

Le Duan: Organizer of Vietnam's Victory Over U.S. Imperialism

Le Duan, the general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP), died July 10 at the age of 79. Le Duan was representative of a heroic generation of Communist cadre, the heirs of Ho Chi Minh, who fought for six decades against the French, Japanese and finally the genocidal barbarism of American imperialism. Earlier this month Vietnam also lost General Hoang Van Thai, a military leader of his country's struggle for liberation against the imperialist powers.

Le Duan, the son of a carpenter, was born in 1907 in Quang Tri province. After finishing high school he worked as a clerk for the railway service in Hanoi and helped organize this strategic section of Vietnam's tiny proletariat. In 1930 Le Duan joined in founding the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) in the midst of the anti-French rebellion sweeping the country. The ICP sought to turn this nationalist ferment into a revolutionary insurrection, even organizing soviets in Ha Tinh and Ho's home province of Nghe An. But the rebellion was savagely repressed by the French, thousands of leftists were executed and thousands more imprisoned. The ICP was decimated and Le Duan was sent to the notorious "tiger cages" of the Con Dao penal island.

Released in 1936, Le Duan undertook political work in Hue. In late 1940 the



Hanoi, 3 February 1970: Le Duan speaks on occasion of 40th anniversary of founding of Vietnamese Communist party.

Indochinese Communist Party again found itself at the head of an insurrection, as Vichy France turned Vietnam over to the Japanese. Again the insurrection was savagely repressed. Le Duan spent nearly five more years in colonial dungeons, released only when the ICP

and its political front, the Viet Minh, seized power in 1945. At first the Viet Minh welcomed the return of the "Free" French forces and crushed the Trotskyist-led Saigon workers insurrection, only to be compelled to undertake an eight-year war against their old colonial masters.

In 1954 the Vietnamese decisively broke the back of the French at Dien Bien Phu. Even though they controlled 85 percent of the country, the Viet Minh, pressed by the Soviet Union and China, signed the Geneva Accords which divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel. Most of the Viet Minh leadership repatriated to the North, as the South was disarmed and left virtually leaderless—but Le Duan retained responsibility for party work in the South. The U.S. replaced the French in South Vietnam, preventing the promised elections and establishing the Diem dictatorship which executed and imprisoned leftists and workers.

In the North havoc was created by a bureaucratically mismanaged "land reform" in 1956. To rectify the situation, Ho Chi Minh became party general secretary and Le Duan was recalled from the South to assume day-to-day responsibility for the Central Committee alongside President Ho Chi Minh. In 1960 Le Duan became first secretary, and after the liberation of the South he became general secretary in 1976, the post he held until his death. Given his close ties to the cadres in the South, Le Duan fought as early as 1955 for

reconstituting Communist military organization, and in January 1959 the Central Committee gave its approval, thereby laying the basis for the second Indochinese war against imperialism. Once that war was undertaken, Le Duan had to wage a struggle within the party leadership to develop a modern army capable of large-scale offensives, the strategy which laid the basis for the successful Tet Offensive of 1968 and the final victory in 1975. This victory belongs to all the toilers of Vietnam and the world, and Le Duan was one of its principal political architects.

Le Duan tried to rebuild his war-devastated, impoverished country on the same principles that contributed to its victory. In contrast to the idealist bombast of Maoists, Le Duan stressed the need for a "technical and scientific revolution" to lay the material foundations for economic and cultural progress in Vietnam. A large share of the meager resources of this country were also devoted to assisting the Kampuchean people, saving them from the barbarous Pol Pot tyranny and giving them the possibility of a future. Today Vietnam must keep more than 500,000 men and women under arms to defend their besieged, newly-won independence, not least from U.S.-backed Chinese attacks.

The goals to which Le Duan devoted his life can only be realized in the framework of genuine proletarian internationalism, in which the wealth, science and technology of the industrial world—which under imperialism have been used to bomb, burn, poison and

11 July 1986

Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Mission to the United Nations

We have read of the death of your general secretary Le Duan. We too want to share your regret at the passing of a great figure in Vietnamese history and of a man who all his life sought to struggle for freedom.

Political Bureau
Spartacist League
of the U.S.



TROTSKY

Lessons of the Paris Commune

In South Africa today, after two years of black revolt, the arrogant racist rulers can no longer rule in the old way and the brutally oppressed toilers refuse to live in the old way. The outlines of a revolutionary situation can be seen, but without a revolutionary leadership. Leon Trotsky's balance sheet of the heroic 1870-71 Paris workers uprising, which was crushed in a bloody massacre, points to the key element that was absent in the Paris Commune,

but decisive in the victory of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia: a communist vanguard party.

The workers' party—the real one—is not a machine for parliamentary maneuvers; it is the accumulated and organized experience of the proletariat. It is only with the aid of the party, which rests upon the whole history of its past, which foresees theoretically the path of development, all its stages, and which extracts from it the necessary formula of action, that the proletariat frees itself from the need of always recommencing its history: its hesitations, its lack of decision, its mistakes.

The proletariat of Paris did not have such a party. The bourgeois socialists with whom the Commune swarmed, raised their eyes to heaven, waited for a miracle or else a prophetic word, hesitated, and during that time the masses groped about and lost their heads because of the indecision of some and the fantasy of others. The result was that the revolution broke out in their very midst, too late, and Paris was encircled. Six months elapsed before the proletariat had reestablished in its memory the lessons of past revolutions, of battles of yore, of the reiterated betrayals of democracy—and it seized power.

These six months proved to be an irreparable loss. If the centralized party of revolutionary action had been found at the head of the proletariat of France in September 1870, the whole history of France and with it the whole history of humanity would have taken another direction.

—Leon Trotsky, "Lessons of the Paris Commune" (February 1921)



LENIN

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Tiziano Terzani



Saigon liberated,
April 1975.

Crazed Gusano Slasher on Staten Island Ferry

It was the end of the hot Fourth of July "Liberty Weekend," and the Staten Island Ferry was full of tourists and local travelers on Monday morning, July 8. Suddenly a crazed Cuban *gusano* pulled out a two-foot-long ceremonial sword and started stabbing, hacking and slashing people, chanting wildly as he rampaged through the decks. Pandemonium broke out as the several hundred screaming passengers tried to run for cover. Two elderly people unable to get out of the way were killed, and nine others wounded before retired NYC cop Edward del Pino reached the scene. "Drop it!" he said, and fired a warning shot. The man dived for cover. Del Pino ordered him to lie on a bench, hands over his head, and warned: "You move and you're dead." He kept his .38-caliber revolver trained on the disarmed slasher until the boat docked and police came aboard.

It was damn lucky that del Pino was there and packing a gun, or there would have been a lot more dead. He knew how to use his piece, and acted cool: didn't kill the guy, just scared him into giving up. "All I wanted to do was stop the sword," del Pino said later. "I knew I couldn't fire low because of the people in the seats." In 24 years as a policeman, he says, he never fired his service revolver in the line of duty. In New York, where violence is endemic, this incident could have happened on any subway or any street. But most of the time the biggest threat of all are the trigger-happy cops:

Retired Cop Stops Slaughter

"never there when you need them," but always ready to plug a black turnstile jumper or other "perps." Ed del Pino wasn't one of these macho punks who think a badge gives them the right to terrorize. He's a hero who protected the people on board the *S.I. Newhouse*.

It was a story that speaks volumes about the quality of life in New York City. Juan González, 43, the Staten Island Ferry slasher, was what you might call a premature "Marielito," who fled from the Cuban Revolution on a private boat in 1977 heading for the good life (or so he thought) in Miami. But after he got here, González found a little problem: no jobs. So he drifted up to the sprawling Latin *barrios* in northern New Jersey, living in rooming houses, dealing three-card monte on the streets, picking up eleven convictions on gambling raps. His last known abode was the Fort Washington Army Shelter in Upper Manhattan. The homeless have complained bitterly about the dangerous conditions in the city's shelters, and with the likes of Juan J. González there, you better believe it.

Three days before he ran amok on the ferry, González was admitted to Presbyterian Hospital after being picked up outside the Washington Heights shelter,



Edward del Pino holding sword taken away from Staten Island Ferry slasher.

repeating over and over, "I'm going to kill. Jesus, wants me to kill." Doctors diagnosed him as psychotic and dangerous, but let him go the next day because he was homeless and had no money. It turns out there was a bed open in the mental ward, reserved for a paying patient. Presbyterian lamely replied that they tried to dump him on a city hospital, but there were no takers. Their real defense is that the city's full of violent nuts like this. The latest is the

guy handcuffed to a wheelchair in Bellevue who smashed the window of a subway car, injuring a woman, saying, "Mayor Koch told me to kill all Haitians." Official New York just isn't interested in defending a defenseless population.

Above all, the rulers are concerned to preserve the state's monopoly of armed force. And so they're finally going to try Bernhard Goetz, who became famous as the New York "subway shooter" for plugging four black youth on the West Side IRT when they surrounded him in a menacing shakedown attempt in December 1984. On July 8, the New York State Court of Appeals reversed lower court rulings and reinstated charges of attempted murder and assault against Goetz. This case, as we have said, is highly contradictory: while Rupert Murdoch's sensationalist *New York Post* seized upon Goetz to fan the flames of racist vigilantism, the haughty *New York Times* wants to put him behind bars in order to push gun control.

We don't pretend to know what happened in that subway car. Since the incident, three of the teenagers have admitted they had picked out the thin, bespectacled Goetz as a mark, and intended to rob him. "He looked like easy bait," Darryl Cabey told columnist Jimmy Breslin (*Daily News*, 10 July). James Ramseur is now serving up to 25 years for raping and robbing a pregnant

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Racist Firebombing in Chicago

Smash KKK Terror!

CHICAGO—Early Sunday morning, July 6, racist nightriding scum firebombed the home of a black family in the segregated white Southwest Side area of Gage Park. Eight people, including four small children, narrowly escaped death when two firebombs were hurled simultaneously at the front and back of the house. The one in back struck a wall and burned out on its own. But the other incendiary device broke a front window and fell on the porch, starting a fire. Wakened around 4 a.m. by the attack, Aleem and Shirley Waheed rushed to put out the fire, aided by a white motorist who happened to be driving by. As Shirley Waheed told *WV*, if that firebomb hadn't hit the window's center sash, her whole family would have died.

This cowardly terrorist attack was directly inspired by the Ku Klux Klan's race-hating rally in adjacent Marquette Park a week earlier, and took place only two blocks from the staging point for the Klan's motorcade to the rally. Vowing to keep Marquette Park and Gage Park lily-white, some 50 Klansmen mobilized a would-be lynch mob of up to 3,000 white bigots. Except for a courageous attempt by Progressive Labor Party (PL) supporters to stop the Klan motorcade at its staging area, and small protest marches organized by PL and the Martin Luther King Jr. Workshop, this race-terror provocation went unchallenged (see "KKK: Deadly Threat in Chicago," *WV* No. 407, 4 July). The absence of a mass labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK emboldened the racists.

The oppressed are already paying the price in blood and terror. In addition to the firebombing of the Waheed family, two other violent racist attacks took place in the Chicago area on "Liberty

Weekend." In the southern predominantly white suburb of Dolton, a black Boy's Club band marching in a July 4 parade was assaulted by rock-throwing bigots. On the following Sunday afternoon in the city of Zion, north of Chicago, a black youth was shot dead in a racist assault linked to the Klan.

