

Anti-Sex Bigots Target Everybody

Reagan and AIDS

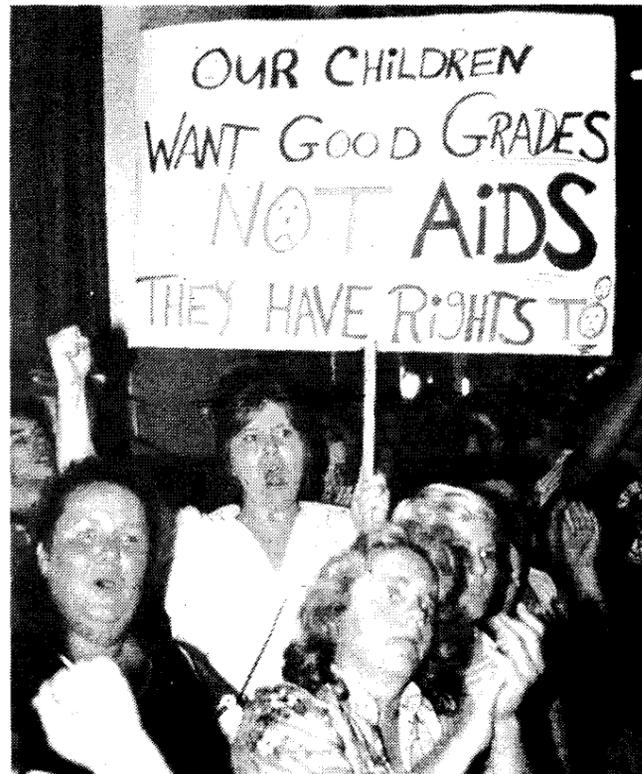
AIDS—it's a terrible epidemic that so far has killed half of the poor victims that have contracted it. Over 13,800 people in the United States have the disease; every six to ten months the number doubles. Caused by a virus that destroys the body's immune system, almost all victims are dead within two years of diagnosis as their bodies are wracked by infections which they cannot fight. There's no cure and no treatment. But mushrooming far beyond the medical impact of AIDS is another, far more dangerous epidemic: fear and hysteria exploited by Reagan reaction as a springboard for sexual/social counterrevolution.

Gay men, who account for almost three-quarters of the victims, were the first targets. When incidents of AIDS were initially reported just over four years ago, Moral Majorityites rubbed their hands in glee: a disease that got gays, drug addicts and Haitians (since dropped from the high risk category)—all groups high on the White House's shit list. For Reagan, AIDS was better than the neutron bomb. White House aide Patrick Buchanan sounded the horn of sin and damnation: AIDS was "nature's retribution" on gays because "they have defiled war upon nature." Now the cutting edge of reaction has moved to the schools where frenzied racist bigots collude to keep kids with AIDS out. With fear of a sexual Armageddon reported daily in the newspapers (the July 1985 cover of *Life* magazine read "Now No One Is Safe From AIDS," with a picture of a nice white family underneath), reactionaries have pounced upon AIDS as their banner in their war on sex, any kind of sex.

Behind the fear is the fact that modern medicine is still unable to deal with this tragic epidemic. Two years ago we ran



AIDS hysteria fuels Moral Majority bigotry. Left: racist demagogue Jerry Falwell in tête-à-tête with Reagan. Right: Queens, New York parents kept thousands of kids out of school to prevent lone AIDS child from attending.



Pozarik/Gamma-Liaison

an article in our women's journal on "AIDS and the 'Mortal Sin' Scam" (*Women and Revolution* No. 27, Winter 1983-84) which stated:

"It isn't surprising that such a paranoid, neurotic reaction to the victims of a truly terrible disease can be generated. In this deeply racist and homophobic society, AIDS hysteria compounds the already ingrained superstitions and prejudices encouraged by bourgeois society."

We do not have ready-made answers to the problem of disease and don't pretend to expertise where medical technology has so far failed. But as Marxists we seek to approach general social questions in a scientific and rational manner. And we fight for a

society in which resources can be mobilized on the basis of social needs, not according to what the drug companies find profitable or what's left over after the trillion dollar war budget. To the Reagan reactionaries in the Moral Majority and others of that ilk, science and the principles of the Enlightenment are the devil's work. These inquisitors would like to roll back science, to breed fear, to engender the superstition and helpless terror of previous centuries when man felt himself entirely at the mercy of nature.

