mutually contradictory appetites. To the extent that the Healyites had a coherent political core, they were cringing legalists/Labourite economists, and virulently anti-Soviet in concrete program. Through it all, the hapless denizens of the IC were assured that, small and miserable though their own groups might be, the British WRP led by Healy (who eventually dubbed himself the IC's "founder-leader") was conquering the masses through its daily paper.

In fact, Healy's daily paper was also a fraud which, lacking a sufficient number of members to support it, came to depend on funding from the most unsavory forces. And the WRP's sole significant "contribution" in many years to the British class struggle came when it made itself the "vanguard" of a redbaiting, union-busting attack on the National Union of Mineworkers, on behalf of the right-wing leaders of the Trades Union Congress. Healy's "exposé" of miners' leader Arthur Scargill's minimal criticism of anti-socialist Polish Solidarność was timed for maximum exposure in Margaret Thatcher's Tory press, and



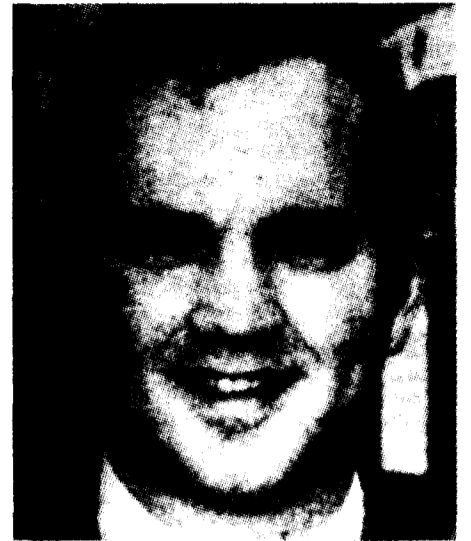
Workers Press

David North



WV Photo

Alan Gelfand



Workers News

Martin McLaughlin

became the opening shot of the campaign to isolate the militant miners union on the very eve of their heroic strike.

When Healy was pushed out of power in the IC last year, the lid came off a real stinking garbage can. We responded by publishing a special issue of our *Spartacist* (No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86) on "Healyism Implodes." There we reviewed Healy's history, which impinged on our own history until about 20 years ago; the next issue of *Spartacist* (No. 38-39, Summer 1986), devoted to the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, also had some relevant things to say about Healy and his IC. And now we find ourselves being vilified at such great length in the *Bulletin*. We know from experience that this means we've touched the WL where it hurts, and that the Northites have decided it's time for them once again to administer some "education," Healy-style, to their supporters—a refresher course in cynicism and how not to think.

Healyism Implodes

North got involved early on in the whisperings of proffered deals among longtime Healyite henchmen that started when Healy started losing his grip on the WRP/IC. Gerry the tinpot despot had got old, while at the same time evidently becoming more uncontrollable than ever in his habits. When Healy reneged on an earlier promise to retire, Mike Banda, Cliff Slaughter and others in England started playing around with revelations of alleged spectacularly abusive behavior by Healy. At the same moment, a first-rate financial scandal erupted: unpaid bills, some going back two years, came to light and it was estimated that one and a quarter million pounds would be required or the WRP would cease to exist. The "revelations" process, begun as blackmail, acquired its own momentum: the leadership was in pieces and the members began to clamor for an explanation for some of the more grotesque atrocities. For example: why were WRP photographers sent to the Iraqi Embassy to photograph Iraqi dissident protesters, the pictures then to be turned over to the Iraqi regime?

North himself became a "leader" in the IC when he was specially chosen by Healy to head the Workers League as his reward for eager services as a mouthpiece for Healy's infamous "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign against the historic American Trotskyist movement.

In the early 1980s, though, North began testing the waters for a revolt against Healy, through timid criticisms—always withdrawn with craven apologies—mainly of Healy's idealist-gobbledygook perversion of dialectics. Now he claims he "fought" Healy. He has to make such a claim, ludicrous though it is. Once Healy the supreme authority of the IC was exposed as the emperor who had no clothes, the members revolted. No longer could they be kept in line with doubletalk "dialectics," endless mindless activism and felt threats. All of Healy's loyal lieutenants scrambled to wash their hands of the IC's more spectacular crimes and organizational "excesses." The contest was on: who has less filth on whose hands? Banda, Slaughter, North, etc. all lacked credibility as virgin crusaders against Healyism (the "new Nixon" had similar problems). Soon the IC house of cards was a pile of rubble.

The departure of Healy and his well-heeled ally, actress Vanessa Redgrave, with a minority of the British WRP was only the beginning. North's demand that the WRP recognize the hegemony of the IC (i.e., him) took another minority out of the WRP, along with most of the WRP youth. Cliff Slaughter leads what's left now sans Banda, who split after writing his ignorant anti-Trotskyist diatribe, "Twenty-Seven Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried Forthwith and the Fourth International Built." North took the bigger piece of the split in Australia as well as the West German and Sri Lankan groupings. (The Peruvians who went with North have recently departed, allegedly in solidarity with some form of Stalinism/Maoism.)

So North's IC doesn't amount to much. Its record is of a bunch of political bandits who became corrupt press agents for despotic "Arab nationalist" capitalist regimes. Alleged to have received at least a million pounds from 1977 on from Libya, Kuwait, Qatar, Abu Dhabi and Iraq, among others, Healy's British group and its subservient IC worked to give "anti-imperialist" cover to anti-working-class crimes by their patrons. In 1979 the Healyites hailed the execution of 21 members of the Communist Party of Iraq by the Ba'ath regime. This is North's IC—loathsome, but at least it's all his. Provided that the American WL (which Slaughter in 1984 said had 74 members) can avoid its fair share of the implosion. North played the "who's dirtier?" game when required to oust Healy and secure

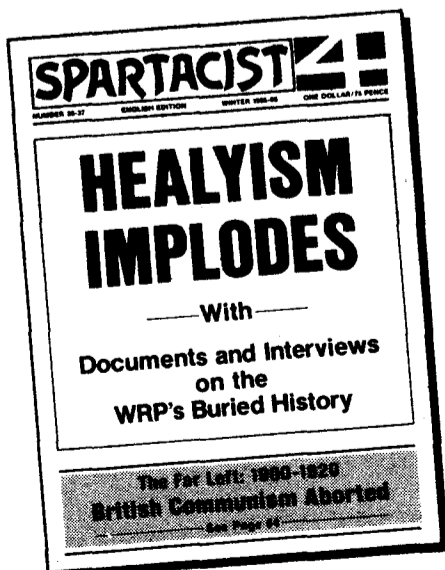
the IC label. Once that was accomplished, he began to move to belittle the IC's crimes in the service of oil-rich Near Eastern dictators. Now he's embarked on a crusade to rally his ranks, not least through a hate campaign against the Spartacist League.

Why us? For one thing, we are the acknowledged Trotskyist organization in this country. Our forces are rather larger than North's. We exist today as an *international* tendency, the only one to have fought in a principled political fashion against both the degeneration of the ex-Trotskyist (now explicitly anti-Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party and, early on, against Healy's fundamental corruption of the IC. This history, covering two decades, is long documented, most lately in the last two issues of our *Spartacist*.

Healyites: Counterfeit Trotskyists

The Workers League's own history begins with its former leader—Tim Wohlforth—acting as Healy's agent to split the left opposition (Revolutionary Tendency, RT) inside the SWP in 1962. The pretext was an ultimatum that all RT members must sign a document affirming they believed that the SWP, which was then centrist and moving rapidly to the right, remained a "revolutionary party." In the hope that the SWP would remain aligned with Healy as part of the International Committee, Healy identified the party leadership's deepening revisionism as solely the property of right-wing elements like Weiss and Swaback, putting forward the perspective of the RT effecting "a united front where possible with the center elements"—i.e., the Dobbs leadership. Most of the RT, led by Jim Robertson and Geoff White, refused to sign the Wohlforth/Healy *diktat*. Wohlforth's only successful "united front" with the Dobbs regime was in setting the RT majority up for expulsion.

In the present *Bulletin* series, great exception is taken to our remark that Wohlforth in 1964 "engineered his own group's expulsion" from the SWP. Aha, says *Bulletin* editor McLaughlin, or whoever is actually writing the series, the Wohlforthites were expelled for an exemplary fight against the Ceylonese Trotskyists' class-collaborationist betrayal in 1964. No doubt for distant consumption, the *Bulletin* fulminates that Spartacists, "as 100% American radicals...could not understand why someone would risk being thrown out of the party because of a dispute over



The *Spartacist* that D. North can't answer.

events taking place halfway around the world."

What happened in Ceylon didn't drop magically from the skies at the moment Wohlforth decided he wanted out of the SWP. "Trotskyism" in Ceylon was founded very late and by some people of extremely privileged social origins. The Ceylon Trotskyists, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), involved themselves in anti-imperialist activism and plebeian social struggles, achieving something of a mass electoral base. When after independence from Britain the main ruling-class political formation split to produce a populist, "national" party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the LSSP was pulled in its wake, led by the LSSP's reformist wing, which had always ultimately called the shots for the party's vacillating "center."

By 1960 it was evident even to a distant American comrade like Jim Robertson that the situation had gone rotten. On 8 August 1960 comrade Robertson wrote a letter (reprinted below) to the SWP Political Committee (PC) urging the SWP to wage an open struggle against the LSSP's course. Robertson's letter was appended to the PC minutes, as were news articles from this period from the *Ceylon News* reporting the LSSP's electoral pact with the SLFP and its withdrawal of opposition to the SLFP's chauvinist "Sinhala Only" language program. The *Ceylon News* quoted longtime LSSP spokesman N.M. Perera: "the only logical tactic was for the LSSP to join hands with the SLFP in a Government and gain control of that Government. This was the only means the LSSP now seemed to have of gaining power."

The SWP, which didn't have much going for it in Ceylon, was proposing to publish a *Militant* article criticizing the LSSP's policy as a classic "Popular Front." But a letter dated 14 August 1960 by Gerry Healy (also reprinted below) urged the SWP to hold up any comment. Healy's implication is clearly that he has people lined up who might be disturbed by criticism of their party. If only the SWP will avoid flying off the handle in such a delicate situation, Gerry will take care of it. What is striking in Healy's letter, as much as his claim that the situation could be saved by maneuvers, is his gratuitous mendacity in suggesting that the reports in the Ceylon bourgeois press were just a pack of lies.

It was a foregone conclusion that the LSSP would decisively capitulate when opportunity presented. In 1964 the SLFP offered the LSSP ministerial portfolios; the LSSP eagerly accepted. Embarrassed, the Pabloite USec hastily expelled the LSSP, as elements of the left wing shook themselves out of the LSSP, finally. Now Wohlforth also discovered betrayal in Ceylon.