According to the Chicago Police Department, the attack on the Waheed family was the 130th "racial incident" in Chicago this year. The Waheeds themselves have been victimized by racists over and over since February, when they moved to Artesian Avenue, one block west of the Western Avenue color bar.

brother, David Waheed, and Shirley's brother, Stephen Johnson, were confronted at a liquor store in Marquette Park by a band of racist thugs who identified themselves as Klansmen and threatened to kill them. The racist scum then pursued the two up Artesian until they reached the Waheed home, hurling bottles and shouting racist slurs.

"I'm not going to let these people run me out," said Shirley Waheed, who stressed that people should have the right to live wherever they want in peace. Damn right! The Waheeds have repeatedly gone to the police with reports of racist harassment and intimidation. As they told *WV*, the cops' general response has been: what do you expect, living on the "wrong" side of Western Avenue? These are the same cops who routinely shoot down unarmed black youth, break up picket

Reagan's policies with their deadly consequences: segregation, unemployment, wage slashing, welfare cuts, homelessness, racist violence.

No more! The Klan's intended victims have tremendous potential power in this industrial city. Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Catholics, union members, gays and leftists—we all have a stake in stopping the Klan, and defending beleaguered families like the Waheeds. Aleem Waheed himself is a member of Teamsters Local 781.

Back in the '30s, the Minneapolis Teamsters under revolutionary Trotskyist leadership dealt with the fascist Silver Shirts by organizing workers defense guards—and the fascists repeatedly found themselves inspecting the gutters, "up close and personal." Here in the Chicago area in 1975, United Auto Workers Local 6 at International Harvester organized around-the-clock integrated defense squads to defend the family of Local 6 member C.B. Dennis, who had moved into white suburban Broadview only to be greeted by racist firebombings. Because of the union defense squads, the family stayed put, and today that area is integrated.

Last August some 700 black and white Chicago transit workers defied their union leaders and staged a mass protest at police headquarters demanding freedom for bus driver David Johnson, the victim of a racist frame-up growing out of a tragic traffic accident. And they won! Today, the members of Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308, who keep this city going and who have demonstrated a willingness to fight, can play a central role in organizing labor/black defense against the kind of racist violence threatening the Waheed family.

But making this happen will take class-struggle leadership. The Klan and other fascist slime have openly targeted Chicago as a prime battleground for race war. To minimize the threat posed by these groups is to abdicate the critical task of mobilizing labor and blacks, leading all the enemies of fascist terror, to stop the KKK. It is urgently necessary here in Chicago to forge the leadership—a revolutionary workers party—with the will and the appetite to conquer this task. ■

Their car windows have been smashed and shot up, lug nuts have been loosened on the wheels, the front yard vandalized, etc.

But the Klan's June 28 Marquette Park rally made the Waheeds' lives much more dangerous. In the wake of that rally came a premeditated murderous attack—an attempt, not just to burn them out, but to burn them alive. The following Friday night, July 11, Aleem's



Defense guard from Chicago-area UAW Local 6 protected home of black union brother C.B. Dennis from racists' firebombs in 1975.

Government Conspiracy Killed George Jackson

Stephen Bingham Acquitted

SAN RAFAEL, California—On June 27 a Marin County jury found attorney Stephen Bingham not guilty of murder and conspiracy charges stemming from the supposed "escape attempt" at San Quentin prison in 1971 where Black Panther leader George Jackson was gunned down by prison guards. There was a murder conspiracy here, all right, one which stretched from the highest levels of federal and state government: the FBI's COINTELPRO program aimed at "neutralizing" militant black leaders. And the conspirators are still at large—some of them now inhabiting the White House and the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C.

On 21 August 1971, George Jackson was wantonly killed in a set-up staged by police and prison officials. Within hours of the "jailbreak" that left Jackson along with three guards and two inmate trustees dead, prison and police officials



Daily World
Black Panther leader George Jackson was gunned down by prison guards in San Quentin in 1971.

were accusing Bingham, a 29-year-old Berkeley radical attorney, of smuggling a gun to Jackson. As Jackson's last outside visitor, Bingham knew he was being framed. Realizing he might never live to stand trial, he fled for his life. After living "underground" for 13 years, briefly in East Europe and then in Paris, in 1984 Bingham resurfaced in San Francisco to fight the charges against him. As court proceedings were about to begin, he stated:

"I'm on trial for my life.... I really don't think I would survive [in prison], accused by the guards as I am of being responsible for the deaths of their colleagues."

—San Francisco Chronicle,
4 April

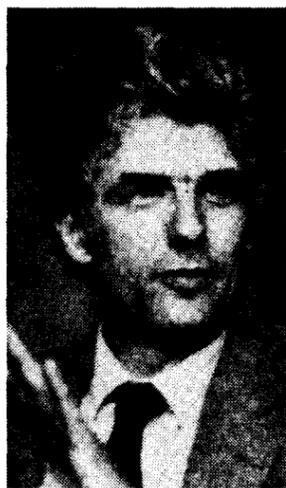
Stephen Bingham, now 44, was born to a prominent Connecticut Democratic Party family, heirs to the Tiffany fortune. His father was a state senator, and his grandfather was governor, a U.S. Senator and a discoverer of the Machu Picchu Inca ruins in Peru. Bingham, a graduate of Yale and the UC Berkeley law school, like many of his generation was active in social protest: he registered voters with the civil rights movement in Mississippi, protested the Vietnam War, aided the organizing of farm workers. Helping to prepare a civil suit against the barbarous conditions endured by inmates in San Quentin's maximum security "Adjustment Center," Bingham visited Jackson several times in 1971.

George Jackson was one of the "Soledad Brothers"—three black prisoners framed for the killing of a white prison guard. In jail all his adult life, serving a "one-to-life" sentence for a \$71 gas station holdup, Jackson proclaimed himself a communist, advocating a mixture of "lumpen vanguardism" and "urban guerrilla warfare." He became a field marshal in the Black Panthers, the best of a generation of subjectively revolutionary black militants. The Soledad Brothers case and the publication of a collection of Jackson's prison letters made him nationally known. His eloquent indictment of the racist brutality of the capitalist prison hellholes, his dignity and determination made him a living symbol of resistance to black oppression—and for this prison officials wanted him dead.

The Plot to Kill George Jackson

Two days before the Soledad Brothers trial was to begin, Jackson was shot down in the prison yard by guards. Years later, dramatic evidence of the government plot was presented in the trial of the "San Quentin Six," Jackson's fellow inmates who were framed up on murder and conspiracy charges for the deaths of the guards and trustees killed in the bogus "prison break." Louis Tackwood, an admitted ex-agent provocateur for the Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section, was asked by defense lawyer Charles Garry what was his last assignment in northern California. Tackwood stunned the courtroom by answering, "To assassinate George Jackson."

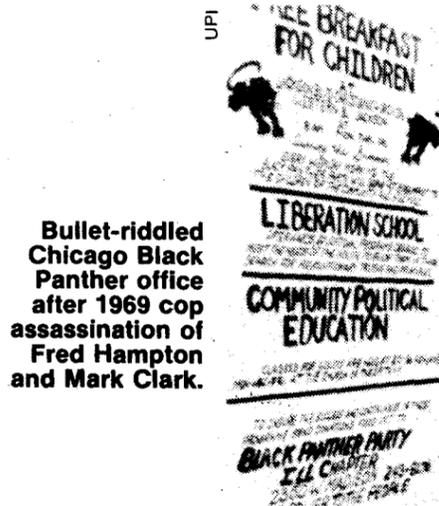
Tackwood outlined a plot to kill Jackson on August 23, the opening day of the Soledad Brothers trial, involving a phony escape attempt and an inoperative .38 pistol smuggled into the prison. According to Tackwood, agents of the state's Criminal Identification and Investigation section carried out the plot two days early, using a 9 mm Astra instead. Also during the San Quentin



Stephen Bingham

Six trial, Hugo Pinell testified that he saw guard Paul Krasnes pull the gun on Jackson in the Adjustment Center. Another witness testified to seeing Krasnes carrying the gun into the prison that morning (Charles Garry, *Street-fighter in the Courtroom* [1977]).

The state's version of events, filled with blatant contradictions and gaping holes, claims that Jackson got the pistol and two ammunition clips from inside a tape recorder that attorney Bingham had carried into the prison in a briefcase. Both the recorder and briefcase had been searched by guards, however. Further, Jackson supposedly balanced the gun and ammo under an Afro wig, got past a metal detector and strip search, walked 75 yards down a corridor



Bullet-riddled Chicago Black Panther office after 1969 cop assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

and up and down stairs past the guards, and ran through an open courtyard in broad daylight surrounded by 25-foot walls and tower guards armed with high-powered rifles!

The autopsy report, repeatedly changed as "new evidence" emerged, claimed that Jackson was struck by a bullet which entered his back, broke several ribs, "coursed upward, breaking ribs, until it exited at the top of the skull." This patent falsehood—the bullet would have had to turn more than 90 degrees inside his body—was a sinister cover-up. According to inmate eyewitnesses, Jackson was shot in the back, then blasted again in the head when guards saw he wasn't dead yet. The day of Jackson's murder, San Quentin associate warden James Park made it all clear, remarking: "The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson. Killed him, shot him through the head."

A year earlier, police provocateurs similarly set up Jackson's 17-year-old brother, who on 7 August 1970 staged a suicidal raid on the Marin County Courthouse demanding the Soledad Brothers' freedom. As Jonathan Jackson tried to escape in a van together with three black inmates and five hostages, a veritable army of police and prison

guards lying in wait opened fire, killing Jonathan and three others. In the Marin courthouse case, prominent Communist Party leader Angela Davis was charged with supplying the guns, and later acquitted only after a massive campaign for her release. However, Ruchell Magee, a black inmate charged with murder in the raid, was left to rot in prison.

Stephen Bingham and the San Quentin Six

The charges against Bingham stemmed from a 1971 grand jury so blatantly manipulated by the district attorney that three jurors walked off in protest. The rump jury then ruled Jackson's death to be "justifiable homicide" and indicted Bingham and six black and Hispanic inmates. The San Quentin Six trial began in 1975 and lasted 17 months in an atmosphere of racist hysteria whipped up by the state. The Marin County courtroom was turned into a fortress, the defendants chained to chairs bolted to the floor.

Still, it took the jury of eleven whites and one black 24 days to reach a verdict—outrageously the judge refused to accept a hung jury. Three of the six were acquitted, but the state succeeded in its racist frame-up of David Johnson and Hugo Pinell on charges of assaulting a guard, and of Johnny Larry Spain on two counts of murder. Under California's vague conspiracy laws, Bingham was charged with murder although the prosecution never claimed he was there to commit it.

During Bingham's trial, the courtroom was packed with his friends and supporters, largely ex-1960s radicals. The Bingham defense also attracted backing from prominent Democratic liberals like Ramsey Clark and Ron Dellums. Unfortunately, there has not been the same outpouring of support for those black militants still behind bars. The Spartacist League and the Partisan



Defense Committee continue to fight for the freedom of ex-Panther Geronimo Pratt, Johnny Larry Spain, Ruchell Magee and other imprisoned victims of the FBI's COINTELPRO conspiracy to exterminate and silence such fighters for black freedom.

The prosecution of Stephen Bingham 15 years after the events at San Quentin and despite the absurd lack of evidence indicate that the real violent conspirators are still at work. Bingham's indictment followed on the heels of the Uhler Commission, organized by Edwin Meese, which denounced radical lawyers for allegedly fomenting prison disorders and unrest. As an aide to then California governor Ronald Reagan, Meese oversaw the murderous war against the Black Panthers and the bloody suppression of student protest at Berkeley. Now as Reagan's top cop in Washington he is using the same methods.