AIDS: The New Leprosy

Hysterical fear of a disease which cannot be transmitted by casual contact

has engendered deep, howling discrimination against AIDS victims. Gays are treated like the rats in the bubonic plague-ridden Middle Ages. AIDS victims are the new lepers—shunned, outcast, fired from their jobs, denied housing and health and life insurance, even thrown out of home by their own families. Funeral directors won't embalm their bodies. Many dentists refuse to treat them. Nurses leave patients helplessly lying in their own excrement and refuse to help them eat when they are unable to feed themselves. Lambda Legal Defense Fund of New York reports cases where dying patients were refused permission to have visitors in

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White House Warriors Whip Up Skyjack Jingoism

Reagan gets to play Rambo in the White House briefing room. Four navy fighter planes intercept an unarmed Egyptian civilian airliner carrying four incompetent Palestinian terrorists, and the American ruling class and media are celebrating like it was the D-Day invasion of Normandy all over again. So we're in for another orgy of flagwaving and chants of "USA! USA!" The last time around was two years ago when Reagan raped the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada. And now, too, we can see the

ugly face of racist terror behind all the jingoism. The very morning America was "standing tall" again, the California offices of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee were bombed, killing the group's regional director, Alex Odeh, and injuring seven. Where is the outcry over this despicable act of terrorism?

Reagan boasts of a great triumph of U.S. military prowess and intelligence: "We did this all by our little selves." But a lot of knowledgeable people suspect it was all set up beforehand.

The Italians—perhaps riled by Reagan's macho posturing—let the cat out of the bag:

"Senior Italian officials asserted early today that the transport to Italy of the hijackers... was the result of a wide-ranging accord between the United States, Italy, Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"The sources said Egyptian officials notified the Italians of the flight of the four hijackers from Cairo to Tunisia."
—*New York Times*, 11 October

Some "daring raid"! The entire Sixth Fleet, a floating airport in the Med,

managed to detect a single Egyptian civilian airliner but somehow they managed to "miss" a squadron of 16 U.S.-made Israeli fighters which bombed Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Tunis.

So it was a deal. The U.S. gets to flex its military muscle at no risk. Italy gets to try the Palestinians who hijacked its cruise ship. Egypt gets rid of the hijackers while being able to claim it didn't turn them over to the U.S. Israel gets a dead American Jew, which is what they always wanted. And the PLO gets screwed.

The stupid Palestinian hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* seemed heaven-sent for Reagan's, and Israel's, purposes. Just when the political heat was building up over the criminal U.S.-backed bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunisia (see the article "Israel's State Terrorism" on page 3), four Palestinian guerrillas did everything to undermine sympathy for
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Marjorie Stamberg on Black Radio:

"The KKK Doesn't Ride in Moscow!"

On September 30, Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York City mayor, appeared on a WLIB radio afternoon talk show with host Gary Byrd. WLIB is the leading black station in New York. The half-hour interview concluded with call-in questions and responses, which we print below.

Byrd: WLIB, you're on the air with our guest. Go right ahead.

Caller: Hi, this is Dr. Bruce again. Miss Stamberg, I'm listening to what you're saying, and maybe this might be the

salvation to get rid of Koch. 'Cause I did vote in the primaries without any luck at all. But I'm liking what you're saying, and I was always an advocate for a third party. Because I think the two-party system is outdated here in America. What I want to ask you, not only [about] police brutality, but what are you going to do, when I vote for you? Are you on the ballot?

Marjorie: Yes, we are on the ballot. We'll be on the independent slot on November 5, both myself and my running mate Ed Kartsen who's running

for Manhattan borough president.

Byrd: All right, what are you going to do about the financial situation that we have here in New York?

Marjorie: Well, we call for the expropriation of the banks, of the big Wall Street interests, in the context of a fight for socialist revolution. Because we do think there is plenty of money right here in New York City. But as I said, we think there's a tale of two cities. Right now the city is being run in the interests of the Donald Trumps, the big real estate interests, in the interests of Wall Street, in the interests of the bankers. And these are the same people that are the core of the racist capitalist system, from here to South Africa.