Wohlforth's restlessness prior to the emergence of the Ceylon pretext is testified to by Albert Philips, bloc partner of Healy and Wohlforth in splitting the RT. "The Methodology of Frustration," a document by the Philips group dated 23 April 1964, complains that "several months after the 1963 SWP convention," the "frustration" at the SWP's degeneration that had "characterized the Robertsonites" showed up in Wohlforth. "There had been no real changes in the SWP," Philips observes, "yet comrade Wohlforth thought it was time for a reevaluation." At the November 1963 tendency meeting, says Philips, "it was stated that the party was an unfinished centrist organization, and that we had better put ourselves in the best factional position for the time when we would be expelled." After the Kennedy assassination, says Philips, "in terms that the Robertsonites never dared to use, comrade Wohlforth explicitly called for us to split." But under pressure from those like Philips who still wanted to cling to the SWP and its purported "proletarian core," Wohlforth "pulled back," Philips says, from an open split



The way they were (from left): G. Healy, M. Banda, C. Slaughter, 1983.

perspective. Instead, he demanded a discussion on Ceylon, violating internal discussion procedures, knowing this would get his group expelled from the no longer very democratic SWP.

Now, North recasts this deliberate organizational provocation as a supreme political act of internationalism. And no doubt inspired by that paragon of internationalism himself, Gerry Healy, who had intervened so strongly in 1960 to reassure worrywarts like Robertson that he had the Ceylon problem in hand.

Healyism: A Machine for Destroying Cadres

We had refused to accept Healy's 1962 rupture as definitive, given that we and Wohlforth both still claimed to stand on the same anti-revisionist program. Unity negotiations were undertaken in 1965. But at the infamous 1966 IC Conference in London, Healy expelled the Spartacist delegation, ostensibly on the grounds that Robertson had missed a session without "permission." In remarks to the conference, Robertson had sketched out the views of the Spartacist group. His subsequent absence was then used as the excuse for savage attacks by Healy & Co. on the Spartacists for petty-bourgeois arrogance and American chauvinism, and an "apology" (confession) was demanded. As the next two decades of Healy's history amply demonstrated, this method was absolutely characteristic: to try to extract cringing false confessions from comrades, rendering them thereafter subservient instruments, destroyed in their own eyes and before their comrades.

For David North, the Spartacists' refusal to be diverted from a Trotskyist course (they call this "Robertson Breaks from Trotskyism") constitutes "American nationalism and the wounded vanity of an arrogant petty bourgeois." The *Bulletin* series echoes Wohlforth's own 1970 opus, "What Is Spartacist?", which sneers at "Robertson's noble battle for honor, his unbending head." Never mind who that "international" was and what it did for the next 20 years. Robertson should have done like me—I David North always groveled (until I was ready to knife them).

North's own account of how he "fought" Healy is revealing. In an October 1985 speech to the British WRP "Special Congress" North describes how he raised his differences over "dialectics" beginning in late 1982. "We decided," he says (using the royal "we"), "to come and take the first opportunity to raise it with Gerry Healy in an objective manner. Well, the reaction was an explosion. We were told immediately, within a half a minute... he said the alliance is finished." After the Political Committee unanimously supported Healy, North says, he was privately approached by Banda, who "said that in fact he had grave differences.... And I must say that while I was shocked by the depth of the political differences that existed between Comrade Banda and Gerry Healy, I wasn't in a sense surprised." After "lengthy discussions," it was "agreed that there would be a common fight in the International Committee to raise these issues."

North returned for the next IC meeting "fully expecting" to pick up his

alliance with Banda. "But instead when I arrived I was immediately confronted [by Banda].... I was immediately told that the notes which I had written constituted a huge attack on Marxism. He said he had been wrong to come to an agreement with me." They then went into a WRP PC meeting "in which we [North] were told that if we pressed ahead with these differences it would mean a split with the Workers League. And I must say under those conditions..." (guess what!) "we thought that given the enormous authority and experience of the British section we should reconsider our position." North "bit our tongue, we said we did withdraw the document, it wasn't really a document it was notes...." And so it went, right up to the end.

But, says North today, Robertson still should have submitted himself to international authority. (Never mind why North thinks it's so natural, and so

New York, N.Y.
August 8, 1960

To the Political Committee:

Dear Comrades,

I am addressing you on the matter of our party's public silence concerning the recent and continuing betrayal of the Ceylonese working class and of the world Trotskyist movement by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. I refer, of course, to that party's entry into a "Popular Front" electoral pact with the Stalinist party and with the left bourgeois nationalist party represented by the widow Bandaranaike.

In raising this matter privately with several members of your body I was told that letters have been sent the Ceylonese and that your view is that for the present a greater advantage is to be gained by revolutionary Marxists in the LSSP through our remaining publicly silent. I must disagree and urge you to reconsider.

When I read in the New York Times of the electoral pact and then of the election and finally of the continued support by the LSSP to the new capitalist government, my concern over this classically social-democratic capitulation was mitigated by two thoughts: (1) first that the construction of a genuine Trotskyist party for the island could perhaps

smart, to grovel and lie; it never occurs to North that in 1966 we thought: we'll say what we believe and see what happens.) But what makes Healy (and the rest of his crew, like Banda and Wohlforth, now shown to have been a bunch of semi-competents and semi-gangsters) synonymous with "international authority"? Gerry was hardly the only person around laying claim to the mantle of the Fourth International.

Healy Flunks

We spent a long time looking at the fragments of the disintegrated Fourth International, i.e., as it emerged from World War II and the Second World Congress in 1948. In 1953-54, "orthodox" Trotskyists put together the International Committee out of national factions which had come out against the revisionism which gained hegemony under Michel Pablo in the early 1950s. With the senior cadres of the American SWP used up, as we had direct reason to know, that left an IC mainly of Healy's forces in England and Pierre Lambert's in France.

Healy claimed to be the IC in the face of the SWP's political defection, and we were prepared to give him some conditional credit based on what looked like impressive work in England and some good documents. We were the majority of the small forces which had opposed the centrist degeneration of the SWP, once a revolutionary party and a close collaborator of Trotsky's struggle for the Fourth International. We had no

continued on page 10

emerge out of the shambles, and (2) that now the blocks would really be put to Pablo, not over an obscured vote by his English followers in a provincial British Labour Party meeting, but over a clear act of historic proportions by a major party, an act about which the central world organs of the FI would have to take a stand and on the grounds for or against elementary revolutionary principle.

But the silence in the *Militant* weakens both these hopes. Within Ceylon our silence while it may temporarily continue our "respectability" in the mouths of the leaders also places a terrible weapon in their hands against any militants they may have to contend with—"Even the Americans are only privately disturbed and are treating this as a matter between comrades." And as for Pablo's stature before the world movement, every day of delay allows him to say in effect: "You're another maneuverer subordinating principle to tactics."

Comrades, that you condemn the Ceylonese ex-Trotskyists, I have no doubt, but your failure to raise this publicly and with great seriousness does the movement internationally a disservice.

With comradely greetings,
James Robertson

SOCIALIST LABOR LEAGUE
186 Clapham High Street
London S.W. 4, England

14th August, 1960

Joe Hansen

Dear Joe,

We discussed at some length on our Organizing Committee (the equivalent of your Political Committee) the proposition concerning the situation in Ceylon.

The opinion here is that the Ceylon News, being a Ceylon Embassy information hand-out, is not reliable and should not be used as the basis of the piece for the *Militant*. We think that it is necessary to write again asking for the fullest possible infor-

mation concerning the present situation in the party in Ceylon.

There is no doubt that they are in a severe crisis but if we take their situation and recent events in Europe it is not improbable that there will now be important developments inside the Pablo camp. This is all the more reason for us to proceed with caution—as you have in the past so rightly insisted.

We are going to cable them tomorrow for information and we suggest you do likewise and hold up for the time being publication of anything in the *Militant*.

Best wishes,
Gerry

Copy to J.P.C.

Workers League...

(continued from page 9)

doubt of the necessity for disciplined subordination of our national group to a programmatically cohesive international movement committed to Trotsky's program. So Healy thought he had us on trial in his "IC" kangaroo court? We had Healy on trial too, and so long as there seemed to be a programmatic basis of agreement, we were very patient about it. In 1962 we evaluated our first close encounter: "if Healy intervenes roughly and using authority to try to shove a puppet regime down our throats, it opens up a lousy vista of the future of the IC" (Jim Robertson, letter to Geoff White, 27 September 1962).

From the time of our inception as an independent tendency in 1964, we sought to work with and examine those who stood to the left among ostensible Trotskyists—e.g., Healy, Lambert in France, Guillermo Lora in Bolivia, the group in Ceylon around Edmund Samarakkody. These tendencies (except for Healy, who was a political bandit) proved to be nationally defined and delimited, and/or used up.

Throughout, we were also aware of the United Secretariat (USec) led by the erudite Belgian Ernest Mandel. The USec was the Pabloists sans Pablo (who we also checked out) and somewhat allied with the SWP of Dobbs and Joseph Hansen. The USec had by far the most groups in the most countries, adhering to them in a semi-accidental way; then they got a big jolt from the international "generation of May '68." It was our observing that the anti-revisionists had not done a very good job of exposing the USec's (and others') claims to be the Fourth International that evidently got us tossed out of Healy's 1966 IC conference. A decade or so later, Healy, North & Co. concocted a devil theory to explain the survival of Pabloite revisionism: the U.S. government, and also Stalinism, had adopted Hansen and then Jack Barnes to do the devil's work.

Healy, though, proved to be a very different sort of character—a political bandit capable of anything. What form the "anything" would take for him and those who through the self-selection process of groveling and lying became his creatures was not predetermined at the time Healy broke with us in 1966. But it quickly ceased to be our problem at all, because by 1967 Healy had broken far away from "orthodox" Trotskyism. His forces emerged as the most vulgar, super-Pabloist cheerlead-

News Line, 2 February 1979

It is true that 21 CP members were executed early last year for illegally forming cells in the armed forces. The purpose of these cells was to fight against the government. There are no prizes for the answer to what would happen to Ba'athists who set up cells in the Soviet army. They would be ruthlessly purged!

News Line, 8 March 1979

From an historical point of view, the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party of Iraq has played a hundredfold more progressive role in the Middle East than Stalinism.