Following his acquittal, Bingham was interviewed on the CBS television program *Nightwatch*. He defended his decision to flee in 1971 by recalling the atrocities to which the other defendants in this case were subjected: marched into court chained together, kept in chains to deprive them of their dignity and to

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Pinochet to the Wall—Workers to Power!

Two-Day National Strike in Chile

Popular Front Means Workers' Blood

Downtown Santiago was deserted, public transportation shut down; in the working-class shantytowns ringing the capital, barricades of cement blocks and burning tires were again raised during the two-day national strike on July 2-3. "The work stoppage appeared to be one of the most effective antigovernment actions in the 13 years since Pinochet seized power," reported *Time* (14 June). Yet the next day many opposition leaders showed up at a July 4th reception at the American embassy to hobnob with the U.S. ambassador and cabinet ministers. Christian Democratic (DC) leader Andrés Zaldívar said explicitly the purpose of the work stoppage was to "call the attention of the Government and the armed forces to the need for a negotiated solution." The Communist Party (PCC) called for continuing junta rule without the junta's boss. A week later, Pinochet responded by declaring his intention to rule until 1997.

The Chilean masses' heroic will to fight is being used as a bargaining chip to cut a deal with the generals and Washington. This was no general strike, a class action mobilizing the power of the proletariat, but a shutdown called by the Asamblea de Civilidad (Civic Assembly), which hoped to "press the Chilean military to create a democratic opening." Many of the professional associations and unions in the Asamblea are led by DCers such as Rodolfo Seguel, head of the National Workers Command. These are some of the same CIA-backed "unions" (truckers and dockers, for instance) whose stoppages led to the overthrow of the leftist Allende regime in 1973. But now they are disillusioned with more than a decade of dictatorship. We say: No to *pinochetismo* without Pinochet! It will take workers revolution to provide a new dawn for the Chilean people after the long night of Nazi-style terror under the "Captain General" and his goose-stepping Prussian army.

In Santiago, union leaders estimated that 85 percent of the city's 9,000 buses and the majority of Chile's 60,000 trucks stopped running during the two-day action. Industrial absenteeism averaged 60 percent. Leftist guerrillas set off scores of bombs, blowing up power lines and casting half the country into darkness—the explosions were claimed by the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic



Der Spiegel

Demonstrators in Santiago, on first day of national strike, defy dictator Pinochet (left).

Front, linked to the PCC. In the vast working-class slums, or *poblaciones*, buses burned and multi-pronged nails known as "miguelitos" were scattered over the streets and highways. While the Christian Democrats still have strength in the unions, the shantytowns are the hard mass base of leftist organizations. Through block organizations, defense committees, collective soup kitchens and sheer will, the unemployed managed to survive and fight—though many thousands haven't had steady work since the overthrow of Allende.

Taken aback by the strength of the action, Pinochet ordered the military occupation of Santiago. Armored troop carriers and trucks rumbled through the *poblaciones*; constant bursts of gunfire echoed in the nights. Eight people are known to be killed, scores wounded, over a thousand arrested. Two days after the strike, troops raided the slums at dawn, rounding up the men and boys, taking them at gunpoint to the soccer fields for "questioning." An 18-year-old student was killed after protesting in a local plaza beneath a placard reading, "Soldiers: Don't Shoot at the People." Another sign read, "Don't Shoot! Zone of Mothers, Sisters and Sweethearts!" Funerals for the martyred dead were attacked, as Santiago remained a war zone.

But it was the burning of two teenagers which brought home the bloody reality of Pinochet's Chile to the American public like nothing since the case of Charles Harmon, whose "disappearance" after learning too much about CIA involvement in the 1973 coup was dramatized in the movie *Missing*. Rodrigo Rojas de Negri was photographing a group of university students when they were attacked by a military patrol on the first day of the



AP

strike. Soldiers beat Rojas and Carmen Quintana, 18, to the ground, doused them with gasoline and set them afire. Then they wrapped the pair in blankets and dumped them in a ditch on the northern outskirts of Santiago, where they were found and rushed to an ill-equipped clinic. Police refused to transfer Rojas to a hospital with burn facilities; he died three days later. Quintana remains hospitalized in critical condition.

Rojas had been living in Washington with his mother, Verónica de Negri, a political exile and spokesman for Amnesty International. While her son was visiting Chile during the strike, Mrs. de Negri was taking part in a protest in Norfolk against the Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda*, on its way to participate in "Liberty Weekend" in New York City. Mrs. de Negri came to this country ten years ago, after being held from 1974 to 1976 in the Tres Alamos torture center in Santiago. The Chilean government allowed her to return as her son lay dying. She marched in his funeral procession, which was tear-gassed by riot police who waded into the crowd and snatched the casket. The furious mourners retaliated by marching to a cemetery where they stoned Pinochet's family vault, cracking marble slates and smashing stained-glass windows.

The Chilean Volcano

When Pinochet was installed as defense minister in Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government in August 1973, he was billed as a leading "constitutionalist" officer. Two weeks later, on 11 September 1973, he carried out the coup and bloody terror that killed 30,000, sent a hundred thousand people to the hellish concentration camps, and countless thousands into exile. Now, 13 years later, this Caesar Augustus has been in power longer than Hitler and he's not impressed by Congressional committees, "quiet diplomacy" or finger-wagging over human rights. His talk of a "dictatorship of democracy" only matches the cynicism of Henry Kissinger, who after the UP election victory, burst out, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

For about eight years after the September coup, a "peace of the graveyard" reigned in Chile. But by 1981-82, the "free market miracle" of the "Chicago boys" had wrought a devastating depression. Not only were the poor going hungry, as they had ever since September 1973, but the middle class was no longer able to buy American designer jeans and Japanese radios at the glittering new shopping centers.

Sections of the bourgeoisie whose businesses had been forced to the wall went into opposition and opened up a space for a series of protests increasingly dominated by the workers movement. In June of 1983 the copper miners struck, and by late October/November 1984 a general strike brought Santiago to a halt. Pinochet's response was to call a state of siege and divide the opposition by sharply raising the issue of cooperation with the Communist Party.

For the Chilean bourgeoisie, which prepared for the mass slaughter of '73 by banging pots and pans against Allende and then hailed Pinochet as a savior from godless communism, this had an effect. Last August the archbishop of Santiago, Juan Cardinal Fresno, presided over the formation of a National Accord, "broadening" the opposition by including (along with the Christian Democrats and right-wing social democrats) the near-fascists of the National Party. The Accord does not call for an end to the Pinochet dictatorship nor for elections nor anything threatening the military, and provides that any party or movement that refuses to "reject force" or challenges private ownership of the means of production should be banned. The U.S. State Department immediately endorsed the Accord. But in the face of this attempt for a "negotiated transition," Pinochet just sneered.

So last November the Christian Democrats called a rally at O'Higgins Park in Santiago, bringing out over 500,000 in the largest anti-government protest in the country's history, under a giant sign proclaiming, "Chile Demands Democracy." General Matthei, head of the air force, greeted the National Accord. A common slogan was that 1986 would be the "decisive year." Then, after the overthrow of Philippines dictator Marcos in February, graffiti appeared on the walls saying, "Manila is in Chile." But with one of the most class-conscious proletariats in Latin America yearning to avenge its martyred dead, the bourgeois opposition is wary of provoking a showdown with Philippines-style mass mobilizations. And as the struggle intensifies, the left is advancing: the London *Guardian* (1 July) reported strong gains by the left in elections in the strategic copper miners union.

"The People United" = Popular Front Betrayal

The Communist Party, however, is utterly craven in its appetite for class betrayal. In an interview with the Argentine CP's *¿Qué Pasa?* (11 December 1985), a spokesman said that even though under the National Accord the

continued on page 10



Steinberg/Cambio 16

Chilean masses in streets of Santiago protest police assassination of anti-junta militants, August 1985.

Reagan's Sex Witchhunt...

(continued from page 1)

justification for its law beyond its conformity to religious doctrine. Thus, far from buttressing his case, petitioner's invocation of Leviticus, Romans, St. Thomas Aquinas, and sodomy's heretical status during the Middle Ages undermines his suggestion that Section 16-6-2 [the Georgia law] represents a legitimate use of secular coercive power."

—New York Native, 14 July

Blackmun added that "depriving individuals of the right to choose for themselves how to conduct their intimate relationships poses a far greater threat to the values most deeply rooted in our Nation's history than tolerance of nonconformity could ever do."

In contrast to the rampant social reaction now riding high in Reagan's America, the Russian Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky swept away the garbage of tsarist reaction in the October Revolution. A pamphlet by Dr. Grigori Batkis, director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene, explained the Soviets' revolutionary laws:

"It declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters, so long as nobody is injured and no one's interests are encroached upon....

"Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation



Oakes/National Geographic

Reagan's Court, Reagan's Klan: racist reaction in black robes and white sheets.

referred to it as the *Dred Scott* decision for gays, they touched on a key connection. Black people are the main victims of Reagan reaction and the struggle for the rights of all vulnerable sections of the population—homosexuals, women, immigrants, youth, the elderly—is integrally bound up with the fight for black liberation.

Among the reactionary decisions recently handed down by the Supreme Court was the ruling against busing in Norfolk, the first time the courts struck down "a busing program that successfully integrated schools" (*Washington Post*, 17 June). Rehnquist, as a law clerk in 1952, wrote a memo stating that "separate but equal" segregation was "right and should be reaffirmed." Years

under indictment like John Mitchell and John Ehrlichman.

Scalia, too, has a Nixon past, as legal counsel to the Office of Telecommunications Policy in Nixon's White House. Portrayed by the bourgeois press as an "intellectual" and sturdy Italian family man, Scalia was put on the bench as a staunch opponent of abortion rights and school integration. On busing, Scalia says: "It was not necessary for the courts to step in and say what must be done, especially in the teeth of an apparent societal determination that the costs are too high in terms of other values of the society" (*Washington Post*, 22 June). What Scalia means by "apparent societal determination" is rampaging racist mobs of the sort that

put it: "The lunatic fringe has been absorbed into the state" (*New York Times*, 30 September 1985).

One Reagan nominee who didn't get confirmed by the Senate is Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III. An open Southern white racist, Sessions thinks the NAACP is "un-American" and once remarked that the Klan was "O.K." until he learned KKKers smoked pot. In Alabama, Sessions was the main U.S. attorney behind the campaign of government intimidation against voter registration activists. During the 1984 presidential election campaign, reported the *Village Voice* (19 November 1985):

"The government dispatched teams of FBI agents in the late summer which began openly to harass black voters. They appeared at residences and nursing homes demanding to know how individuals had voted. Elderly blacks were driven in buses for miles, under armed guard, where they were ordered to testify before a grand jury."

Forty-six-year-old Spiver Gordon, a Eutaw, Alabama city council member who is on the board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was convicted on trumped-up "fraud" charges for helping to register black voters.

Newsweek's cover on the Supreme Court appointments called it "Reagan's Law." While Reagan/Meese have made judicial appointments a key plank of their program (by the end of its term, this administration will have named over half of all federal judges), Rehnquist and Scalia don't fundamentally alter the character of the Court. Scalia replaces Burger (who was supposed to have led the legal counterrevolution as chief justice but flubbed it) as an arch-conservative. But it isn't just Reagan's law—it's capitalist law. Recent court decisions have been extremely reactionary and repressive because the U.S. rulers' war drive requires domestic "order," class peace and the suppression of potential "troublemakers"—e.g., the black population and youth who are slated to be the cannon fodder in the next imperialist adventure.