So we are not like the Democrats and the Republicans, who say, 'well, vote for me and I'll set you free.' We can't make those promises. We don't feel that we can do anything for the working people of this city, outside of a broader struggle. And that is really the point that we are trying to make here.

Byrd: WLIB, final call, go right ahead, please.

Caller: Gary, how are you? I'd like to speak to your guest, please. Are you black?

Marjorie: No, I'm not. I'm a Jewish girl from Philadelphia, I've been in New York for 20 years...

Caller: I'm from Philadelphia myself, come to think of it. But what I really want to ask you is that I spent 27 years in the Marine Corps. I have been to five Communist countries. I have been in Cuba two times. And I see nothing... we're bad enough off with capitalism. Now, Communism, it just doesn't work. We need something else.

Marjorie: Well, I beg to differ with you, very strongly. My father came from Russia during the time of the tsar, my mother's family comes from Poland. And in that period, when they lived in Russia, every time there was any kind of unrest, the tsar would bring in what they called the "Black Hundreds"...

Caller: I'm quite aware of this.

Marjorie: ...and these were the people that would come in and lead racist pogroms against the Jews. Now, since the time of the 1905 Revolution and again most importantly in 1917, it was the integrated workers defense guards, of Jewish people, of Russian people, within the context of that fight for socialist revolution, that organized to put a stop to that racist terror against minorities. And that is the kind of thing we are trying to do here.

And I would say to you, sir, that although we have our differences with the present bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, there's one very important fact there. And that is that the Ku Klux Klan



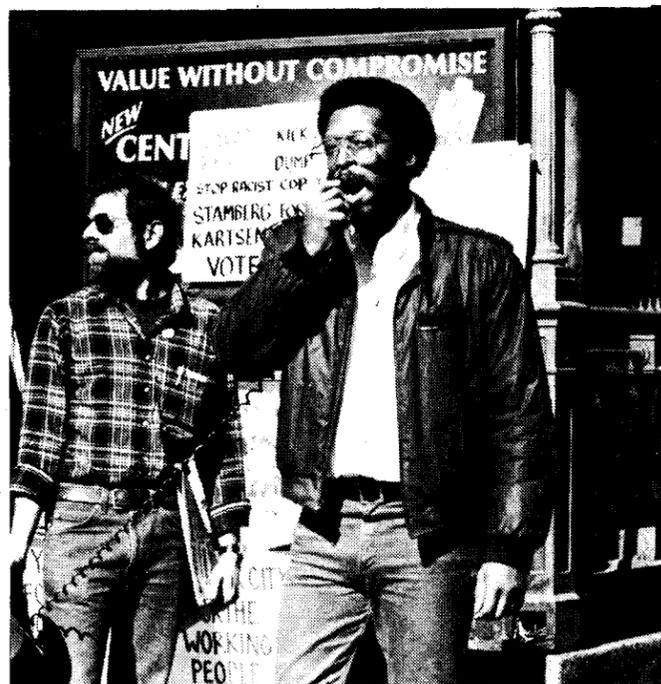
WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for NYC mayor.

does not ride in Moscow. The people that live in Moscow do not have to be afraid that their government is going to drop a bomb on their city, in order to send black people and minorities a message, the way Reagan did in this country.

Caller: Ma'am, I have been to East Germany. I have seen people there... I tell you that if I had the choice, I'd rather be here. Even though it's no damn good here. But I'm not telling you what people have told me. I'm telling you what I've seen. I've seen people, you're talking poverty... just like the capitalist system. A few people benefit, the majority suffers. You have an Iron Curtain there, all right? We have an invisible curtain here, but we don't have any money to get out of here. We need something else.

Marjorie: Well, again, I beg to differ with you very strongly. Let me tell you one statistic. And that is that the present rate of infant mortality in Harlem is much, much higher than even in the most rural and backward sections of Cuba. And the difference is that that's a country that kicked out its capitalist dictatorship. And that's a country that although it has many problems, has begun to organize society in the interest of the working people. Now, there's many problems, but we have much to defend in the Soviet Union, in Cuba. And that's one thing that we want to make very clear, that it's a part of our fight here in New York City, where we're living in Reagan's America, who threatens everybody. ■



WV Photo

Ed Kartsen, Spartacist Party candidate for Manhattan borough president.