Banda News Line, 20 November 1985

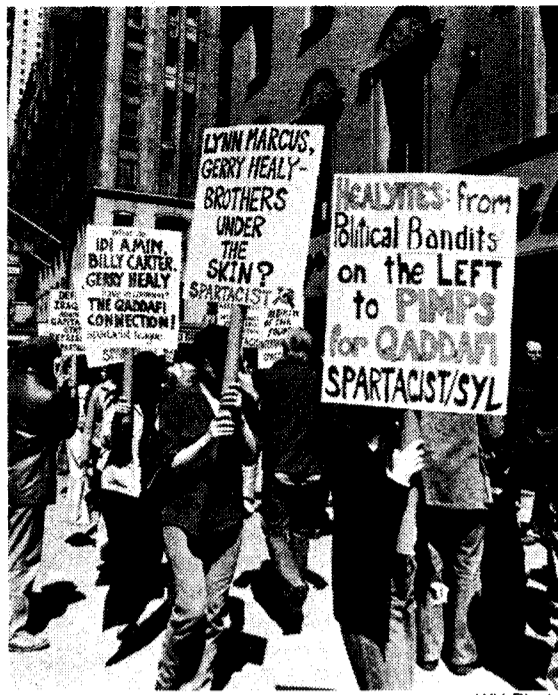
fore the meeting to confirm the report, and he had. Then another comrade who was a photographer on News Line came to the microphone and told how she was sent by A Mitchell, a Political Committee and Editorial Board member, to photograph supporters of the Iraqi Communist Party demonstrating outside the Iraqi Embassy.

(When she realized what she was doing...)

ers for Stalinism (Mao's "Cultural Revolution") and Third World nationalism. The "Arab Revolution" line the Healyites adopted as the excuse to hail the 1967 Arab-Israel conflict proved most fruitful. A transclass, transnational, totally disembodied "Arab Revolution" is elastic enough to embrace any act by any Arab regime, depending perhaps on which monarchy, theocracy or military dictatorship is dispensing patronage. Thus in 1979 Healy hailed the execution of militant Communist workers in Iraq, who were allegedly undermining the glorious "anti-imperialist" Iraqi army. But later, Healy supported Khomeini's Iran in its war with that same Iraqi regime.

The alternation of leftist posturing and egregious opportunism—that was Healyism. And the Workers League was a smeared carbon copy of that prototype. Wohlforth himself was dumped in 1975 amidst Healy's slanderous CIA-baiting of Wohlforth's companion, Nancy Fields. That set the stage for North's ascent, but Healy evidently never got much joy out of his U.S. epigones. Indeed he seems to have concluded a decade ago that his loyal American satellite wasn't worth too much. In an article titled "Healy writes off the American working class" (*Workers News*, 27 May) Martin McLaughlin whines:

"It suffices to say that from 1975 to 1984, a period of nine years, WRP leaders made exactly two trips to the United States for brief discussions with the



WV Photo

NYC 1979: Spartacist protest exposes Healyites' support for murder of Iraqi Communists. After 1985 Healyite implosion, Banda/Slaughter admitted Healy organization had fingered Iraqi CPers to bloody Ba'athist regime.

Workers League, once each by Michael Banda and Cliff Slaughter. "Healy never returned to North America after the struggle against the renegacy of Tim Wohlforth in 1974-75."

We know a bit about Healy and we know he never thought much of Wohlforth. Apparently he thought even less of North.

The Big Lie as "Method"

The present *Bulletin* series strings together lies so outlandish and shameless that they are clearly designed to drive away anyone in or around the WL who has the ability to read and think. This use of the Big Lie was perfected by Stalin as a method of control; Healy/North elevated this method to a psychotic principle. It goes like this: here, comrade, are 50 articles in the Spartacist press calling for the smashing of apartheid, the forging of a genuine Bolshevik party to lead a proletarian revolution, for the establishment of a black-centered workers republic in South Africa. Memorize them and then go out and sell the *Bulletin* which says that Spartacist "Opposes Anti-Apartheid Struggle." If you have a problem with this, you don't understand "dialectics." You are supposed to *know* you're lying; then having lied, you are bound to your leaders until you finally slink away—ashamed, destroyed. Such intentional destruction of cadre is a Healyite hallmark, the ugly cult side of Healyism.

In the past, the WL has smeared us as "racists" and "fascists" (see our article, "Smash Fascist Smear of SL," *WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985), and even as "the funderman for the world capitalists" (*Bulletin*, 2 December 1969). In November 1978 a leaflet of the German Healyites, now with North, called Jim Robertson the "main spokesman for the national interests of the American bourgeoisie"! We note our demotion to the old "middle-class radical" category in the current series, which simultaneously portrays us as black nationalists and white racists, Shachtmanites and Stalinophiles (i.e., anti- and pro-Russian).

The *Bulletin's* first installment claims that our statement of simple fact—that the Hormel meatpackers strike was knifed—reveals our "virulent hatred of the working class and deep pessimism" (*Bulletin*, 1 April), then quotes from *WV* a citation which proves rather the opposite: "After a hard, bitter fight the heroic Hormel strike has been smashed." Counterposing to us its own prostration before the local P-9 bureaucracy, the WL hails a federal court suit against the backstabbing UFCW International and another "major proposal"—"to take the strikers' case to International President William Wynn, even out to his golf course if necessary." The coy parenthetical note,

"We will consider the Spartacist position on the use of the capitalist courts in a later article," tops it off.

Did David North Go to Carleton College?

We think the *Bulletin* will be hard put indeed to consider the elementary labor principle that the bosses' courts are not the vehicle for solving disputes in the labor movement. Healy made recourse to the state against opponents a hallmark of his "tactics" 20 years ago against the USec's Ernie Tate. North & Co. have themselves dragged the capitalist courts in to police the left—most notoriously in the case of one Alan Gelfand. WL agent Gelfand was expelled from the SWP and sued that organization in federal court in 1979, citing Healy's notorious slanders that the FBI (along with the Stalinist GPU) controlled the SWP. He demanded the court uphold these slanders and reinstate him as an SWP member. Gelfand was vigorously supported by North and financed by Healy. Since the WRP split, Slaughter and Banda have belatedly disavowed both the Gelfand provocation and the scandalous "Security and the Fourth International" campaign against the SWP. North—a major mouthpiece of "Security..."—is still proud of it.

North's cohort was one Alex Mitchell, formerly the editor of Healy's British paper and now described by his ex-comrades as "ace Healy snoop and his top hand-shaker. Master-minded disgraceful 'Security & FI' with North, justified killing of Iraqi CPers.... Mid-east link man, widely mis-trusted" (*Workers Press*, 7 June). The "Security..." slander campaign was aimed specifically at veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen, accusing him of being an accomplice of the Stalinist assassination of Leon Trotsky. Mitchell is still with the Healy Healyites.

North was Healy's accomplice in the loathsome assault on Hansen's reputation, and, through that device, they attacked the reputation of the old SWP and Trotsky himself. After Trotsky's murder by the degenerate Stalinist secret police in 1940, the Stalinists tried to put about the disgusting lie that Trotsky was murdered by "his own people." This claim got no credence at the time, and the main effect of its resuscitation in new form by the IC was simply to discredit Healy/North.

Hansen had served as one of Trotsky's secretaries in exile, one of the human links that welded the American party in its revolutionary days to Trotsky in his struggle to reforge an authentic Bolshevik international. Hansen was won in his youth to a revolutionary party; after that party degenerated, he spent long years as a centrist and then a reformist spokesman. In this he was no different from many others, in many countries, whose leftist impulses wore out before they themselves wore out. For Healy, though, such an explanation



Workers Press

"Founder-leader" G. Healy before the fall.

Spartacist English Edition

No. 38-39
Summer 1986
(56 pages)

One Dollar

(Spartacist is sent to all WV subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 38-39 ENGLISH EDITION SUMMER 1986 ONE DOLLAR/75 PENCE

The SWP—A Strangled Party

PAGE 6

"Don't Strangle the Party" 18

Reprint of pamphlet containing three letters and a speech by James Cannon with an introduction by George Breitman

Memories of a 1960s SWP Oppositionist 28

Memories of a 1970s SWP Oppositionist 30

James P. Cannon Memorial 32

What Happened to Peter Fryer	2
Founding British Communism—An Exchange	3
George Breitman Dead: A Felt Loss	4
Proceedings: Eighth Plenum of the 1st International Executive Committee	41
Trotskyists in World War Two	46
Excerpts from "War and the Fourth International"	49
Healyite Diaspora	56

is not sufficient. No, Hansen has to have been a police agent—indeed, a simultaneous agent for the FBI and the Stalinist GPU. The implicit corollary is: if Hansen, why not SWP founder James Cannon? And why not Trotsky himself?

After Hansen died, the emphasis of Healy's paranoid slander campaign shifted to the present SWP head, Jack Barnes. Hundreds of pages in the Healyite press sought to show that Barnes (who's not one of our favorite people, by the way) was an FBI agent; in fact, they claim, so are all his cronies in the present leadership of the SWP. Why? Because a bunch of them all went to Carleton College, a small school in the American Midwest. For "proof" we are offered, among other things, a 1961 report on a visit to Carleton by... Jim Robertson!

Robertson, then a leader of the SWP's Young Socialist Alliance, went on tour for the YSA in 1961. At Carleton, he met with a loose group of youth, some of whom were SWP supporters. When he arrived he found that these leftist students "had all the party [internal] bulletins on the Cuba discussion and in the presence of a whole group of 18 students, their leader innocently asked me to fill them in on Wohlforth's side in the dispute" (this letter by Robertson is quoted in the WL's 1981 pamphlet, "Security and the Fourth International: The Carleton Twelve"). Robertson, himself in opposition on Cuba, suggested the students should join the SWP if they wanted to be privy to its internal life. For Healy & Co., that these non-members had gotten some interesting documents (from SWP leader Carl Feingold) is "irrefutable" evidence of an FBI conspiracy, carried out by Hansen and Feingold, to groom Jack Barnes and his Carleton cronies to take over the government's SWP operation from Hansen. Those familiar with Healyite doublethink will find nothing unusual about the idea that Robertson—elsewhere portrayed as the most pernicious agent of Hansen—here constitutes an unimpeachable witness to the Carleton College "conspiracy."

But perhaps there's more to it. Is North himself an agent of Robertson? Why else would he use Robertson as an authority, when we all know how Robertson covered up for Hansen the FBI agent? Did David North also go to Carleton College?

As we have noted before, "Security and the Fourth International" was always a supremely cynical device, used along with a deliberately mystified "dialectics" to keep the Healyite membership scared witless and hopelessly confused. Healy was the man with the answers: who is a CIA/FBI/GPU agent and which "opposites" to hold fast to. Healy's little heir, North, doesn't believe his own lies, if there is any truth to the following story. According to Savas Michael (Greek IC section leader still with Healy), North visited Michael in Athens to line him up against Healy when it became clear the WRP was about to blow apart. Michael claims he asked North about "Security and the Fourth International" and North "spoke about a 'personal vendetta' between G. Healy and Joseph Hansen" (*Marxist Review*, May 1986).