What the administration can accomplish through the courts, they certainly will. But they have other ways. Scalia's reference to "societal determination" gives a clue. Abortion may still



Granma



WV Photo

treats these exactly the same as so-called "natural" intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters."

—quoted in John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement* (1974)

This is the position as well of the Spartacist League today.

But Reagan and Meese are bent on restoring the most retrograde "traditional values" of bigotry, race-hate and religious intolerance. On the heels of the sodomy decision, the Court—also at the urging of the administration—upheld the suspension of a high school senior for giving a speech containing sexual innuendo (not so much as one four-letter word appeared in the one-minute talk)! Meese's "Justice" Department argued that "student speech could be restrained 'if officials have a reasonable basis for the regulation grounded in the maintenance of an atmosphere of civility or the transmission of basic societal values'" (*New York Times*, 8 July). And the First Amendment?

What's next—witch trials for "deviants" who stray from the teachings of the Holy Scriptures? Pillories for those caught reading magazines deemed "obscene" by Meese's sicko PornCom? Perhaps a return to the "trial by ordeal" from early Western Christendom, where the accused was thrown, bound, into a pond or stream. If he drowned, he was innocent; if he floated, he was guilty and would be burned at the stake. As one New York worker put it: "first they took away my right to have a gun, now they're telling me I can't go down on my wife."

When gay rights protesters raised the chant, "Civil rights or civil war!" and opponents of the Supreme Court ruling

SL-initiated demonstration shouts down Nazi scum in Chicago on Gay Pride Day, 27 June 1982.



Dean Paul/NFI

later, he said that he now agreed with the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, but "there was a perfectly reasonable argument the other way" (*Time*, 30 June). While *Brown* signaled the beginning of a period of relative liberalism in the federal courts, those days are long over.

Racist Reaction in Black Robes and White Sheets

William Rehnquist makes a fitting chief justice for the present Supreme Court. He'll head a Court which recently ruled that opponents of the death penalty may be excluded from juries in capital cases. In a *New York Times Magazine* (3 March 1985) article, he expressed his admiration for Isaac C. Parker—the notorious "hanging judge" who meted out 164 death sentences as an Arkansas federal judge in 1875-96. Parker's methods "were swift, and there was no appeal"—for Rehnquist, a real gonzo guy.

To this day, the portrait of Richard Milhouse ("I am not a crook") Nixon is prominently hung above Rehnquist's desk. As a top official in the Nixon Justice Department he helped run the administration's war on student protesters (who he called "the new barbarians"): Rehnquist devised the patently unconstitutional grounds to round up and detain antiwar demonstrators during the 1971 May Day actions. That same year he was named to the Supreme Court. During what the *New York Times* called the "proudest moment" of the Burger Court—when they finally demanded that Nixon fork over the White House tapes during Watergate—Justice Rehnquist was forced to disqualify himself, so close was he to those

killed Boston busing through terror on the streets. He is also a prominent advocate of a "strong executive" branch.

Rehnquist and Scalia are articulate reactionaries, and all the more dangerous for that. Other Reagan judicial appointees are just reactionary. Daniel Manion, for example, is clearly a dolt and much has been made in Senate hearings of his inability to write a grammatical sentence. While there's a certain grim humor to his case, if this right-wing nut gets his judgeship it won't be at all funny. Son of a John Birch Society founder, Manion himself proclaimed that outfit to be on "the front line of the fight for Constitutional Freedom." So far right are the Birchers that they seriously labeled Dwight D. Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." But today, as columnist Anthony Lewis



ACLU

Nixon Court appointee Rehnquist, far right, architect of illegal mass arrests of antiwar demonstrators at Capitol in 1971.



USA

Meese Declares War on AIDS Victims

The rule of fear is now the law, according to Edwin Meese's Justice Department. On June 20, the Justice Department ruled that anybody receiving federal funds can fire or discriminate against people simply because of "fear of contagion" of AIDS, even if such fear is irrational or not scientifically justified. The government's own Department of Health and Human Services, which had asked the Justice Department for advice as a result of numerous complaints of discrimination from health care workers regarding AIDS, was dismayed. Last November the U.S. Public Health Service issued "workplace guidelines" stating that there was no danger of casual transmission of the deadly AIDS virus in the workplace or elsewhere. The American Medical Association, which only days earlier at its annual conference concluded that children with AIDS should in general be allowed to attend school, has launched an attack against this deadly ruling.

The Justice Department is consciously seeking to fan the flames of sex-panic hysteria and pogromist terror against homosexuals. In California the right-wing Lyndon LaRouche group appropriately acronymed PANIC (Prevent AIDS Now Initiative Committee) has got a referendum on the ballot for November which calls on the state to consider AIDS a "communicable, infectious disease," thus giving it the right to quarantine and place under house arrest people with AIDS. This vicious measure would also ban hundreds of thousands exposed to the AIDS virus from attending school or working as food handlers, and demands mandatory testing of all gays. At San Francisco's 100,000-strong Gay Pride Day march, there was a mass outpouring of opposition to this bigotry, with thousands carrying signs like "No Internment—Stop LaRouche."

Across the country victims and suspected victims of AIDS, as well as gays in general, have been viciously discriminated against, refused medical treatment, fired, physically attacked and harassed. In Chicago a gay father, even though healthy and with no sign of AIDS, was ordered by a judge to take an HTLV-III antibody test in order to visit his children (the case is still in

the courts).

Though the Reagan regime would have you believe otherwise, in fact AIDS is not a "gay disease," is not caused by sex, sin or pornography. It is caused by a deadly virus which attacks the body's immune system, leaving victims open to fatal secondary infections. The only verified means of transmission is through exchange of

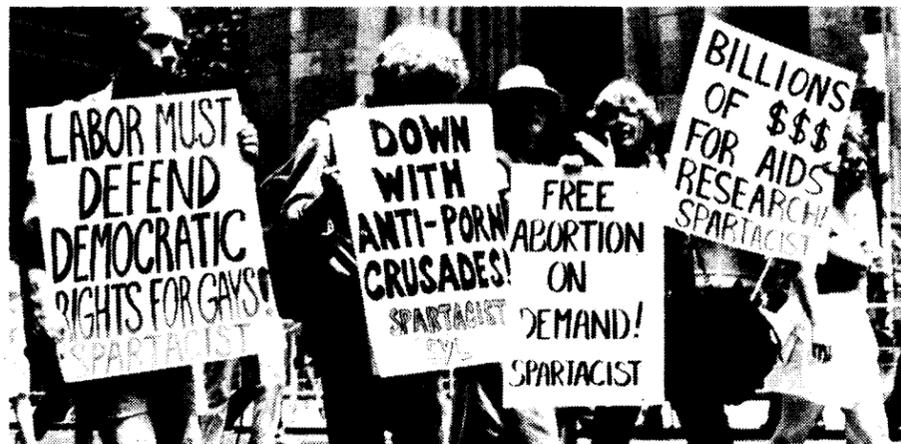
Reagan actually suggested recently that people could avoid AIDS by stockpiling their own blood for use in transfusions, an idiotic suggestion greeted with horror by the Red Cross and doctors at the international AIDS conference just concluded in Paris.

Meese's Justice Department ruling has now given the government a green light to sheer panic lynch law. The

invariably fatal disease with no cure—and Meese's boys are making sick jokes about bad breath and curly hair! And what about other "irrational beliefs," like maybe the boss thinks workers with white skin are better than those with dark skin? The whole presumption is of an unlimited right to fire workers at will.

The Justice Department decision not only codifies vicious discrimination, but will make stopping the spread of AIDS more, difficult. Given the witchhunt atmosphere against AIDS patients and the ruling that the "fear of contagion" is grounds for firing someone, most people will surely hesitate to go in for a medical check for AIDS just because they belong to a category considered "at risk" (homosexuals, prostitutes, drug addicts). Besides, the Public Health Service's recommended HTLV-III antibody test is a very rough-cut test, with a large error rate, that simply indicates you have been exposed to the virus at some point. Yet a positive result is enough to get you fired. The U.S. military rejects everyone who tests positive in its blood tests, and the Navy court-martialed and jailed one sailor who refused to take the test. And given the Supreme Court's upholding of reactionary sodomy laws, you can presumably go directly to jail now if you are found "guilty" of exposure to the AIDS virus via a homosexual contact.

The monstrous arrogance of this degenerate ruling class knows no bounds. As AIDS spreads among the U.S. population, the anti-gay Reaganites are willing to let a deadly epidemic rage unchecked. Truly, the sleep of reason produces monsters, as Goya titled an etching in the period of reaction following the French Revolution. The monsters ruling this nation today are the product of violent imperialism in its period of decay. Instead of the principles of the Age of Enlightenment, capitalism's revolutionary years, in which the eradication of medieval superstition by scientific knowledge began, this ruling class has the reactionary witchhunting mindset of the *ancien régime*, looking for god's plagues to punish its enemies. We had better sweep them away through socialist revolution before they kill all of us. ■



SL protests sex witchhunt in front of NYC's St. Patrick's Cathedral, June 29.

contaminated blood or semen. Already over 12,000 people have died of this terrible disease in the U.S. alone. While scientists have made progress in identifying the virus and understanding how it works, there is no cure and there remain many, many unanswered questions. Many authorities, both government and scientific, have leaped to making moralistic generalities that sexual abstinence is the "answer" to AIDS, instead of immediately and energetically pursuing the medical research.

The AIDS epidemic is certainly a public health crisis, demanding billions of dollars of research efforts and international cooperation. Reagan and Meese, with their obscene drive to regiment society, are using sex-panic hysteria which criminally obstructs efforts to find a cure. Though even government figures project a sharp increase in AIDS cases, every year Reagan has proposed slashing funding for research. For 1986 he proposed cutting more than \$20 million from the already pitifully inadequate \$233.8 million appropriated by Congress!

peculiar 49-page decision admits that if you *have* AIDS you might be protected by laws prohibiting discrimination against the handicapped, but there's no protection if you *don't* have AIDS but your boss has "fear of contagion." So if your boss thinks you're gay and might get AIDS and spread it, out you go. Medical and scientific evidence is irrelevant, the ruling says. The handicapped law "certainly is not a general prohibition against irrational decision-making by employers or others," it states. With indecent flippancy and cruelty, the Justice Department goes on:

"Consider an employer who has the bizarre belief that persons with curly hair make better employees than persons with straight hair. Section 504 [the ruling prohibiting discrimination against the handicapped] does not prohibit the employer from making hiring decisions based on this wholly unreasonable basis... a person cannot be regarded as handicapped simply because others shun his company. Otherwise, a host of personal traits, from ill temper to poor personal hygiene, would constitute handicaps."

—New York Times, 23 June

Here we are dealing with a spreading,

be legal, but abortion clinic bombers have been given a clear go-ahead by the state to close down the clinics by extra-legal terror. White-hooded KKK assassins along with their Nazi cohorts were given the green light when local, state and federal police aided and abetted their 1979 murder of anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, and an all-white jury later acquitted the fascists.

The government itself acted without a fig leaf of "legality" in the hideous state terror unleashed in Philadelphia against the black MOVE commune in May 1985. Bearing the signature of the Reagan years, the MOVE massacre—incinerating eleven black people, including five children—was carried out by the Philadelphia police and mayor's office with help from the FBI, which supplied the C-4 explosive used in the bomb. Meese praised the MOVE bombing to a California cops convention as a "good example" to emulate.