TROTSKY

Trotsky on "The Three L's"

The German Spartacists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were revolutionary internationalists and founders of the German Communist Party. Trotsky defended Luxemburg against both her Stalinist detractors and centrists who exaggerated and generalized her political weaknesses into an anti-Leninist theory of "spontaneity."



LENIN

The crisis of proletarian leadership cannot, of course, be overcome by means of an abstract formula. It is a question of an extremely prolonged process. Not of a purely "historical" process, that is, of the objective premises of conscious activity, but of an uninterrupted chain of ideological, political, and organizational measures for the purpose of fusing together the best, most conscious elements of the world proletariat beneath a spotless banner, elements whose number and self-confidence must be constantly strengthened, whose connections with wider sections of the proletariat must be developed and deepened—in a word, of restoring to the proletariat, under new and highly difficult and onerous conditions, its historical leadership. The latest spontaneity confusionists have just as little right to refer to Rosa as the miserable Comintern bureaucrats have to refer to Lenin. Put aside the incidentals which developments have overcome, and we can, with full justification, place our work for the Fourth International under the sign of the "three L's," that is, under the sign not only of Lenin, but also of Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

—Leon Trotsky, "Luxemburg and the Fourth International" (June 1935)

A Didactic Error

The latest issue of the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (October 1985), in a statement on the New York City election campaign, makes the following assertion:

"Only one of the announced candidates for Mayor of New York has any program that addresses these [housing, transportation, police terror] and other critical problems facing working New Yorkers. That candidate is Andrea Gonzalez, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party."

BIDOM is published by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, made up of long-time cadres of the SWP expelled in the notorious "age purge" a couple of years ago. The statement endorsing Gonzalez is part and parcel of its standing policy of trying to win readmission to Jack Barnes's organization. The FIT prides itself on being "anti-sectarian," which in the reformist vocabulary usually denotes support for some popular-front scheme or another

against "ultralefts" who hold the class line. But here we have a genuinely sectarian position, subordinating the truth to their line appetites. It is a flat error, and an instructive one.

In fact, the SWP is not the only working-class tendency running in the NYC election. The Communist Party and the Spartacist League are fielding credible candidates—CP leader Jarvis Tyner for mayor on the "People Before Profits" ticket, and Spartacists Marjorie Stamberg for mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president, respectively. The SL and the CP, in its fashion, are also "addressing... critical problems facing working New Yorkers." The question is, in the service of reformism or revolution?

Perhaps, comrades of the FIT, you might take a moment to discuss the politics of the respective working-class tendencies in the NYC elections.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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TAF
U.S.-supplied Israeli warplanes demolish PLO headquarters in Tunis, killing 70 and wounding many more.



Parrot/Svama

Israel's State Terrorism

It was just after 10 a.m. on October 1. Eighteen Israeli aircraft had flown 1,500 miles across the Mediterranean to reach their target just south of Tunis: the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Eight of the U.S.-supplied high performance jet fighter-bombers (reported to be either F-16s, F-15s, or both) swept low to avoid radar detection, screamed over the Tunisian coast and unleashed their payload of devastation and death below. Seventy Palestinians and Tunisians were killed, another 100 wounded. Stating the simple naked truth, Tunisian foreign minister Beji Caid Essebsi called the raid an act of "state terrorism."

Israeli war minister Yitzhak Rabin bragged about the terror strike: "The long arm of the IDF [Israeli "Defense" Forces] can reach terrorism wherever it is located." Israel fights "terrorism" the way the Mafia fights crime. The Zionist rulers are international terrorists and outlaws who think they can strike any target, any time, anywhere, in the service of forging an *Eretz* ("Greater") Israel that stretches from the Nile to the Euphrates.

For them, law and national boundaries, international codes of conduct and diplomatic norms mean less than nothing. The present Israeli foreign minister is Yitzhak Shamir who as leader of the ultraright Stern Gang was personally responsible for assassinating Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations-appointed mediator during the 1948 Israel-Arab war. When a Libyan commercial airliner strayed over the Sinai in 1973, the Israeli air force blew it out of the sky, sending more than 100 passengers and crew to a fiery death. In that same year Israel's international Murder Inc., the Mossad, committed a machine-gun assassination of an inno-

cent waiter in Norway because he was suspected to be a PLO cadre. When Iraq started the construction of a nuclear reactor Israel bombed it to smithereens, although it is one of the world's best advertised "secrets" that Israel has possessed nuclear weapons for more than a decade.