Such a vendetta did indeed exist. A conscious revisionist and skilled polemicist, Hansen twisted Healy's tail on more than one occasion—especially in his exposure of Healy's antics at the 1966 London IC Conference. It was for selling Hansen's pamphlet of documents on our exclusion from that conference that Healy had a Canadian USec leader, Ernie Tate, beaten up in London, then sued him when he protested. Then when Wohlforth was purged, his lengthy, lurid account of life in Healy's IC was printed by Hansen in *Intercontinental Press*, the journal he edited. The *Bulletin* produced a reply to Wohlforth in the form of a polemic against our own article "Wohlforth Terminated" (*WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975). Hansen must

have enjoyed himself thoroughly when he added the following footnote on the Healyite article:

"It is not clear why the Workers League Political Committee concludes that Robertson and Wohlforth have consummated 'a political marriage that is pregnant with historical ironies.' Perhaps the WLPC misread the quip in the 'Wohlforth Terminated' article: 'As for Wohlforth, we can say with sincerity: it couldn't happen to a nicer guy!'"

—*Intercontinental Press*, Vol. 13, No. 11, 24 March 1975

Healyism and Racism

When Healy wrote of "D. North's whiter than white socialism" he doubtless didn't know how right he was. For

D. North's "whiter than white" Bulletin ridicules Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982 (below).



WV Photo

North continues the long tradition of U.S. Healyite "colorblind" economism. Perhaps the most self-indicting piece in the *Bulletin's* series is the one entitled, "An Obsession With Race." It both proves that nothing in the real world stands in the way of what the *Bulletin* will print and that the WL's profile in this deeply racist country is, on the black question, akin to the old AFL job-trusted white-racist unions. Of the latter, founding American Trotskyist James P. Cannon said: "They also had nothing special to offer the Negroes; nothing at all, in fact" ("The Russian Revolution and The American Negro Movement").

According to the *Bulletin's* research:

"The *Workers Vanguard's* 1985 subject index contains references to at least 60 articles on the 'black struggle,' civil rights, police terror, racial attacks, fascist groups, etc. These included a number of articles on the MOVE bombing which was certainly one of the most important political developments [!] of the year, but dozens of other incidents as well.

"In the same one-year period, according to the index, the Spartacist newspaper managed a single article on auto workers, two on steelworkers and one on (US) coal miners."

—*Bulletin*, 3 June

Talk about perfect Healyite hypocrisy. By rights, their tongues should grow hair and their toes shrivel up and fall off as they utter the word "index." Can you imagine the WL putting out indexed bound volumes of the past years of the *Bulletin* so that advanced workers can study their record?

Now what does the index controversy show? 1) That "only the Workers League" could refer to the hideous racist massacre of Philly MOVE by the state in such bloodless, colorblind terms. 2) That in Reagan's America, racist terror has been unleashed viciously and consciously and often as part of the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive. 3) That the auto, steel and (U.S.) coal unions probably weren't writing a proud new chapter in the history of the American class struggle last year.

For the *Bulletin*, though, it demon-

strates that the Spartacists "counterpose" the "struggle against racism from the struggle of the working class," "making the working class, rather than the capitalist system, responsible for racial discrimination and prejudice." Inexorably, what follows is an example of our work proving precisely the opposite: the successful SL-initiated, union-backed Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Over 5,000 black workers and youth turned out and placed themselves under our leadership and the threatened KKK march was stopped in its tracks. It was a singular victory for labor, and particularly for

fascists in this country have been able to poll hundreds of thousands of votes, the *Bulletin* snaps: "the Spartacists cannot point to a KKK candidate who has received such a mass vote." Try these for starters: KKKer Tom Metzger received over 32,000 votes in a 1980 Democratic Congressional primary in California; a brown-shirted Nazi, Harold Covington, took 56,000 votes in a North Carolina statewide election for attorney general. The Klan, of course, endorsed Ronald Reagan and took his victory as their own. But this is just social reality and therefore has no place in the Northites' attempt to work us over. Perhaps the most idiotic part of the *Bulletin's* anti-racist tirade is the denunciation of our slogan "Finish the Civil War!" as "utterly reformist!"

Northite "Internationalism": Little Lords of Nothing

By the mid-1970s, the IC had become unashamed apologists for Near Eastern bourgeois regimes. In 1985 Slaughter admitted:

"GH [Healy] sought and found relations with bourgeois leaders like Saddam Hussein, Gaddafi, and Nkomo. It is not only that Marxism was distorted in order to mislead on their class nature. This Party, through Healy, sought financial support from these bourgeois, not just for this or that political purpose, but as a system."

—*News Line*, 20 November 1985

But now that these revelations have served their purpose in dumping Healy, North & Co. want to turn the IC's crimes into Healy's personal responsibility. Slaughter says that it was when he "raised the question of Comrade North tackling his own responsibility for the IC's past" that North "moved very quickly to propose suspension of the WRP from the IC." He also spills some beans about Nick Beams, North's bloc partner in Australia:

"Is it only the WRP which received financial assistance from one or other Middle Eastern bourgeois national governments?..."

"Is it not a fact that the Australian section did receive a sum of (tens of thousands of dollars) in 1983?..."

"Is it not a fact that the receipt of this money by the Australian section [w]as reported to the Central Committee of the SLL (Australia) only in the month before the IC meeting of Dec 16 [1985]?..."

"Is it not true that Cde Beams failed to report the matter to the IC or to the WRP delegates, but that he did report it to at least some of the delegates who supported the WRP suspension and certainly to Comrade North?"

—Slaughter, Letter to all members, 14 January 1986

According to the *Slaughter Workers Press* (28 June 1986) Beams "was formally censured...for failing to report to the December 17 [1985] meeting of IC leaders, held in London, on the SLL's role in carrying out Healy's betrayals especially in the Middle East.... At a further conference held on March 1 and 2 the [Northite Australian SLL] majority could not even agree on whether a betrayal had occurred when the SLL supported the execution of the 21 Iraqi communists." This article also notes that Beams and North had initially opposed Healy's expulsion.

continued on page 12

A Spartacist Pamphlet 25¢

Black History and the Class Struggle

25¢ (16 pages)

A Spartacist Pamphlet 75¢

Black History and the Class Struggle No. 2

On the Civil Rights Movement

75¢ (32 pages)

A Spartacist Pamphlet 75¢

Black History and the Class Struggle No. 3

Massacre of Philly MOVE

75¢ (32 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116

Workers League...

(continued from page 11)

From virtually all quarters, save North's own, comes the same story: crisis in the WRP, North maneuvering for junior "founder-leader" status—blocking with Slaughter/Banda to dump Healy, banking on the demise of his bloc partners thereafter. Greek Healyite Michael says that when North visited him in September, "he spoke with the utmost contempt for the 'unprincipled, nationalist British' including his present day [now ex-] allies, Slaughter, Banda and Pilling. He called Slaughter 'a physical coward', Banda an opportunist and Pilling 'an alcoholic.'" Slaughter supporter Bill Hunter, in his cogent reply to Banda's "Twenty-Seven Reasons..." adds:

"His [North's] 'authority' is based on the Eighth Congress of the IC.... Every proceeding at that congress, every word which came out of it, is a monument of 'Healyism'."

—Workers Press, 15 February

What is North's IC? When you turn over the rock to see what makes them move, you find a dead-end pecking-order invidiousness appropriate to those who aspire to be little lords of nothing. Certainly there is no connection between these fracturing grouplets and the class struggle, the defense of the oppressed. The German Northites—the Bund Sozialistische Arbeiter (BSA)—have adopted a "new" line for electoral support to the German Social Democratic Party, according to the 25 July *Bulletin*. Only three days before, the *Bulletin* had published a BSA statement entitled "Social-Democracy and the 'Trail of Blood'." While the Peruvian regime was massacring hundreds of political prisoners, the SPD and its fellows were meeting at a congress of the Second International "only a few

kilometers away." Former SPD chancellor Willy Brandt, we are told, made what amounted to "a complete apology for the blood bath." He is, according to the *Bulletin*, "on the side of imperialism in Latin America.... His political aim differs from Ronald Reagan's only in nuances." Yet it is to this very SPD that the German Northites now extend their electoral support.

Beams' Australian SLL admitted publicly that it had printed an exile organ of the fascistic Vietnamese émigrés, *The Bell of Saigon*. This link with the thugs who have been physically attacking leftist and labor meetings was "explained" by the SLL as part of a turn toward "commercial enterprise." Has the financially beleaguered WL found similar sources of income yet?

David North: A Healyite's Healyite

North and his gang are *worthless people* for the international working-class movement. Separated from their own "continuity"—Healy—their trajectory might lead *anywhere*. With supreme cynicism, the *Bulletin* has begun a series penned by North on "The Heritage We Defend," which obscenely tries to claim connection with Trotsky and Cannon. The heritage North really defends is Healy's at its worst: "Security and the Fourth International"; eager ventures across the class line in pursuit of trivial opportunist advantage or financial support; shameless use of the bosses' courts within the workers movement.

Programmatically, the IC under Healy and now North is a virulently anti-Soviet sect. Beginning with embrace of the Maoist "Cultural Revolution" in 1966, they have moved on to support virtually every hostile force on the borders of the USSR, from Khomeini's Iran to the Afghan mullahs to Polish Solidarność. Their enthusiasm for Solidarność, the Pope's and Wall Street's best hope for plunging Poland



Class war in Britain's coal fields, 1984. On eve of strike, Healyites' redbaiting attack on miners' leader Scargill was eagerly picked up by Tory press.

into a bloody civil war for the restoration of capitalism, led them into the arms of Margaret Thatcher when they redbaited miners' leader Arthur Scargill on the eve of the heroic miners' strike. "Anti-Stalinism" was their cover for supporting the beheading of the Iraqi proletariat when they applauded the execution of the CP members on the grounds that, after all, "they were only Stalinists."

In the 3 January *Bulletin*, North denounced Pabloism for overthrowing "Trotsky's characterization of Stalinism as 'counter-revolutionary through and through.'" This formulation owes nothing to Trotsky; in fact, it comes from Dave Weiss ("D. Stevens"), who put it forward during the 1953 Cochran-Clarke fight in the SWP. A historical irony here—it was Healy/North's arch-enemy, Joseph Hansen, who defended this one-sided formulation in the debate. (Any curious Northites are referred to SWP *Internal Bulletin*, Vol. 15, Nos. 3 and 4, February 1953.) By Healyite logic, North must be: 1) a hopeless ignoramus or 2) a secret agent of Hansen.

Trotsky in all his writings insisted on the *contradictory* nature of Stalinism, a conservative bureaucratic caste which rests upon the socialized property forms in the deformed workers states; at the same time Stalinism, by seeking accommodation with imperialism, undermines the defense of the workers states, necessitating proletarian *political revolution*. (Denying the dual nature of Stalinism, how can the Healyites explain such occurrences as the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam? They can't, which explains that characteristic Healyite schizophrenia: slavishly tailing the Vietnamese leadership, while at the same time denying that an anti-capitalist revolution took place in Cuba.)