"Rollback" of the Civil War?

In its drive to "roll back" civil liberties, civil rights and social progress generally, the Reagan administration has intervened heavily against both legalized abortion and the *Miranda* ruling that suspects must be informed upon arrest of their legal rights against self-incrimination and to have a lawyer. Solicitor General Charles Fried filed the

first brief in decades in which the government urged the Court to overturn a major decision—*Roe v. Wade*, the landmark abortion rights case. Meese has been unrelenting in his attacks on *Miranda* and indeed all Fourth Amendment protections against illegal search and seizure. Hence his now infamous statement that, "You don't have many suspects who are innocent of a crime. That's contradictory. If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 14 October 1985)!

Here the nation's highest "justice" official wants to turn the clock back on centuries of evolution of the Anglo-American judicial tradition, which

resulted in "the requirement of proof beyond a reasonable doubt...and, indeed, that the presumption of the trial would be changed from guilt to innocence" (Charles Rembar, *The Law of the Land* [1980]). So far, *Roe v. Wade* is still on the books, and so is *Miranda*, although inconsistently upheld.

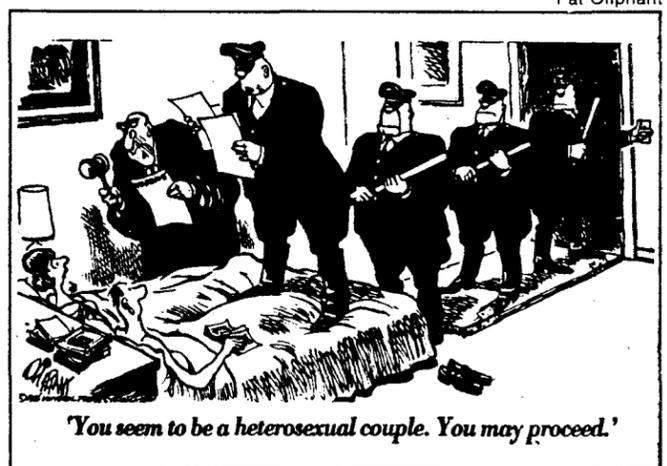
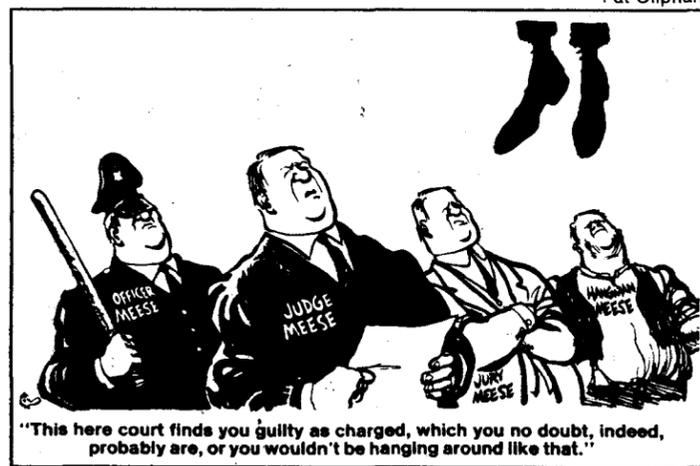
A year ago, Meese touched off a debate by denouncing the theory of "incorporation," a legal doctrine which holds that the Bill of Rights applies to the states as well as to the federal government. We know what "states' rights" is all about. Any discussion of the "original intent" of the authors of the United States Constitution and its Amendments necessarily leads to the

question of black slavery and its abolition. As originally drafted, the Constitution sanctioned slavery and set the context for coexistence between two societies—the emerging capitalism of the North and the slavocracy of the South. Columnist Russell Baker's scathing satire on the "Meese doctrine" captures its logical conclusion:

"Under the Meese doctrine the Supreme Court would be justified, it seems to me, in having another look at the question of slavery's legality...."

"Having to pay insolent and incompetent college students \$12 an hour when slavery is an available constitutional alternative strikes me as one of the things that's wrong with this country. Regrettably, Mr. Meese shows little zest

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Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly



RADICAL MEMBERS OF THE S.C. LEGISLATURE.

Confederate Museum, Richmond

FINISH THE CIVIL WAR! (Top left) Black union troops were decisive in defeating the slavocracy: 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment charging Fort Wagner, South Carolina, 1863. (Top right) 15th Amendment gave black men the vote: black U.S. marshals monitor balloting in New Orleans, 1876. (Bottom left) Ex-slaves made up majority of radical Republicans in South Carolina Reconstruction legislature. (Bottom right) Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: 5,000-strong SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stops the KKK.



Washington Post

Reagan's Sex Witchhunt...

(continued from page 7)

for restoring slavery in line with the intent of the Framers. He talks instead of trifles. One suspects he is merely swatting at flies—trying to outlaw abortion, abolish the Miranda rule and other such piffling stuff.”

—New York Times, 19 October 1985

The destruction of chattel slavery, which held black people in bondage for centuries, was achieved with iron and blood. The victory of the North was secured, finally, by the introduction of black Union troops, and a profound social revolution took place in the South. Enormous social gains were achieved by the Civil War, the second American revolution. These gains were codified in a series of Amendments to the Constitution: the 13th Amendment (1865) abolished slavery. The 14th Amendment (1868) declared that no state may deny a person life or liberty without due process of law; this in particular is cited by lawyers as the

constitutional basis for applying the Bill of Rights to the states. The 15th Amendment (1870) extended to black men the right to vote.

This revolutionary process was cut short and left uncompleted by the Northern bourgeoisie's betrayal of radical Reconstruction. The Compromise of 1877 removed the Union occupying army, including many black troops. Lynch mobs, the KKK, the poll tax and reimposition of rigid segregation by terror kept Southern blacks, now formally emancipated, economically and politically disenfranchised. The civil rights movement of the late 1950s and '60s achieved legislative relief from Jim Crow segregation in the South, most notably the Voting Rights and Civil Rights Acts. Meese, who shares the late J. Edgar Hoover's obsessive fear and loathing of black struggle, seeks to strip away even these minimal gains. This is the central purpose of his doctrine of "original intent."

Communism: America's Last, Best Hope

Like tsarist Russia in its last days, the American bourgeoisie exhibits increas-

ingly irrational and brutal symptoms of a ruling class in its death agony. One of these is the attempted roll-back of supposedly constitutionally protected rights. Harold Laski explains in his treatise on the class nature of the state:

"...how accidental was the union of capitalism with democracy. It was the outcome, not of an essential harmony of inner principle, but of that epoch in economic evolution when capitalism was in its phase of expansion. It had conferred political power upon the masses; but it was upon the saving condition that political power should not be utilized to cut at the root of capitalist postulates. It would offer social reforms so long as these did not jeopardize the essential relations of the capitalist system. When they did, as occurred in the post-war [World War I] years, the contradiction between capitalism and democracy became the essential institutional feature of Western civilization."

—Harold J. Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice* (1935)

Liberals and reformists of all stripes preach that the exploited and oppressed may find the road to their emancipation through pressuring the state. A gross expression of such slavish reliance on the class enemy may be found in the Communist Party's perennial demand to "ban the Klan"—i.e., the appeal to the racist capitalist state to rid itself of its dogs of war, its fascist arsenal in reserve. For those reared on the myth of the courts as a force for social progress, the present actions of the federal judiciary should give pause. As for Congress, Reagan's Democratic "opposition" has fallen into lock step with the anti-Soviet war drive, from Nicaragua to Angola. And desperate liberals looking to the state courts these days simply go off the scale of illusions in "reform."

As Lenin explained in his polemic *State and Revolution*, written on the eve of the Bolsheviks' 1917 October Revolution to uphold the Marxist position on the state against the reformists of his times: the state is "an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of

one class by another." He goes on:

"But from this capitalist democracy—inevitably narrow, subtly rejecting the poor, and therefore hypocritical and false to the core—progress does not march onward, simply, smoothly and directly, to 'greater and greater democracy,' as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, progress marches onward, i.e., towards Communism, through the dictatorship of the proletariat; it cannot do otherwise, for there is no one else and no other way to break the resistance of the capitalist exploiters."

What is required today to defend even the most elementary democratic rights in this country is nothing less than socialist revolution.

For Marxists, rights are not an ideal abstraction but the product of *struggle* by the working class and oppressed against their capitalist masters. But reformists we have known think differently. George Novack of the long-since ex-Trotskyist (and now explicitly anti-Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party, in his book *Democracy and Revolution* (1971), wrote that, "The right of revolution is the supreme right of any people and the ultimate safeguard of its democracy." The SWP actually tried to win legal sanction for this utopian social-democratic concept in its "socialist Watersuit" against the FBI—to no avail. Four decades earlier, Laski could have told them: "the attempt... to find a legal basis for the right to revolution" is "an impossible attempt."

Precisely because we in the Spartacist League are Leninists who understand the class nature of the state, we have been able to win some modest but unique and impressive victories in the courts. Our successful legal challenge to the 1983 FBI guidelines which recast all leftist opposition to the government as "terrorism" was a singular victory against the new McCarthyism. We forced the government to concede that Marxists are not terrorists—an important protection for the entire left and workers movement. But all rights of the working class must be defended with the methods of the class struggle, on the streets and on the picket lines.

We take as our model Lenin's Bolshevik Party which led the proletariat to power in Russia. This task is all the more urgent today as the bipartisan imperialist drive for war against the Soviet Union drags the planet ever closer to nuclear Armageddon. Reagan and Meese want a servile, flag-waving population longing to invade Nicaragua, then Cuba, and then on to the Big One: Russia. But they don't have it, and to get it they have targeted democratic rights won through the first two American revolutions. Today it is the Marxists who vigilantly uphold these gains, as we fight for the liberation of all the oppressed in a third, proletarian revolution. Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! ■

CORRECTION

The article "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland" in *WV* No. 406, 20 June, erroneously identified the French organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) as participating in last December's anti-Communist demonstration against the visit of Poland's General Jaruzelski. LO was not present, though much of the so-called far left was. LO did, however, alibi CIA financing for the Force Ouvrière union, much of which was transferred to Solidarność (see *WV* No. 393, 13 December 1985). Since 1980, LO has called for "complete solidarity" with Solidarność, while characterizing Walesa's clerical-nationalist program as "completely counterposed to the future political and economic interests of the Polish working class."

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Dump Mayor Goode!

Victory to Philly Strikers!

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—Since July 1, when the mostly black city sanitation workers struck along with water department and white-collar technical workers, trash and garbage collection has been brought to a complete halt. Philadelphia unions have a history of combativeness, having struck the city repeatedly in transport, schools and sanitation. Now, with garbage piling up at a rate of 3,200 tons a day and with temperatures soaring into the 90s, Philly is on the verge of a municipal crisis. City workers have the bosses and bankers by the balls—and now is the time to squeeze.

Presiding over the refuse, rats and maggots is Wilson Goode, mayor and black front man for Reaganite reaction. Goode, in cahoots with Reagan and Meese, carried out the horrendous racist bombing and massacre of six adults and five children of the MOVE commune and the gutting of the homes of 61 black families just over a year ago. Distrust and discontent with Goode have escalated in black Philadelphia over the past year. Goode's job is on the line: he needs to break this strike to prove to his white capitalist masters that he can keep black workers in line.