For Israel, every Palestinian is a "terrorist," every refugee camp a "free-fire zone." Using the pretext of an assassination attempt against their ambassador to Britain (which may have been a Mossad job to begin with) Israel staged its 1982 *blitzkrieg* into Lebanon, culminating in the siege of Beirut and the genocidal holocaust of Shatila and Sabra. Thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese were massacred, tens of thousands more were rendered homeless and sent into a new diaspora. Israel still arrogantly patrols the Lebanese coast as if it were its own, wantonly hijacking boats; today the Star of David serves as the skull and crossbones in the eastern Mediterranean. Using the pretext of three Israelis killed aboard a yacht moored in Larnaca, Cyprus, Jerusalem's terror strike in Tunisia was just another bloody day's work for these Zionist gangsters with state power.

"Israeli-American Ambush"

Washington claimed it had no foreknowledge of the Israeli terror strike in Tunisia, but there was no way such a mission could have been conducted without U.S. complicity. The U.S. Sixth Fleet patrols the Mediterranean as if it were an American lake. At the time of the raid the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* (from which Reagan's skyjack was launched) and her seven ship escort were patrolling the eastern Mediterranean as part of a NATO exercise called "Display Determination"! A PLO spokesman at the UN claimed the U.S. helped jam Egyptian radar along the way while the British press reports the U.S. supplied satellite photos to the Israelis to aid their strike. The fighter-bombers, tankers and reconnaissance planes used for this deadly mission were all "made in the USA"—and in large measure paid for by the USA, too.

Israel's terror strike is fully in keeping with Reagan's "international terror" campaign with its blood-lust calls for "pre-emptive" and "retaliatory" strikes. So it was hardly surprising that the most ruthless and bloodiest terrorists in the world, the U.S. imperialists, were quick to endorse the Israeli bombing as a "legitimate...expression of self-defense" in the words of that White House minister of disinformation, Larry Speakes. The principal target the Israeli murder mission missed was PLO leader Yasir Arafat. As he stood amidst the rubble left by the Israeli jets, Arafat

commented bitterly about Washington: "It was a very important message which I have received today." Later, he aptly called the attack "an Israeli-American ambush."

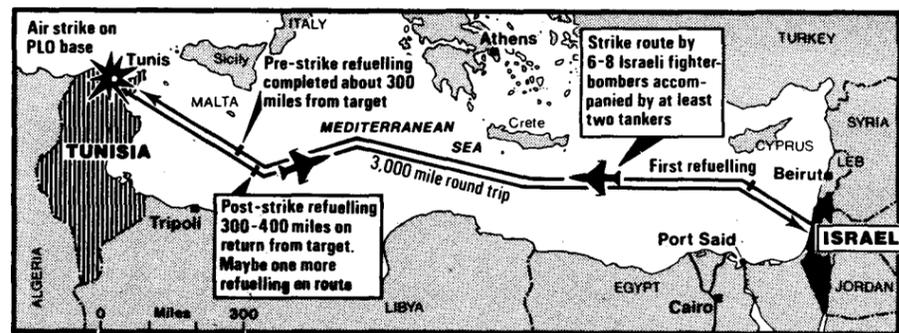
U.S. "Peace Process" Bombed

But the Israeli raid would also appear to have chosen an awkward target and come at an awkward time for the U.S. While Israel remains the most important American military ally in the Near East, the Reagan administration has sought to gather together all the "pro-Western" powers in the region into one grand anti-Soviet "strategic consensus." Given that the region is a seething cauldron of murderous nationalist

issue Israel has more Senators than Reagan.

The White House sees a possible "solution" to the Palestinian "problem" in Amman's potentate who is known as the Butcher of Black September for suppressing a September 1970 uprising of Jordan's Palestinian majority, slaughtering more than 10,000 Palestinians. Under this scheme, the Israeli-occupied West Bank, seized from Jordan in the 1967 war, is to be returned either in whole, or more likely in part, to Amman as a Palestinian "mini-state."