The WL's "anti-Stalinism" leans heavily on the notion that Washington and the Kremlin are united for counter-revolution in a global conspiracy against, e.g., Solidarność and the national liberation of Third World peoples. A glance at the real world, though, shows that more than 60 years of sincere Stalinist commitment to "peaceful coexistence" hasn't reconciled (and can't) the capitalist rulers to the continued existence of the Soviet Union. Indeed, a frenzied imperialist regime identifies as "Soviet surrogates" every movement for social freedom, from Nicaragua to South Africa. And needless to say the WL, busy denouncing Russian capitulations, never mentions how the Chinese are serving as direct military agents of U.S. imperialism from the Vietnamese border to Angola to Afghanistan.

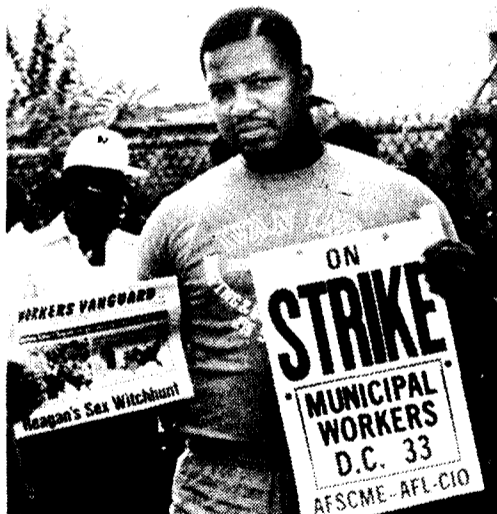
Anti-Sovietism is a necessary credential for those who seek patronage from the maggoty labor bureaucrats, from those traitors to the working class who serve their "own" imperialism. And it's among those traitors that the Healyites seek to nest. Thus the WL in the New York transit union seeks to entice the union tops to form a "labor party" by mimicking their bureaucrats' hostile indifference to the defense of James

Grimes, a black worker prosecuted for a courageous act of self-defense. The WL's racist economism is fundamental. But there is also a chameleon-like quality to the WL's politics. The *Bulletin* series paints us as "obsessed" with black people in America. But over South Africa, for example, they are simultaneously for imperialist "divestment" and for blood and vengeance, People's War, and charge us with being obsessed with...white people. That's because the Healyites/Northites are *whores*, and who they're seeking to please varies from one moment to the next.

The thoroughgoing defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism and capitalist restoration requires revolutionary leadership. It requires the forging of Trotskyist parties in each country welded together as disciplined sections of a reborn Fourth International. The international Spartacist tendency was forged to preserve and build upon the threads of continuity that link the authentic Fourth Internationalists of today to the movement of Trotsky's and Cannon's time. Those threads are slender. We are thinking not only of the murder of Trotsky and the decimation of the European Trotskyist groups by fascism and world war. We recall also the murdered Andrés Nin, the Hanoi Trotskyists who were extinguished, and others about whom we know even less. From our independent inception in 1964, we sought to intersect and test out every kind of grouping that claimed to have something to offer in the way of international leadership. For our American-based grouping, tossed out of the SWP with small forces, the struggle for international collaborators was an uphill battle, and one that still continues.

Gerry Healy and his heirs are a world apart from this. They have a publishing machine, so we have to answer what they say. But what they say means nothing—their words are but applications for some sordid and episodic advantage, bearing no relationship to what they claim to believe. What is Healy, what is North? We have to concur with Trotsky's remark about Stalinism, but in microcosm of course: to the extent the Healyites/Northites are part of the working class, they are its siphilis. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



WV Photo

Week Two Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Week Two	%
Atlanta	125	89	71
Boston	250	147½	59
Chicago	350	300½	86
Cleveland	200	165	83
Los Angeles	125	52	42
New York	900	266½	30
Oakland	550	271½	49
San Francisco	350	104½	30
Washington, D.C.	150	123½	82
National Total	3,000	1,520	51

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
 Address _____
 Phone () _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*.

- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
 New Renewal
- \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist*, edición en español
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
 Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
 161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
 Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
 41 Warren St. (one block below
 Chambers St. near Church St.)
 New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

Today Reagan claims the Soviet UN mission is a "nest of spies." But all diplomats are more or less legalized spies. Ever since the exchange of emissaries between the Persians and Greeks in ancient times, the diplomatic norms of personal immunity for diplomats and extraterritoriality for embassies have been fundamental to peaceful intercourse among peoples and nation-states. The Reaganites want to do away with this understanding because there are certain nation-states they want to do away with, from Sandinista Nicaragua and Castro's Cuba to the Soviet Union. They express this in the history of gross American abuse of Soviet diplomatic personnel in recent years—e.g., in 1983 (in the midst of the anti-Soviet hysteria over the U.S.' KAL 007 spy flight) Soviet foreign minister Gromyko was denied landing rights in New York for his Aeroflot airliner, thus barring him from attending the UN session; and in January 1980 Soviet ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin's life was jeopardized as anti-Soviet air controllers deliberately blipped his plane from the JFK radar screen.

Reagan's French and British NATO allies have occasionally tried diplomatic bully-boy tactics by ejecting Soviet personnel en masse. But when "Rambo's daughter," British prime minister Maggie Thatcher, tried her "Iron Lady" routine by expelling 25 Soviet diplomatic and other officials last year, she found out to her regret that Gorbachev is no wimp: Moscow responded tit for tat instantly with the expulsion of 25 Britons. Unfortunately, caught up perhaps in summit fever and their illusory quest for "arms control" via paper agreements with the imperialists, the Moscow bureaucrats quietly acceded to the U.S. demands to cut their UN diplomatic personnel. Even before the White House's preemptory order, a spokesman for the U.S. mission to the UN admitted: "the [Soviet] reductions are on schedule." And now they have ordered the 25 to leave as well.

The American ruling class has never gotten used to the idea that most of the world is populated by oppressed peoples of color who don't necessarily think the Great White Father in Washington is their *Führer*. A leading spokesman for racist backlash is NYC Democratic mayor Ed Koch, who did his usual bit for Reagan by browbeating a group of Soviet youth visiting New York as part of "Peace Child Week." During a "welcome" speech he declared he was "not at peace" with the USSR and denounced the Soviet government as "the pits" (*New York Times*, 16 September). Quite a mouthful from the man who has turned New York into pit city. This tantrum led one 14-year-old Soviet boy to defiantly say in broken but dignified English, "I don't want to stay in this house no more minute."

Nests of Hacks

The American media have thrown up a smokescreen of righteous indignation over the arrest of an alleged reporter in Moscow—supposedly U.S. reporters don't spy. Never mind all the post-Watergate revelations, such as the 1976 Senate intelligence committee report that the CIA had around 50 agents working under cover as journalists or employees of American publications, not to mention the hundreds of agency "assets" who had a more "unofficial" connection—namely they passed on hot tips for free. Columnist Joseph Alsop, who bragged that he "helped the CIA from time to time," was typical. We are supposed to believe these relationships were ended in 1977 as the result of a new CIA regulation. But only a fool would take the word of an agency that deals in disinformation. Even *Newsweek* (22 September), which ought to know, reports that "America's 'spooks' and



Soviet leader Gorbachev meets with warmonger Reagan in Geneva, November 1985.

'hacks' still find ways to keep in touch while staying at arm's length."

So, what about Daniloff? He is a grandson of an anti-Bolshevik tsarist general; he's also evidently something of a Russophile. His initial press release of 13 September was a classic non-denial denial, saying "everything that I have done in the U.S.S.R. has been on my own personal initiative or on request of my magazine." At his press conference the next day, Daniloff pointedly remarked, twice, that if he were a "big-time spy" he would have expected "that my arrest would have come much earlier." So what does that make him, a small-fry spy? Charged with being a courier, he openly admitted delivering a letter to the U.S. embassy in January 1985, claiming merely that it had appeared "unsolicited" in his mailbox and he "did not open" it. To charges that he probed for military information, he replied that in writing on Afghanistan and the Soviet Navy he "dug deeply," but only in the sense of "journalistic activity."

Predictably, very few of the specifics of Soviet charges against Daniloff have filtered through the Western news media. But one allegation did leak through which may be a key to the whole case. As reported in *Newsday* (9 September):

"Izvestia linked Daniloff to Paul Stombaugh, a U.S. diplomat accused of being a CIA agent and expelled from the Soviet Union in June, 1985. As evidence, it cited a note, allegedly given to a Soviet citizen by Stombaugh, that said: 'We would like to assure you that the letter delivered by you to the journalist on Jan. 24 got to the designated person.' Izvestia claimed Daniloff was the journalist mentioned in the letter."

Who is the "Soviet citizen" for whom Daniloff was allegedly passing information to the CIA? No major news media in the U.S. has bothered to pursue this critical question. But the *New York Times* apparently tripped up once in an article (9 September) about Daniloff by mentioning Stombaugh's Soviet contact: "According to a report in Pravda last September, [Stombaugh] was apprehended in the act of taking materials from a man named A.G. Tolkachev, who worked for a Moscow research institute."

The Tolkachev case was no small matter. The *New York Post* (18 October 1985) called Tolkachev the "CIA's Top Mole," and citing the *Wall Street Journal* listed some of his traitorous accomplishments: "Tolkachev for several years had provided the CIA with details of the latest Soviet advances in radar and 'stealth technology'—the most sensitive information in military aviation. He also is believed to have given the U.S. its first tipoff about Soviet plans for the large phased-array radar system under construction in Krasnoyarsk." The Krasnoyarsk radar, actually located at the nearby village of Abalakova, has been well documented to be the probable prime target of the KAL 007 spy operation (see our article, "Skeletons in the White House Basement," *WV* No. 394, 3 January 1986, as well as R.W. Johnson's recent book, *Shootdown*).

In short, there is considerable evidence that Daniloff may have been the go-between who provided the intelligence which kicked off the Reaganite

KAL 007 provocation, a landmark on the road to World War III. One can only say, as we did last issue (*WV* No. 411, 12 September), "let's find out if he's guilty with a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence."

For Communist Unity!

In the wake of the Stockholm "confidence building" East-West accord, the *New York Times* (22 September) declares: "After months of sharp disputes, the United States and the Soviet Union seem suddenly on the road to both a summit meeting and conclusion of a major arms control agreement." While "not blinking" over Daniloff, Soviet leader Gorbachev had set as a condition for a second summit meeting with Reagan that there be a "significant" arms control agreement to sign at the conclusion. He didn't want to come out with empty hands, like the last time around in Geneva when it was all Reagan-style media hype. But sign what? Agreements that limit the number of Soviet missiles and allow NATO to send military spies poking around the Soviet bloc wherever and whenever they want, while hundreds of U.S. missiles targeted for a first strike on the Kremlin are just offshore?