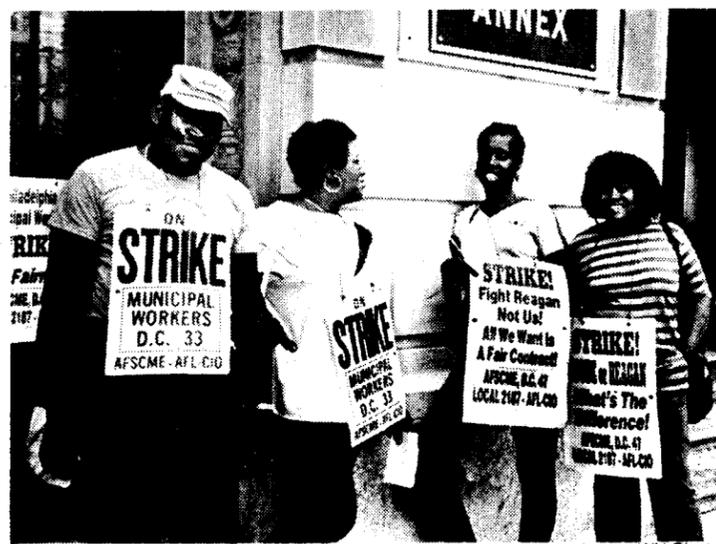
The core of the 13,000 striking city workers organized by AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and

Municipal Employees) are the mostly black sanitation workers who do the dirty, dangerous jobs no one else will do. Now baby-killer Goode is blaming these black unionists for jeopardizing the health and safety of Philly residents! Workers scored an early victory on July 4th, when technical crews which came to set up for a gala concert in front of the Art Museum respected strikers' picket lines. But on July 11 the smaller white-collar union, District Council 47, announced its own settlement, which was rightly condemned by the larger local.

Now Goode's capitalist advisers are urging him to call on private contractors to scab on the strike. A July 9 editorial in the liberal *Philadelphia Inquirer* warned the union that it "would be making a serious mistake" if it interfered with trash removal by private haulers, and threatened strikers with state cops and the National Guard. But for all the threats and tough talk, the city knows the strikers have them over a barrel right now. Goode's union-busting and strike-breaking can be thrown back in his face. What's key here is the resoluteness of the striking union to stand up to the capitalist state and particularly the Democratic Party politicians.

On the picket lines, workers carried signs: "Goode or Reagan—What's the Difference!" But both DC 33 and 47

Striking city workers say: no difference between Reagan and Goode.



WV Photo

staunchly supported Goode last time out; in fact, Earl Stout, the black head of the key sanitation workers local, announced in the middle of contract talks that he continues to support Goode—MOVE massacre and all—for a second term. In Philadelphia today it is the attitude to this bloody atrocity that is the decisive test of political consciousness. A class-struggle workers party must be built that fights for proletarian vengeance for the MOVE martyrs: Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners now!

When the bosses, bankers and Democratic Party politicians blame the strikers for "endangering health and safety," the union should boldly meet the challenge by saying who the real terrorists, murderers and enemies of working people are. Had there been a mass mobilization in response to the massacre of MOVE, Wilson Goode

wouldn't even be in City Hall today. It is by championing the interests of the deeply oppressed that black and working-class Philadelphia can be mobilized to smash the union-busters and strikebreakers today. In May 1985, two weeks after the bombing of MOVE, we wrote:

"The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody who gets 'out of line' in Reagan's America—blacks will get the Philly treatment... and everyone, not least the Marxists, will get the 'terrorist' treatment. But you can fight the terrorists in City Hall and the White House and win. Black people do have social power: they are concentrated in some of the key sections of the American proletariat, constituting its most militant layer. But to unlock this power means breaking the capitalist two-party stranglehold, fighting for a workers party to mobilize labor and oppressed blacks in revolutionary struggle against this racist, capitalist system." ■

Bingham...

(continued from page 4)

underline how "dangerous" and "violent" they were presumed to be. In surrendering now, Bingham said, he figured the political climate had improved. In his view, the Watergate exposure was key to undermining illusions in the government's veracity, so that a California jury could be induced to fairly consider the defense's evidence that prison officials lied.

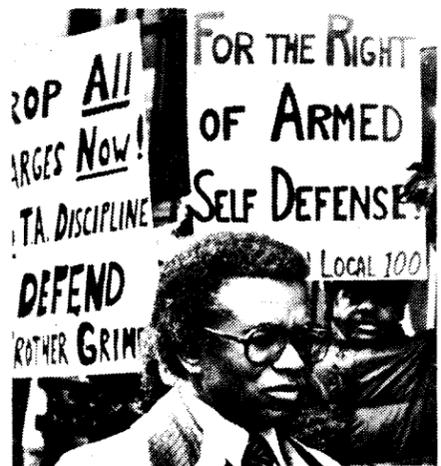
Well, it worked. But contrary to Bingham's liberal illusions in the permanent effects of the Watergate scandal, the real damage to government credibility was the losing war in Vietnam, in pursuit of which both Democratic and Republican administrations showed themselves to be shameless liars, over and over again. And what most facilitated Bingham's gratifying court victory was surely the tragic fact of the utter destruction of the black radical cadres of the 1960s and '70s—by outright cop/FBI murder as well as by legal frame-ups.

The moderate civil rights leaders of yesterday became the black elected officials of today. And as they now preside over the "rollback" of the few gains that were wrested by the struggles of millions, the ruling-class hysteria

about the Panthers has subsided. But Reagan's America has new targets to be "terrorist"-baited and shot down like "mad dogs," from the children of Libyan strongman Qaddafi to the children of a back-to-nature black commune in Philadelphia.

Stephen Bingham says he's looking forward to getting on with his life, and hopes to get involved in legal work on behalf of tenants or trade unions. If he has the same rad-lib "serve the people" politics he had a dozen years ago, that still makes him a lot more honorable than those "older but wiser" graduates of the New Left, who after a radical fling in their youth are now networking with Jerry Rubin at Studio 54 or exercising to Jane Fonda's "Workout" video. Maybe from time to time they'll play Bob Dylan's "Ballad of George Jackson" on their stereo, although Phil Ochs' "Love Me, I'm a Liberal" is more to the point.

From the government's hideous bombing of Philly MOVE to the trial of Stephen Bingham, intended to relive and justify anew the murder of George Jackson, the state's message is that it intends to have black radicals killed, and those who defend them framed up. Bingham's acquittal is a blow against the Reagan/Meese campaign to intimidate and terrorize political opposition on the home front of the anti-Soviet war drive. But it will take proletarian revolution to avenge the murder of George Jackson! ■



WV Photo

James Grimes

hoped the Goetz affair would just go away. They were ready to drop everything... except the crime of crimes for the bourgeoisie, gun possession. But Goetz got some publicity-hound lawyers who wanted a show trial to whip up racist sentiment for "Backlash Man." Meanwhile, something had to be done to defuse the outrage over the rampaging cops, who were shooting down black youth in the subways, stun-gunning kids in Queens, blowing away a black grandmother in her Bronx apartment, even running down an elderly doctor on Park Avenue. So they went after Goetz precisely because he's not a cop.

If the Goetz incident was contradictory, the issue of self-defense was utterly unambiguous in the case of black subway clerk James Grimes. The 55-year-old unionist courageously defended himself, while carrying Transit Authority funds, from a murderous assault by three muggers on January 6. Grimes had been the victim of four previous muggings, including one in which his token booth was doused with gasoline. He is a model family man who has raised 15 foster and adopted children, along with three of his own. He had suffered two heart attacks and had to have emergency surgery to have a pacemaker implanted after the assault. But that didn't stop Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman from putting him through six months of legal torture.

There was widespread sympathy throughout New York City for Grimes,

but that support had to be mobilized. The leadership of Transport Workers Union Local 100 first stabbed Grimes in the back, then gave at most token backing to the victimized brother. But supporters of the Committee for a Fighting TWU and fellow subway clerks let the D.A. and TA bosses know they couldn't go after Grimes with impunity, and demonstrated outside each court appearance. This support was crucial in winning victory on June 25. But even after finally dismissing the gun possession charges against Grimes, Judge Gerschwer said he wanted to make sure no one got the idea that they can "carry a gun and get away with it." On July 8, black token clerk Clarence Anderson was stabbed to death in his booth at Beverley Road, Brooklyn.

What's common to all these cases is the capitalist rulers' determination to hold on to their monopoly on arms. The NY City Council law against carrying long arms in public was zipped through to prevent Malcolm X from carrying a carbine—he was assassinated shortly after. From Malcolm X to black subway worker Willie Turks, beaten to death by a lynch mob in Gravesend, *gun control kills blacks!* The right to armed self-defense is fundamental. This is a violent racist city in a violent racist country. And the 500 people on board the Staten Island Ferry last Monday were damn lucky Edward del Pino had a gun and knew how to use it. ■



Springer/Bettman Archive

Jean Seberg, driven to her death by FBI because she was a Black Panther sympathizer.

Gusano Slasher...

(continued from page 3)

woman. Barry Allen is serving up to four years for chain snatching and violating parole. Troy Canty was ordered to undergo treatment at a drug and alcohol rehab center after conviction for robbing video-game machines. Still, Goetz' bullet in the spine made Cabey a paraplegic, confined to a wheelchair for life.

From the beginning, the case has been manipulated. Koch and Manhattan District Attorney Morgenthau first

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Cop Vendetta Against L.A. Black Activist

Hands Off Michael Zinzun!

LOS ANGELES—On June 22, Michael Zinzun, a former Black Panther and long-time co-chairman of the L.A. Coalition Against Police Abuse, was the victim of a vicious racist beating at the hands of the Pasadena cops that has left him blind in one eye. At a news conference the next day, called to demand an outside investigation of the police conduct, Zinzun appeared "with his left eye purple and swollen several times its normal size.... His head had been shaved to accommodate 40 stitches" (*Pasadena Star-News*, 24 June).

Zinzun was at home in the early hours of Sunday morning when he heard a disturbance next door. When he and his children went outside, they saw a 30-year-old black man, Steve Rivers, on the ground, handcuffed and being beaten by the police who alleged he was a robbery suspect. Zinzun, together with 30 to 40 neighbors from the adjacent Community Arms Housing Project who had responded to Rivers' screams, demanded that the police stop beating Rivers. They asked for the badge numbers and names of the cops. The cops responded by macing the crowd and calling for reinforcements.

Zinzun's 12-year-old daughter then urged him to leave the scene. As he did, he was hit from behind by one of the cops and maced in the face. Zinzun told *WV*, "I ran away, but the officer grabbed me and sprayed more mace in my eyes. As they were handcuffing me, I felt blows. There was one massive blow to my eye that appeared to be from a metal flashlight." It was undoubtedly this blow which severed the optic nerve of Zinzun's left eye. The beating

continued as he lay on the ground, and resulted in two skull fractures and a huge gash in his head. Zinzun remarked, "I think they were going to kill me right away."

Frank Taylor, another resident who tried to stop the rampaging cops, was placed in a choke hold and repeatedly beaten by five of the now more than 15 cops. Both Taylor and Zinzun were arrested for "interfering with a police officer." Zinzun was then taken to the jail ward at County-USC Medical Center, and later released on \$5,000 bail. No charges have been filed against Zinzun, Taylor or Rivers, pending an "investigation" of the incident.