Arafat, having sold his fighters into exile for American "protection," now sells the PLO flag to serve as Amman's puppet in a West Bank bantustan. From Washington's standpoint the precondi-



The Economist

3,000-mile terror raid: Zionists believe they have the right to bomb anyone, anywhere, anytime.

enmities, such a "strategic consensus" is an imperialist mission impossible. The Zionists recognize only one strategic consensus: the only "moderate" Arab is a dead Arab.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia was particularly miffed by the U.S. endorsement of the Israeli raid, since no Arab country can claim to be more "pro-Western" and "moderate" than his. Bourguiba has long stood for peace with Israel and took the PLO refugees from Beirut only under U.S. pressure. Further, Tunisia is the only Arab country with elements of constitutional democracy, an independent labor movement and which still has a substantial Jewish community of 5,000 (to the chagrin of Zionists). Tunisian Jews sharply condemned Israel's outrageous bombing and a delegation representing the chief rabbi of Tunis attended a funeral for the victims.

The Israeli raid took place one day after Reagan was entertaining Jordan's King Hussein at the White House. Reagan sees in the Hashemite monarch—whose kingdom, crown and army were the artificial creations of British colonialism—a key player in the Near East anti-Soviet "consensus." The Pentagon wants to sell Hussein \$2 billion in advanced military hardware, including F-20 fighter jets and Hawk anti-aircraft missiles. But this proposal has been blocked in Congress. On this

tion for this is that the PLO explicitly accept UN resolutions 242 and 338 by which the PLO recognizes Israel in exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Arafat may have been on the verge of doing just that. But Israel has no intention of giving up these territories, so Arafat had to be stopped.

By launching a murder raid against the PLO's headquarters, the Zionist leaders figured they could get rid of the "Arafat problem" for good, or at least sabotage the U.S.' "peace process." Israel demonstrated exactly what it thought of these UN resolutions during its siege of Beirut when the temporary silence of fragile cease-fires would be broken by massive shelling precisely at 2:42 and 3:38. As Arafat stated while looking over the wreckage that was once his headquarters: "Israel has bombed the peace process."

Just before the Tunis raid, Reagan had expressed confidence that Israeli-Jordanian talks could start by December. The raid clearly demonstrated otherwise. Trying to recoup some of the diplomatic damage done by the Israeli bombing the White House seemed to back off from its initial endorsement and take the contradictory line that the raid was "understandable" but "cannot be condoned." But on October 6 Secretary of State Shultz phoned Shamir to

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Karl Schumacher

As Reagan hosts Jordan's King Hussein, the butcher of Black September, Israelis bomb Near East "peace process."

Skyjack...

(continued from page 1)

their cause. Of all nationalities, they hijacked an Italian ship. (Italy is known to be friendly to the Palestinian cause—no doubt, Libyan oil helps.) They threatened a cross section of Europeans and a handful of Americans, and then to top it off, they apparently wantonly and criminally murdered Leon Klinghoffer, an elderly Jewish American confined to a wheelchair.

Of course, for Reagan the lives of white middle-class Americans are the only ones that count in the world—Tunisians, Palestinians, Italians, Egyptians, you name it, all are expendable as far as the White House is concerned. There wasn't even a show of concern for the hundreds of Italian crewmen aboard the hijacked ship. The Soviet Union reminded the world of an even more egregious act in the past. In 1970 two right-wing Lithuanians hijacked a Soviet Aeroflot plane and murdered a



Day after Reagan's skyjacking of Egyptian plane, terrorist bombing in Southern California kills Alex Odeh, leader of American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

flight attendant. This pair of terrorists were eventually granted *asylum* in the U.S., where officials refused Soviet extradition requests.

The crimes of Palestinian terrorists pale before those of the Israeli Zionists

whose terrorism has behind it state power. The Palestinian terrorists are the product of an oppressed and desperate people. Some of the *Achille Lauro* hijackers are reported to be survivors of the Sabra/Shatila massacre, organized

by Israeli war criminal Ariel Sharon. The *Achille Lauro* hijacking played right into the hands of the biggest and most dangerous terrorists of all, the U.S. imperialists. Reagan's skyjacking of an Egyptian airliner encourages him to think he can be military policeman of the world. "We will do this again if the opportunity presents itself," boasts White House spokesman Larry Speakes. One of the effects of Reagan's unbridled imperialist arrogance in the name of "fighting terrorism" is that Americans traveling abroad are *more likely* to become targets of nationalist terrorism.