Last spring, in an overview of Reagan policy toward the Soviet Union, *New York Times* "national security" correspondent (and off-and-on top State Department and Pentagon official)



Soviet scientist and UN employee Gennadi Zakharov seized by American authorities.

Leslie Gelb reported that Administration officials believed they had "altered the correlation of overall power with Moscow." The Reaganites figured that Gorbachev was "trapped" and would be forced to crawl to a summit meeting, like it or not. U.S. military and economic strength had been restored after the Vietnam debacle, they fantasized, while "Moscow has 'overreached' globally," and "would not respond to American military action against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra," nor would there be "a vigorous Soviet reaction" to escalated U.S. arms supplied to contra mercenaries in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and Cambodia. In short, in the words of a "high-ranking official," they figure the Russians are "on the run" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

But as soon as the Kremlin took what

was seen as a "tough" posture over the Daniloff affair, this registered even with American conservatives. Right-wing columnist and former Nixon flack William Safire tried to explain this, claiming: "In response to the prospect of a visit to Moscow by the leader of China, the Soviet Union has placed world Communist unity ahead of superpower agreement..." (*New York Times*, 22 September). Unfortunately, Sino-Soviet unity is hardly the reality. Ever since 1972, when Mao embraced Nixon while U.S. B-52s were carpet-bombing North Vietnam, China has been a strategic ally of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. This alliance was sealed by acts of war: the Chinese armed CIA-backed guerrillas in Angola in 1975 and Afghanistan today, and have attacked Soviet-allied Vietnam since 1979. Such treachery is patently self-defeating: if the Soviet Union is destroyed, the Chinese will be next!

In a speech in Vladivostok on July 28, Gorbachev made an overture to Deng to resolve the long-standing dispute over territory along the Amur and Ussuri rivers on the Russian-Chinese border. But Gorbachev's "Vladivostok initiative" also included an approach to the anti-Communist ASEAN states. For its part, Peking is saying that any agreement is conditional on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, where they are holding off the genocidal Pol Pot forces and U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. Rather than this nationalist appeal, including to imperialist Japan, whose rearmament threatens both China and Russia, what's needed is a class program for communist unity against imperialism. As we wrote in "Reagan, Begin & Hitler" (*WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982):

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese, especially since they are annoyed with Reagan now over Taiwan. Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the U.S. is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess...' That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do."

In the name of "détente" or "peaceful coexistence," the revolutionary unity of the proletariat has been sacrificed innumerable times since Leninist internationalism was usurped by Stalinist nationalism. Who will Gorbachev et al. negotiate with for this illusory reconciliation with imperialism? Certainly not "Rambo" Reagan. The Democrats, meanwhile, unanimously supported Reagan's stand on Daniloff, while voting hundreds of millions for Reagan's contras in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan and Cambodia. A recent policy statement asserts that "Democrats harbor no illusions about arms control" and denounces the Soviet Union in Reaganite terminology as a "totalitarian society that remains an empire in the classical sense" (*New York Times*, 21 September).

In the aftermath of the October Revolution, when the young and weak Soviet republic was threatened by famine, 16 invading imperialist armies and internal counterrevolution, the Bolsheviks organized the Third International. Lenin declared: "The soviet power placed the world dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution higher than any national sacrifices, no matter how heavy they might be." Not summit sophistry but a return to the road of Lenin: for the reforging of a genuine communist international to struggle to lead the masses to socialist revolution in the West and workers political revolution in the Sino-Soviet states. This is the program of the international Spartacist tendency; this is the only way the nuclear holocaust threatened by decaying imperialism can be averted. ■

Black Miners...

(continued from page 1)

their own oppression. Apartheid slavery mandates that 97 percent of the country's 550,000 black miners must be "migrants," recruited from the barren bantustans and impoverished neighboring black states of southern Africa, separated from their families and forced to live in prison-like, all-male labor camps. The mining houses reap their superprofits by paying miners starvation wages while their families eke out a miserable existence at home. Each year, according to official government statistics, between 25,000 and 55,000 miners are injured and 800 die in "accidents." The bereaved families use most of their death benefits just to bring the bodies home.

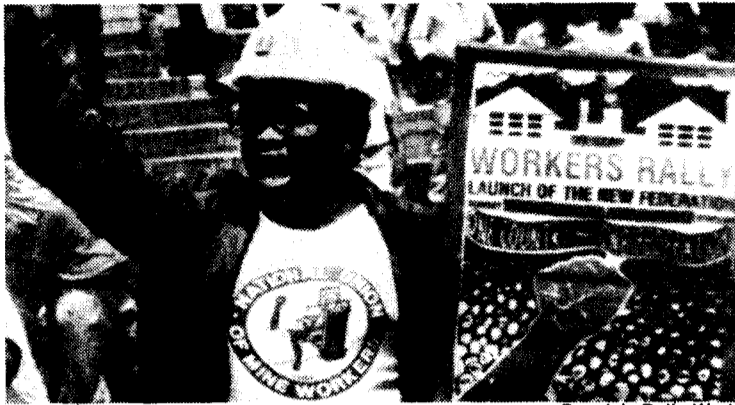
On September 22, hundreds of outraged black miners, waving their hard hats and iron pipes, stormed the obscene "memorial service" called by the Gencor murderers. One miner's sign read, "An injury to one is an injury to all. We cry for our fallen brothers."

The United States Congress, which just passed its "sweeping" sanctions bill against South Africa, carefully excluded "strategic metals"—i.e., strategic to Wall Street and to Washington's anti-Soviet military buildup. The American capitalist class, despite its neanderthal political representatives in the White House, know that the writing is on the wall for the apartheid regime. They want to ensure that any future government in South Africa and especially its "strategic metals" stay in the hands of Western imperialism.

Nothing more tellingly demonstrated the real intent of Congress than its vote

on September 17, just one day after the South African gold mine disaster, to approve "covert" CIA bankrolling of apartheid's mercenaries in Angola, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. Pretoria's contras are backed up by 20,000 heavily armed South African troops stationed on the Angolan border. Together with frequent invasions from Pretoria, UNITA has been able to wreak tremendous havoc on southern Angola. In affected areas more than 600,000 people have

Black miners union NUM was leading force in forming 500,000-strong COSATU union federation.



People's Daily World

been made homeless, thousands of innocent civilians have been kidnapped and murdered, and destruction of food crops has caused widespread hunger. What has prevented the white supremacist regime from turning Angola into another colony of Pretoria, like mineral-rich Namibia to the south, is the presence in Angola of 30,000 Soviet-backed Cuban troops. Economic sanctions against South Africa and CIA blood money for Pretoria's contras in Angola are part of the same policy: to defend the system that murdered black miners at Kinross and regiment the U.S. for war with the Soviet Union.

Cyril Ramaphosa, head of South Africa's largest and most powerful black union, the National Union of Mine-

workers (NUM), which represents over 250,000 miners, rightfully blamed the Kinross disaster on the murderous disregard of the Gencor mine magnates for elementary safety norms. Apparently the fire was started when a polyurethane tunnel sealant caught fire and emitted a cloud of deadly fumes. Welders who were working in the area were not issued extinguishers. Gencor spokesmen said at a press conference they "did not know" whether the sealant

had ever been flame-tested, and "the need didn't exist" to determine if it would produce toxic fumes when ignited!

Only last June the international safety rating of Kinross mine was lowered, and lately the mine bosses have been pushing production to the limit and beyond to boost South Africa's dwindling foreign exchange reserves. Although the Kinross mine alone produces 15 tons of gold a year, Gencor is one of South Africa's smaller mining companies, and even within the framework of apartheid capitalism, one of its most brutal. The police state's armed forces are augmented by company cops equipped with shotguns and guard dogs who are rented to other mining firms.

For the past two years South Africa has undergone the greatest anti-apartheid revolt in its history, posing directly the question of who shall rule. In the spring and summer of 1985, the strategic black miners were poised for a nationwide strike which would have paralyzed apartheid capitalism. Instead, Ramaphosa dragged out negotiations for weeks and then settled with the biggest mining house, Anglo American. Black miners for the small houses like Gencor where the NUM is weakest were left to strike alone on 1 September 1985, and their strike was crushed in a few days. The reason: Ramaphosa did not want to "disrupt" a planned meeting between the African National Congress (ANC) and a delegation of apartheid capitalists headed by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly. The ANC supports imperialist "sanctions" and "divestment" for the same reason the U.S. Congress does: to prevent the black miners and other workers of South Africa from "divesting," i.e., expropriating Gavin Relly and his ilk of the wealth which these toilers have created.

The black proletariat has shown its social power to smash the chains of apartheid slavery in nationwide strikes this past May Day and the Soweto commemoration "stayaway" carried out in the very teeth of Botha's draconian "state of emergency." Especially the strategic black miners, recruited from throughout southern Africa, have the power to be the motor force for social emancipation throughout the region. What is desperately needed is a racially integrated vanguard party which breaks with all forms of nationalism, uniting black, coloured, Indian and white communists in the struggle for a black-centered workers government. Forge a Bolshevik party in South Africa! ■

Scab Ship...

(continued from page 16)

afloat—according to Bay Area fishermen, that would take at least ten minutes, enough time for Favaloro to be rescued by the *Golden Gate*. But the tanker kept going for almost 15 minutes after the "mayday" message. It was only at the insistence of another fisherman who listened, horrified, to the *Jack Jr.*'s call for help, that the Coast Guard asked the tanker to turn around and look for survivors. It took more than two hours for the *Golden Gate* to return to the scene of its hit-and-run crime.

A former *Jack Jr.* crewman identified netting found in the tanker's propeller guard as belonging to Favaloro's boat but Keystone stonewalled for more than two months before admitting that it was the *Golden Gate* that sank the trawler. And that was only after the boat's wreckage was positively identified a half mile from the tanker's position as recorded in the *Golden Gate*'s log at the time of the sinking. Then the company and Hilger claimed no one aboard the tanker knew that there had been a collision.

They're lying. The two vessels were in radio contact an instant before the impact and the exchange is on a Coast

Guard tape: "You're getting pretty close," Favaloro warned the *Golden Gate*. "Stay put," was the reply. Then the trawler was hit and several *Golden Gate* crew members testified to the Coast Guard that they saw splintered wood and an orange flotation device in the water. The "mayday" was ignored and the tanker's officers never reported it. As the killer ship got underway, so did the coverup.