Michael Zinzun was singled out for his long-time criticism and exposure of the rampant racist atrocities of L.A.-area police. And not for the first time—the cops have made Zinzun the target of a vicious racist vendetta for years. In 1975, the cops raided his Pasadena Community Information Center, sending seven people to the hospital and then jail. They tried to frame Zinzun up for "inciting to riot," but the charges were dropped. Again in 1982, they tried to frame him on felony charges for the "crime" of protesting cop brutality when the Pasadena police staged another provocation near his home.

Zinzun has repeatedly called for "community control" of the police through a citizen police review board. Joined by 150 angry residents, Zinzun presented the Pasadena Board of Directors his demands for "police accountability" at a June 30 meeting. The demands include indictment and suspension of the cops involved in the



Steve Grayson

Michael Zinzun, left eye blinded in savage police beating, speaks at Pasadena city council meeting.

beating, barring the choke hold, and requiring immediate use of police "business cards" which would include the cop's name and badge number. Supposedly such a card would be proffered by the thugs in uniform before they deliver their real "calling cards"—brutal beatings with Mag-lites and lethal choke holds and bullets.

Zinzun, currently Peace & Freedom Party candidate for the 55th Assembly District, has also demanded an "independent" investigation of the attack. To this request, the Board responded quickly by naming the L.A. law firm of Cotkin, Collins, Kolts & Franscell to carry out the investigation. This firm's list of past clients reads like a "Who's Who" of L.A.-area racist killer cops. This is the firm that defended Signal Hill police in the 1981 jailhouse murder case of Ron Settles, a promising young black football star at Long Beach State.

They're also the same lawyers that represented the cops who coldbloodedly pumped eight bullets into Eulia Love in 1979, over an unpaid gas bill of \$22. Cotkin, Collins & Co. have also been involved in defending police in past cases brought by the Coalition Against Police Abuse. While the city has now withdrawn the nomination of this law firm after heated criticism, this is the kind of "justice" and "impartiality" you get when you look to the capitalist state to investigate its own hired racist henchmen.

This latest brutal cop attack has tapped a seething and justified rage among black residents of Pasadena, a heavily-minority city of 150,000 just ten miles north of Los Angeles. As the city fathers celebrate the 100th anniversary of the "City of Roses," the harsh reality of life for blacks in Reagan's America has reared its ugly head. An incredulous Toni Stewart, spokesman for the NAACP, explained that "this is northwest Pasadena, not South Africa." But blacks in the Los Angeles area are all too familiar with the marauding of the LAPD and its suburban junior partners.

On July 21, the Pasadena Board of Directors will respond to Zinzun's demands. But clearly no powerless civilian police review board or appeals to the state for an "independent investigation" will control these professional killers, who are barely controlled by the bourgeoisie whose class interests they are paid to protect. "Community control" of the police under capitalism is a dangerous illusion. The presence of black Democratic Party mayor "Uncle Tom" Bradley hasn't held back the rampaging LAPD with its battering-ram tanks, APCs and trigger-happy SWAT teams.

There must be powerful mobilizations of labor, blacks, Chicanos to stop this racist terror. And it will take a proletarian revolution to bring justice for the exploited and oppressed, and vengeance for all the victims of these badge-toting killers. ■

Chile...

(continued from page 5)

Communists are to be "banned, isolated," nonetheless, "we will do our best to accentuate the anti-Pinochet aspect of the document." PCCh general secretary Luis Corvalán said straight out that in order to get a "democratic regime" in Chile, "we cannot rule out the possibility of an understanding on the matter with the armed forces in defiance of the tyrant" (*New Times* [Moscow], November 1985). After the July work stoppage they were even more explicit, saying the CP "favors negotiations with the armed forces and would support a military government 'without' President Pinochet" as a formula for returning the country to democracy" (*Washington Post*, 7 July).

Under Allende and in the years following the coup, the Chilean "popular front"—from the CP and social democrats to their various fronts of the Chile Democrático variety (and including the ex-leftist MIR)—constantly chanted, "The people united will never be defeated." At a 1976 demonstration in New York against the torture ship *Esmeralda*, this call for class collaboration with the "democratic" bourgeoisie was sharply answered by the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who countered with the chant, "Popular front means workers' blood." It was the refusal of the Stalinists and social democrats to transcend the bounds of capitalism, even returning land and factories seized by the workers to their capitalist "owners," and permitting the military's brutal searches for "illegal" arms which led to the tragedy of September 11. But this isn't just hindsight. From the moment of Allende's election, we said:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical

support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—*Spartacist* No. 19,
November-December 1970

Here we were merely applying the lessons drawn by Leon Trotsky from the defeat of the Spanish Revolution in the 1930s. Yet those who claim to represent Trotskyism in Chile deny Trotsky's central conclusion, that only by a victorious proletarian revolution can the forces of counterrevolution be crushed. The publication of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," *International Viewpoint* (28 October 1985), notes that "the lesson drawn today by many hundreds of communist cadres and thousands of young people is critical of the Popular Unity because it was unarmed," and adds: "Anything concerning the policy of class collaboration or the problem of alliances with the bourgeoisie tends therefore to be overlooked in any balance sheet of the 1970-1973 period." This is true of no one more than the Mandelites themselves! The balance sheet on "The Chilean Tragedy" by the USec's "Tenth World Congress" declared:

"It would be completely out of place to make the presence of bourgeois political groupings inside the Popular Unity or the presence of bourgeois ministers within the Allende government the axis of our criticism of the Popular Unity."

—*Intercontinental Press*,
23 December 1974

Today, Mandel & Co. say that in Chile "revolutionaries must reply with a radical democratic perspective, one for the overthrow of the dictatorship through mass mobilisation and the election of a free and sovereign constituent assembly excluding the military." Yet in Chile today, with massive unemployment and burning land hunger, everyone from Pinochet on down is vividly aware that social revolution

would be posed in the first hours of an uprising to overthrow the dictatorship. These fake-Trotskyists with their talk of a "radical-democratic perspective" are joining the Stalinists against the revolutionary masses. The bourgeoisie is diametrically opposed to a fight for democratic demands *out of fear for its class rule*. That is why decisive sections of the bourgeois opposition won't ally openly with the Communist Party, despite its explicit willingness to betray the working class in the interests of "anti-Pinochet unity"; and why they insist, as the *sine qua non* for a National Accord, on prohibiting any mention of armed struggle and anointing the sanctity of capitalist property rights. Therefore, the proletariat must take the lead in fighting for democratic demands as part of its program for *workers revolution*, for a workers and peasants government.

The ground is moving in Pinochet's Chile. There are serious rumblings in the Chilean military. After telling Pinochet he could only count on his loyalty until 1989 (when the junta chief is supposed to step down under his own constitution), air force commander Matthei followed this up by suddenly transferring Chile's entire force of Mirage interceptor jets and Northrop F-5E fighter jets to the southern tip of the 4,000-kilometer long Andean country at Punta Arenas. Navy chief admiral José Torribo Merino publicly called for revising Pinochet's constitution. And when Pinochet passed over senior generals Frez and Danus to appoint loyalist General Sinclair army commander, the general staff, instead of retiring the two, put them in command of the best armed troops in the country. As a well-informed article in the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (12 May) noted:

"Only the General Staff could have decided that," according to a military expert in Santiago. "It apparently decided against Pinochet. If Frez and

Danus act together with the Navy and the Air Force, then Pinochet's game is over. Militarily he won't be able to do anything more then." The Americans know that, too: recently U.S. ambassador Harry Barnes spent two hours with Danus in Punta Arenas."

The Reagan government, after years of unconditional support to Pinochet as a bulwark against Communism, has also heard the tremors in Chile. In March the U.S. voted for a UN human rights resolution on Chile for the first time since 1980, although largely as part of its war against Sandinista Nicaragua. An administration emissary has been dispatched to Santiago. The State Department, says *Der Spiegel*, would prefer an "honorable resignation" by Pinochet. A U.S. embassy official in Santiago is quoted as saying, "The Chileans must first show their capacity to create the internal unrest necessary for a change.... Only then can the U.S. floor the gas pedal." But they could miscalculate.

The working masses of Chile have undergone brutal torture, seen their loved ones and leaders assassinated, and survived a dozen years under Pinochet's jackboot. They have not endured all this to be a pawn of the CIA and find themselves ruled over by "democratic" generals and capitalists who grew rich under the dictatorship. From the creation in the last months of Allende's UP of the *cordones industriales*, regional factory committees which could have become soviets, to the bitter strikes of the copper miners against Pinochet and the determined resistance of the Santiago *poblaciones*, the Chilean masses have fought under the most adverse conditions. What they have lacked, and what is the key to rooting out the bonapartist dictatorship, is an authentic Trotskyist party, forged in uncompromising opposition to all forms of popular frontism. The battle cry of the Chilean Revolution must be: Pinochet to the Wall! Workers to Power! ■

Mass Evictions...

(continued from page 12)

while 11,000 applicants are waiting, some for ten years, to get into the projects. Even so, over 17 percent of the public housing units in D.C. stand vacant because the city never laid out the money for maintenance. Cynically playing off tenants' frustrations with the city's housing managers, D.C. black Democratic Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy joined hands with Reaganite Republican Jack Kemp to put forward union-busting legislation for project residents to do their own maintenance at minimal wages! And now the administration, after gutting every form of housing assistance for the poor since 1981, wants to slash new public housing construction to zero, while pumping trillions into the military buildup for nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

War on Blacks, Labor, Poor

Federal and city officials have already declared war on the city's estimated 5,000-10,000 homeless. The government's primary target is Mitch Snyder's Community for Creative Non-Violence (CCNV) shelter for the homeless a few blocks from the Capitol. Relying on volunteer work and private donations, the CCNV provides food and housing for over 700 people. Through repeated, well-publicized hunger strikes, Snyder has held off the attempts to close down the shelter while publicizing the issue of the homeless in Washington and across the country. Last November, shelter residents fought off attempts to move them into a federally operated building in Anacostia, several miles from downtown D.C.

Thereupon, Health and Human Services chief of staff C. McClain Haddow drew up a plan for a full-scale military assault, using specially trained "Federal Protection" agents backed by D.C. police. Haddow ranted about armed and dangerous Vietnam vets holed up in the CCNV "bunker," setting the stage for a slaughter like the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia. The assault was called off only when someone informed the White

D.C. homeless protest intended eviction from shelter, proclaiming, "Hell no, we won't go!"



Matheny/Black American

House that killing off a bunch of homeless people during the Christmas holidays wouldn't go over too well with public opinion. "Homeless Win One Over Rambo," headlined the *Washington Post* (31 December 1985).

Some of the anger seething through black Washington surfaced at a city council hearing into "Operation Caribbean Cruise," a brutal police raid last winter ostensibly targeting the Rastafarian cult, which was charged with running drugs to finance the overthrow of the Jamaican government. At 5 a.m. on February 22, D.C. police and federal agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Internal Revenue Service stormed into 69 black homes, seizing passports, destroying property and sowing terror. Several speakers at the July 2 hearing compared the raid to South Africa and the massacre of Philly MOVE. Only by luck was no one killed.

Meanwhile, real estate developers, many of whom are Barry's biggest financial backers, are forcing more and more blacks out of inner-city neighborhoods slated for "gentrification." As condo development proceeds and rents streak upwards, overcrowding has become endemic. This was horribly exemplified by the tragic fire last January that killed nine Salvadorans sleeping in a D.C. basement. Across the Potomac in Alexandria, thousands of Salvadoran refugees, blacks and Asians are being uprooted from the low-income Arlandria apartment complex which is

to be renovated for a Yuppie clientele paying double the current rents. As they said in the '60s, "urban renewal means Negro removal."