Three days later, the *Golden Gate* docked in Anacortes, Washington. Keystone instructed a Raytheon Co. technician to meet the ship and examine the radar systems. The next day vital parts were replaced on both the ship's radar systems. The ship's radar maintenance log stated that the system had experienced repeated problems for more than a year. And while the radar was being checked, Keystone sent a diver down to examine the hull. He found a large piece of fishing net near the propeller but Keystone waited a day to notify the Coast Guard. A diver hired by the Coast Guard went down the next day, accompanied by the Keystone diver who had instructions not to mention his earlier find (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 August). Only a scrap of the net remained.

Examiner columnist Warren Hinkle and Quentin Kopp of the SF Board of

Supervisors are both personal friends of the Favaloro family and have kept the *Jack Jr.* case in the public eye. (Kopp is representing the family in a \$9 million wrongful death suit against Keystone.) Otherwise the *Jack Jr.* would have been just another nameless wreck at sea. And there have been many. In the last two years, at least six commercial fishing vessels have been struck by ships in Bay Area waters. Three others have disappeared. During the last year, at least three sailboats have been hit by big ships.

These are not freak accidents. They are the predictable result of the ship owners' insatiable drive for profit. The Coast Guard began a civil investigation of the *Jack Jr.*'s sinking which has now been superseded by an FBI investigation of "possible" criminal negligence. But even if Hilger and Lieb are found guilty, which Keystone denies, their bosses will still be at large and they have blood on their hands. As ships have grown larger and less maneuverable their crews have been drastically reduced. In loading on automated equipment, the owners are interested in profits, not safety.

In 1970, the average tanker was 30,000 tons with an average crew size of 44-46. In 1984, the average was 60,000 tons with a crew of 26. Slowing down for fog or a fishing boat costs the owners bucks. To save fuel and time, ocean-going vessels sail close to the coast where fishing boats lie dead in the water with their nets out—like the *Jack Jr.* As a spokesman for a Bay Area fishermen's association told a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, "Some of these big commercial vessels just don't give a shit; they'll just run over you."

The destruction of PATCO was accompanied by a disastrous decline in air travel safety. In exactly the same way, Keystone's assault on maritime safety is sanctioned by the government's Coast Guard. *And the pro-capitalist union leaders are complicit in this crime!* When the ill-fated *Puerto Rican*

arrived in Oakland in October 1984 there were MM&P pickets on the dock and a picket boat in the water. To their credit, members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) refused to handle the scab ship's lines, but members of the National Maritime Union (NMU) and the Marine Engineers Benevolent Association (MEBA) did the dirty work for Keystone. They not only scabberded for the bosses here, but when English workers refused to handle the Keystone tanker *Chelsea*, NMU and MEBA officials sabotaged this internationalist solidarity action. This must be stopped!

Instead of fighting the bosses, the labor fakers wave the flag and blame unemployment on foreign seamen, claiming American ships are "safer." Tell it to the Favaloros. In contrast to the bureaucrats' treachery, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU calls for a genuine international maritime workers union that would fight the bosses under every flag. At the November 1984 New York port meeting, a Caucus member denounced the NMU officials' international strikebreaking against MM&P and introduced a resolution which concluded:

"...we oppose and condemn any instruction by any official to cross any labor picket line; we reaffirm the elementary principles which built the NMU and the CIO: Picket lines mean *don't cross!*"

There's an old saying on the docks: "You can't cross a picket line on two broken legs!"

You don't hear much talk about class struggle on the waterfront these days, but that's what it took to make San Francisco a union town in the first place. The general strike of 1934 began on the docks and, along with the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis general strike the same year, paved the way for the founding of the CIO. What the unions desperately need today are class-struggle leaders with guts and a program to fight. It's a matter of life and death. ■

South Africa: Razor's Edge

Order your packet featuring a selection of articles from **Workers Vanguard, Young Spartacus and Women and Revolution.**

\$1.00

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

a Workers Vanguard Packet

South Africa: Razor's Edge

\$1.00

Harlem Hospital...

(continued from page 16)

that they had brought in cats to keep the rats out of the tunnels. The cats started to have kittens, and soon there were generations of these cats that had become more or less like wild animals that lived among the steam pipes in these tunnels. They may have functioned as deterrents to the rats, but the tunnels smelled like cat urine. And this is the way patients are transported when they go for x-rays or are brought from one clinic to another. So there'd be these animals sitting up there on the pipes—as you went by, you could see their little eyes glowing in the dark. They got rid of them a couple years ago, around one of the inspections.

"There's the elevators in what's called the old hospital. A few years back, an employee on the sixth floor had what was probably a heart attack. A special team of physicians that was assigned that day to take care of any heart attacks in the hospital was paged over the loud-speaker system. They ran to the building, only to find out that both elevators that went up to that floor were out of service. There was a freight elevator, but nobody was staffing it at the time. So they had to go up the stairs. And they had to wait for the elevator to be repaired before they could put him on a stretcher to bring him back downstairs.

"In Harlem, there is probably one of the sickest populations in North America, because of poverty. You're working with very ill patients, with a very small staff. The rate of tuberculosis right now



WV Photo

Union workers fight to save hospitals, while AFSCME president Gotbaum plays ball with bosses.

in Harlem is higher than it was in the U.S. in the 1940s. Not just pulmonary TB, but people have miliary TB in their bones, in every part of their body, such as you would find in a Third World country. There are a lot of people walking around who've had a positive skin test but haven't been treated. They don't have an adequate follow-up system where they can go after these people. So a lot of these people are living with tuberculosis in very crowded conditions with their families, people living in abandoned buildings. A lot of apartments in Harlem where there is no hot water, water has to be boiled before bathing. So infectious disease is a real problem: like TB, like strep throat, skin infections pass from one child to another.

"One of the attitudes the doctors develop is that life is cheap, so the patients are treated accordingly. Especially if you're black, and if you're a drug user, an alcoholic, you're treated like garbage a lot of the time. That's what happens to people that work here, they become very callous. In large part it has to do with the conditions you have to work in. In this hospital, they lack across the board some of the basic things that a hospital needs to run: a bedpan when it's needed, getting a prescription filled. Because of the shortage of supplies, you see doctors walking around in their white jackets,

pockets bulging with syringes, because this way they know when they have to take blood from patient X in the morning, they'll at least have the syringe.

"Or take the transportation vehicles that go out and pick up patients who are home-bound: a lot of time the vehicles aren't working, the bottoms are all rusted out, they don't run. They don't run because they're not serviced properly. They're not serviced properly because they don't have mechanics to do the servicing, or drivers to drive the vehicles. It goes on and on. So people are concerned because they know the hospital is so underfunded. In the spring the union issued a leaflet where they called upon Koch to spend more money on the hospital. But the bureaucrats know that Koch is not about to spend more money on Harlem Hospital. If anything, word is out, it leaked out in grand rounds about two months ago, that they're going to cut the budget for the Hospitals Corporation the next budget that's coming out.

"This is the last hospital in Harlem. Because Columbia-Presbyterian is not about to take these people under their wing, witness Juan González [the *gusano* slasher on the Staten Island ferry last summer, who was dumped on the street by the private hospital in Upper Manhattan after being sent in for violent symptoms]. In psychiatry they have 'dumped' patients all the time, because the other facilities do not want to hospitalize these Medicare patients, especially the homeless. A lot of them, even if they may be crazy, or just down and out, don't want to stay in the shelters, where they give you a number and send you out onto a huge floor of an armory, where there's row after row of cots, a lot of stealing, fights, and no supervision—maybe two people to supervise 800.

"So a lot of the homeless don't want to stay there. They feel they're better off at Grand Central, or a bus terminal, or living in the subway. We had a patient, and that's where he lived: if you wanted to get a message to him, you'd go down and leave a message with the token booth clerk at the 135th St. and Lenox Avenue station, for Gus to please contact me at the following number. Sometimes he did and sometimes he didn't."

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Harlem Hospital is a microcosm of Harlem. As the private hospitals dump unwanted patients onto the city hospitals, racist American capitalism dumps oppressed minorities into the ghettos, where they constitute a "reserve army of the unemployed" who are last hired, first fired, kept in line by brutal cop terror, and abandoned in "malign neglect" when the economy goes into a deep depression. To turn ghetto hospitals into a place where people are healed to live rather than being left to die means a struggle against this whole rotten system. That requires the mobilization of the power of labor leading the ghetto masses, and the front line in this battle is obviously the hospital unions themselves. City hospital workers organized in AFSCME Local 420 have shown a will to fight: they were prominent on the picket lines in the battle to keep Sydenham open, and in New York demonstrations you will see Local 420 marching under the banner, "We're Fired Up—Can't Take Reagan's Budget Cuts."

But Reagan's budget cuts in New York City are carried out by the Democratic Party city administration: not only the arrogant racist pig Koch, who treats blacks and Hispanics like they're Arabs on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, but also limousine liberals like City Council president Stein and black front men such as Manhattan borough president David Dinkins. Rather than bringing out labor against these enforcers of capitalist austerity, AFSCME DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum



no credit

Infectious garbage piles up near pantry on medical floor of Harlem Hospital.

regularly delivers votes to the Democrats while playing tennis at the Southampton estate of financier Felix Rohatyn, designer of the Big MAC cutbacks which gutted the city's social services. Gotbaum *literally* plays ball with the bosses.

In their anti-Soviet ravings, the American capitalist rulers from Democrat Carter to Republican Reagan raise a hypocritical hue and cry over "human rights." But from the My Lai massacre to the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philly to closing hospitals in Harlem, the bourgeoisie doesn't even consider life a human right for poor people. The U.S. is one of only two major industrial countries in the world without any system of national health insurance, where whether you live or die is a straightforward question of how much money you have. The other country is South Africa. It's no accident that black people in the U.S. identify with the struggle against apartheid slavery, because they see in that hellhole of white supremacy a mirror of their own oppression. The Spartacist 1985 NYC election campaign raised the slogan, "From Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" We also say that from the U.S. to South Africa, decent health care for the oppressed can only come through socialist revolution.

As a result of the *bipartisan* budget cuts and the push to "privatize" (i.e., eliminate) social services for the poor, today more than 35 million people in the U.S. have no medical insurance at all. A 1985 federal study shows 60,000 black Americans die each year because of higher rates for minorities compared to whites of death due to heart disease, homicide, cancer, cirrhosis, diabetes and low birth weight. Compared to the infant mortality rate for blacks in the U.S. of 20 per thousand (double that of whites), in Cuba, a Third World country which has had a social revolution abolishing capitalism, it was only 16 per

thousand. (Next door in Haiti, the rate was 121 per thousand.) In the United States in 1979 there were 595 people per physician and 159 people per hospital bed; in the Soviet Union, the world's leader in health care, it was half that: 289 people per doctor and 82 people per hospital bed.