"Home Rule" Hoax

Most of Washington's projects were built in the 1950s when developers tore down the infamous "alley dwellings" and other slum areas in Southwest D.C., Georgetown and Capitol Hill and put up luxurious apartment and hotel complexes. Public housing was carefully situated on the outskirts of the city, mostly east of the Anacostia River, far out of sight of bureaucrats and tourists. The 1968 ghetto explosion following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. further spurred efforts to "decentralize" the black population. The riot-torn areas have never been rebuilt, and while Barry has presided over the construction of a Metro subway system to comfortably move government officials from the suburbs to downtown, the Green Line through the black 14th Street corridor and Anacostia was never begun.

What black Washington got after 1968 was the fig leaf of "home rule," under which Congress and the White House maintained control while providing a mostly powerless elected city government (but no voting representation in Congress). Former civil rights activists like ex-SNCCer Barry, who once called the D.C. police an "occupation army," now started recruiting black cops. Going from the scandal-ridden Pride, Inc. youth program to the mayor's seat, Barry typifies the sellout

black "leaders" who have made their political careers, first heading up the liberal civil rights movement and then using state power to keep the black masses in line for the racist rulers. As columnist Courtland Milloy bitterly observed on the tenth anniversary of "home rule":

"New black masters now oversee the plantation that is D.C. Although the color of the faces has changed, this is still the last African colony."

—*Washington Post*,
3 January 1985

From voting \$100 million for the Nicaraguan contra bands and cheering the murder-bombing of Libya to mass evictions and raining bloody terror on black people at home, the Democrats act and sound more and more like the Reagan gang. And no wonder, for they share the fundamental aims of U.S. imperialism, and centrally the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive, which spells war against the working people and minorities at home. This must be fought by mobilizing the working class at the head of all the oppressed. Stop Barry's eviction threats by mass labor action to shut down D.C.! For massive public works at full union wages and benefits, to provide jobs for the jobless and homes for the homeless! For labor/black mobilization to stop the racist terrorists!

An example of the kind of workers action that can bring down Reagan reaction (including its Democratic front men) was the Labor/Black Mobilization in November 1982, initiated by the Spartacist League, which with broad union backing brought out thousands of black workers and youth and stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. Faced with the deadly threat by the KKK lynchers, Mayor Marion Barry made sure he was 3,000 miles away in Los Angeles, while Congressional delegate Fauntroy railed against "Tarzan Trotskyites" and libeled anti-Klan protesters as some kind of criminals.

But black Washington cheered. And as the victorious anti-racist protesters marched by the White House, where Reagan was meeting with South African foreign minister "Pik" Botha, the crowd chanted the battle cry for a third, proletarian, American Revolution: "1-2-3-4, Time to Finish the Civil War! 5-6-7-8, Forward to a Workers State!" ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

mines around Kimberley, the historic center of the South African diamond industry. They went back only after the company promised to campaign for the

release of the interned union leaders. At the same time, a massive slowdown hit Anglo American's Free State Geduld, the largest gold mine complex in the world. A 1,000-man work action also disrupted production at Anglo American's Kriel coal mine.

The mines are at the very heart of apartheid capitalism. South Africa supplies one half of the gold for the "free world," one third of its gem diamonds

and is the dominant exporter of the strategically important minerals chromium, manganese and platinum. The *New York Times* (15 July) reports that, "Fearing Instability, West Seeks to Replace Minerals From Africa." Now that really would be "divestment"—not some stock market deal, but cutting off South Africa's most valuable exports. Except it's not so easy to produce ersatz chromium or find other sources for cobalt (most shipped from Zambia and Zaire through South African ports). And without cobalt there's no jet engines; without chromium, no stainless steel... no modern world.

South Africa's militant black proletariat has great strategic power. However, it remains *politically shackled* to petty-bourgeois nationalism. From its formation last December, the COSATU leadership has demonstrated close ties to the African National Congress (ANC). The subordination of the black workers movement to the ANC nationalists can only derail class struggle against the apartheid bosses. This was treacherously demonstrated last fall when NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa sabotaged a nationwide gold strike on the eve of a meeting between South African capitalists, headed up by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly, and the ANC.

For almost two years the apartheid system has been shaken as never before by black revolt. However, the military power of the white-supremacist government remains intact. This situation



Interviu

Botha's apartheid repression in the townships.

cannot long continue. The apartheid state must be smashed or the South African ruling class will restore a social peace of the graveyard through a massive bloodbath. Botha's state of emergency—a big "screw you" to "world opinion"—signals preparations for a "final solution" to black unrest. The black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers can emerge victorious in the impending civil war only if they are led by a racially integrated Leninist workers party, which stands for the principle that he who labors should rule. ■

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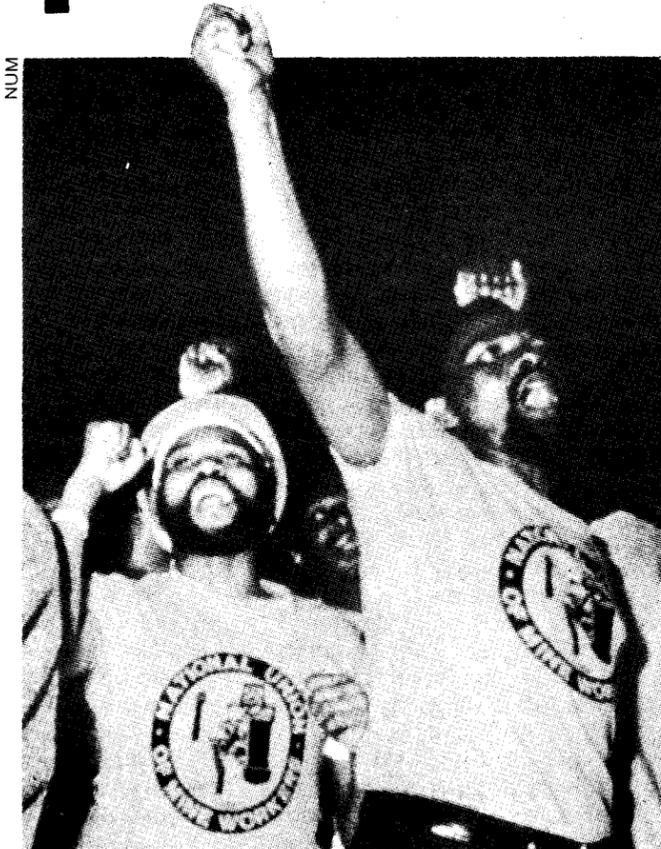
WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Miners, Students Strike Against Apartheid Terror

JULY 14—Today South Africa was hit by the first nationally coordinated mass protest against the "state of emergency" imposed by the apartheid regime on June 12. The "day of action" was called by the black trade unions and many workers stayed home, transportation was disrupted, cities like Johannesburg were unusually empty and black schools had few students. Although initial reports indicate that the protest action was not as extensive as the general strikes of May Day and June 16, it nonetheless clearly demonstrates that the black labor movement is now in the forefront of the struggle against the apartheid police state. Today's *New York Times* observed: "Since June 12 when the decree was imposed, the country's black labor movement has emerged as the most vocal challenger to the white authorities, filling a vacuum left by political organizations whose leaders have been silenced by detention and threat."

You can't dig coal with bayonets, American miners leader John L. Lewis once said. Or gold or diamonds either. The white-supremacist bosses of South Africa are now finding this out. In the past few weeks thousands of black miners have struck in defiance of the "state of emergency," demanding the release of their imprisoned union leaders. A week-long strike crippled De Beers, the monopoly which controls world trade in diamonds. A slowdown by 5,000 miners led to a partial shutdown of the largest gold mine

Black miners at strategic heart of South African economy.



in the world.

Botha's "state of emergency," imposed on June 12, aimed to behead South Africa's young, raw, combative and powerful black labor movement, especially the 650,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Over 1,000 trade unionists have been interned, including at least ten of

COSATU's 100-man executive committee, among them federation president Elijah Barayi and Metal Workers leader Moses Mayekiso. We do not know all the labor leaders imprisoned because under the "emergency" it is criminally "subversive" even to report the actions of the police state!

However, white racist terror has not

broken the spirit and militancy of the black toilers. The immediate aim of the declaration of "emergency" was to suppress the general strike called for June 16 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Yet that day saw the biggest "stayaway" strike in South African history, paralyzing every major urban center. In the days following, retail workers staged sit-down strikes in white-owned supermarkets and other stores, and auto and metal workers occupied factories in the Transvaal.

South African capitalists have been worried that the Botha regime's crackdown would backfire, further radicalizing the workers and fueling industrial unrest. Even before the mines were affected, the *Wall Street Journal* (1 July) reported:

"The state of emergency has angered many business leaders, who worry that it will lead to wildcat strikes and make unions more militant in bargaining sessions. 'Negotiations are difficult anyway. This compounds it,' said an executive at Anglo American Corp., a mining and industrial concern that is among South Africa's more progressive companies."

Likewise, De Beers chairman Julian Thompson urged the government to release officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The fears expressed by the Anglo American and De Beers bosses proved well founded. Strikes by some 3,000 black workers shut down five De Beers

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Crossroads Comes to Washington

Black Poor Face Mass Evictions

Tens of thousands of destitute black people forced out of their deteriorating, rat-infested housing; thousands more homeless roaming the streets, some "living" in cardboard shacks; brutal pre-dawn police raids in search of "terrorists"; a majority black population denied elementary voting rights by their racist rulers, with black unemployment five times higher than in neighboring white areas. Sound familiar? But it's not a South African apartheid hellhole we're describing, like the Crossroads shantytown outside Cape Town—it's Washington, D.C., "free world" citadel of U.S. imperialism.

Just as apartheid boss P.W. Botha has his kept bantustan chiefs and black

township overseers, so Ronald Reagan has his black front men like D.C. mayor Marion Barry. His job: to keep the seat of government functioning while enforcing near-Third World living conditions on its disenfranchised black masses. Here in the capital of the world's wealthiest power, the infant mortality rate is *seventh highest* among the world's 77 largest cities, worse than Cairo, Egypt and Bogotá, Colombia (*Washington Post*, 13 March). And Washington has the *highest* percentage of the population behind bars of any city in the world, "higher than South Africa" according to the D.C. city administrator. On July 10 the situation exploded as hundreds of prisoners at Lorton Re-



Marion Barry runs D.C. black "township" of homeless and jobless for Reagan.



Matheny/Black American

formatory in Virginia burned 14 dangerously overcrowded buildings to the ground, reportedly chanting "Freedom Now!" Vindictive Mayor Barry responded that they would rot in jail.

Taking a cue from Botha's fiery destruction of Crossroads, Barry last month announced that 40,000 of D.C.'s black poor were to be evicted from public housing projects. Letters have been sent to thousands of elderly, handicapped and other impoverished tenants promising an "all-out effort" to evict "illegal" residents. The mayor

pledged city money to pay overtime costs to the U.S. Marshals Service (Ed Meese's Justice Department police), which enforces eviction orders in D.C. Barry could have been "Ronbo" himself as he condemned "mushy-headed liberals" who want to "coddle" lease violators (*Washington Post*, 14 June). Now, faced with broad public outrage over his mass eviction plan, Barry says "only" 4,000 will have to move out.

That leaves 60,000-plus "legal" residents packed into about 9,000 units,

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