The desperate state of black America is directly related to the anti-Soviet war drive—Reagan slashes hundreds of millions from school lunch programs, job training, welfare and health care to pay for half a Polaris submarine. Democrats and Republicans alike are taking aim at black Angola and black America, at the Soviet Union and the unions at home. They blame the victims for racist oppression, denouncing "babies having babies" and jumping on the "crackdown on crack" bandwagon to drum up votes for the November election. But the desperation that drives young people to the escapism of hard drugs, or to get on welfare because there are no jobs, has never been so acute. Seventy percent minority dropout rates in NYC schools, 60 percent teenage unemployment in Central Harlem—the black condition is worse today than during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

A revolutionary workers party must be forged to lead the struggle against the all-sided racist onslaught in Reagan's America. The vanguard party, as Lenin said, must be the "tribune of the people," championing the cause of all the oppressed and leading them behind the banner of the working class. In San Francisco, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, last year led a struggle against a "Jim Crow" bathroom at San Francisco General Hospital. In New York City, a Labor Black League was recently formed growing out of the successful effort of militants in the powerful Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 in support of black union brother James Grimes, who was victimized by both Transit Authority bosses and the Brooklyn district attorney, liberal Democrat Liz Holtzman, for his act of self-defense.

The Labor Black League program calls for mass mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists; for full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers; for women's rights—free, quality 24-hour day care, free abortion on demand, and equal pay for equal work; down with anti-gay laws; fight discrimination in jobs, housing and schools; for massive social security—health, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages; for a fighting labor movement—jobs for all; and for a break with the Democratic Party of war and racism. Join with the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League in forging a workers party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 384-9716

Madison

c/o SYL, Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 257-8625

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

Koch and Other Rats Make...

Harlem Hospital Hell

"I was a corpsman in Vietnam, and sometimes what I see at Harlem Hospital makes my experiences in Vietnam seem tame. At least there we always had supplies." This was the comment of one Harlem Hospital worker after the hospital once again failed a state inspection last June. In mid-September City Council president Andrew Stein released a federal study showing that the only hospital in Central Harlem is a continuing disaster area. In the midst of a City Hall corruption scandal, Harlem Hospital has become a political football between racist mayor Ed Koch and millionaire Stein. But for a quarter million black people, for whom Harlem Hospital is the *only* source of health

care, it's literally a matter of life and death.

New York City bosses *made* Harlem Hospital a hellhole. Koch, whose crony Victor Botnick resigned under fire as Health and Hospitals Corporation chairman last June, is directly responsible. But so are the rest of the Democratic Party pols who have taken a bloody budget ax to every city service in this city as front men for Reagan austerity. In the 1970s bank-engineered "fiscal crisis," they cynically gutted health care, laying off thousands and closing hospitals serving minorities in the poorest areas. Harlem Hospital today reflects the desperate situation of the poor, the elderly and anyone considered "expedient" in this hellish society, where greed is king and poverty is a crime. Koch's cuts are literally killing blacks and working people.

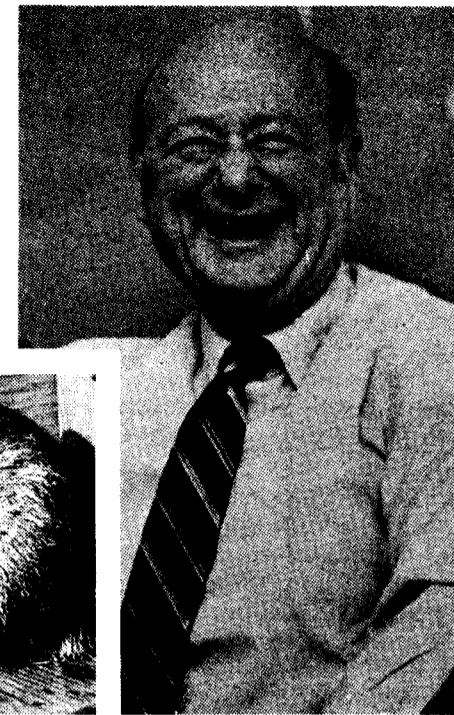
In the '30s Depression, the jobless and homeless sold apples at a nickel apiece to keep body and soul together. In Reagan's America the social "safety net" consists of turning in soda cans and beer bottles... for a greatly devalued nickel.

In New York they're worried about who's on the take from *parking meters*—but the catastrophic state of city hospitals is a scandal that has been covered up for ages. According to a report commissioned by the New York State Health Department, patients undergoing major surgery die *two and a half times* as frequently in city hospitals as in private hospitals (7.86 per thousand patients compared to 2.97 per thousand). Harlem Hospital, in fact, has the second-highest mortality rate of any major big city hospital in the U.S., 15.9 per thousand patients (*New York Times*, 12 March). (Highest is City Hos-

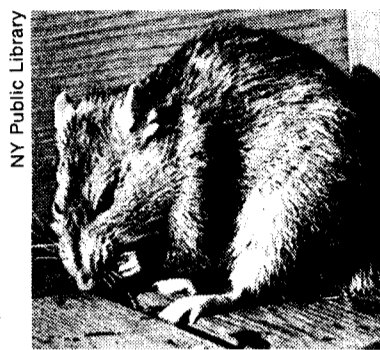
pital Center in Queens, and third is Kings County in Brooklyn.) In part this reflects the criminal practice of "dumping," where private hospitals unload nonpaying patients onto overloaded, underfinanced, under-equipped and understaffed public facilities.

But such astronomical figures also reflect the dire state of health in the ghetto. Diseases most people think vanished years ago run rampant—tuberculosis, for example. Residents of Central Harlem had a reported rate of TB of 104.1 per 100,000 in 1982—*ten times* the national average. Nationwide, black infant mortality rates are double that for whites in this country. In Harlem the neonatal mortality rate (first 28 days) is not much different (actually lower) than the rest of the city, but by age one it surges to 21.1 per thousand live births (one-third above the rate for the city as a whole). Moreover, almost one in ten babies born in Central Harlem suffers from low birth weight, more than double the citywide average. In other words, these children are dying of being poor, of malnutrition, infection, lead poisoning, etc.

There's no money in medicine in the ghetto, so with only a handful of private



UPI



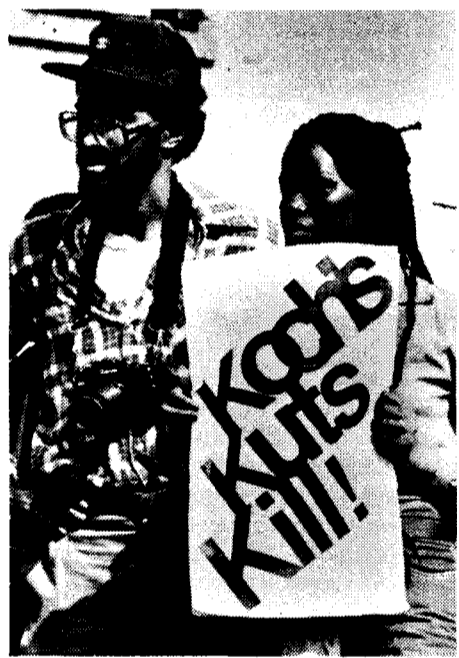
Mayor Koch (striped tie on right).

physicians in Harlem for a population of hundreds of thousands, people go to the hospital for everything from a minor ear or vaginal infection to major trauma. If the baby gets burned due to a faulty stove, if an old lady is suffering hypothermia (a newfangled word for freezing to death) because there's no heat, the hospital is where you turn. But that didn't stop Koch & Co. from shutting down Sydenham Hospital in 1980 on the heels of the city's closing down of Logan Memorial on 155th Street. And then they sent in their killer cops to brutally beat and drive out the ghetto residents and AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers who valiantly tried to keep Sydenham open. The wholesale shutdown of lifesaving facilities in the ghetto is premeditated racist murder.

The Last Hospital in Harlem

In an interview with *WV*, one Harlem Hospital worker gave a vivid description of life for patients and staff at the hospital:

"At Harlem Hospital there are tunnels that connect the four separate buildings. When I started working there, they had such a problem with rats
continued on page 15



WV Photo

Demonstrating to keep Harlem's Sydenham Hospital open, 1980.

Scab Ship Hit-and-Run Murder

San Francisco

"You're going to hit us! Jesus Christ! Oh my god! Mayday! Mayday! Mayday! Mayday!"

These were the desperate, terrified last words of Jack Favaloro, skipper of the 73-foot fishing boat *Jack Jr.*, seconds before being run down by the 721-foot tanker *Golden Gate* in the icy waters off San Francisco Bay last May 26. Moments later the 28,000-ton *Golden Gate*, steaming at 15 knots—top speed—in fog-shrouded seas just before dark, cut the *Jack Jr.* in two, sending the trawler to the bottom in 253 feet of water. Three fishermen died. The *Golden Gate* continued full ahead.

This was hit-and-run murder by scabs and strikebreaking bosses.

In June 1984, the *Golden Gate's* owner, Keystone Shipping Co., along with four other shipping companies refused to negotiate a contract with the licensed deck officers' union, the Masters, Mates

Scab tanker *Golden Gate*, which rammed fishing boat *Jack Jr.*, sinking it and killing three people.

Vedder/SF Examiner



& Pilots (MM&P). It was blatant union-busting: at stake were about one-third of all the jobs crewed by the MM&P. In October, the MM&P struck 66 vessels. The ships should have stayed tied up, but other maritime unions despicably crossed the mates' lines and the bosses got a court injunction against picketing. The ships, including the *Golden Gate*, sailed with scab officers on the bridge and deck.

That's why Favaloro and the *Jack Jr.'s* two crew members, Vincenzo Ingargiola and Tom McCarthy, were killed. But the three Bay Area fishermen aren't the only ones dead at Keystone's hands. On 31 October 1984, the Keystone tanker *Puerto Rican* exploded outside the Golden Gate Bridge, killing able seaman John Peng, the adopted son of an MM&P pensioner. The company blamed MM&P saboteurs for

the blast but the Coast Guard determined that improper loading by the scab officers was the cause.

The captain of the *Golden Gate* on May 26 was 30-year-old David Hilger, only *three years* out of the California Maritime Academy! Despite bad weather on the night of the collision, and the ship's proximity to a heavily-fished area, Hilger wasn't on the bridge. To avoid paying overtime, there was no bow lookout posted. The bridge watch was not on the bridge. The federally-required collision avoidance system was shut off because, according to Hilger, "it beeps too much when we're at sea and it's annoying" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 August). In addition to monitoring the radio and allegedly watching the malfunctioning radar, chief mate Peter Lieb was filling out the ship's log. When Lieb heard Favaloro's frantic distress call, he ordered the ship into a hard right turn *and kept going!*

The bodies of the crew members were never found and are presumed destroyed by the *Golden Gate's* prop. Favaloro's corpse washed ashore several days later—barefoot. This means that he went into the water alive and conscious. It's not easy to remove heavy fishing boots while struggling to stay
continued on page 14