The most frightening part of the whole affair is the maniacal pleasure Reagan and Pentagon chief Weinberger displayed over skyjacking an unarmed civilian airliner. Remember these men have their fingers on the nuclear button. We had better be thankful that the Russians are not pushovers and they are certainly not unarmed. We had better get rid of our violence-crazed rulers before they get rid of us. ■

Israel...

(continued from page 3)

assure him that the U.S. still considered the raid "legitimate" and authorized the Israelis to make his views public.

Israel Wants War

The Israelis want no peace talks—they are already planning the next war. In the Israeli mainstream press, such talk is open, as in this typical excerpt from the authoritative *Ha'aretz* (4 July):

"The introduction of advanced fighter planes and of mobile land air missile batteries into Hussein's Army might force Israel to react in advance with a preventive blow against this Army. ... even when a war breaks out where Jordan takes no part, there will be no choice but to use Israeli forces, especially the Air Force, to strike at Hussein's Army a preventive blow to neutralize its offensive capacity."

And here's another typical quote from *Davar* (1 July):

"The Soviet regime is the principal source of international terrorism.... Syria is the root of terrorism in the Middle East, especially against the state of Israel. The western world in general and Israel in particular must cut off the head of this cancer, if necessary by force.... "The conception must include preventive warfare against terrorism irrespective of its activities in the field."

Noted Israeli civil rights advocate Israel Shahak, who supplied these quotes in his newsletter (30 July), commented pointedly that such venomous clarion calls are "not in any way exceptional so far as the declarations emanating from the highest military and political circles in Israel are concerned. What is more, they are fully in accord with the Israeli strategical thought, as it developed from the creation of [the] State of Israel."

Meanwhile the Israeli electorate is deeply polarized. Large sections of the

Hebrew-speaking population, especially the youth of Near Eastern Jewish origins, have moved to the *right* of both governing "Labor"/Likud. coalition partners, embracing openly fascistic sentiments for genocide of Palestinians articulated by Meir Kahane. At the same time a section of the Hebrew-speaking population of European origin is growing weary of living in a Zionist garrison state, with its 1,000 percent inflation, confiscatory war-budget taxation, the growing theocratic powers of the orthodox rabbinate who have become the ayatollahs of the Zionist state, and the endless state of war and state of siege in the occupied territories and with the neighboring Arab states.

The Zionist rulers bombed the Reagan-Hussein "peace process" because *they need war* to recover from their humiliating retreat from Lebanon, to reassert their domination of the occupied territories as part of *Eretz Israel* and to unify the deeply polarized Hebrew-speaking *Volk* (people). Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon, because they behaved like Nazi SS stormtroopers, managed to turn every sector of that bitterly divided cauldron of national, communal and religious animosity and irredentism—including the largest grouping, the Muslim Shi'ites—into hate-filled enemies of Israel.

Likewise, in the West Bank the Israelis have systematically eliminated through murder and expulsion all the moderate Palestinian leaders who ran in the 1976 Israeli-sponsored municipal elections and who would be willing to come to terms with both Amman and Jerusalem. In reviewing a book by Israeli academic Moshe Ma'oz called *Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank*, Avishai Margalit wrote in the September 26 issue of the *New York Review of Books* that by the time the book was finished, "it turned out that all but one of the mayors he deals with were no longer mayors: all were deposed, some were expelled (Muhamad Milhem and Fahd Qawasma), some were badly wounded by 'non-moderate' Jewish terrorists (Karim Khalef and Bassam Shak'a)."

While kill-crazy Zionist settlers run amok with their Uzis and grenades (generously supplied by the Israeli military authorities) a new generation of Palestinian youth is *fighting back*. They are reminiscent of black and "coloured" youth of South Africa in their courage and in the justice of their cause, the struggle to regain their birthright. As the *New York Times* Jerusalem correspondent Thomas Friedman wrote, "These Palestinians have known no other life than that of Israeli occupation, and they refuse to accept the docility of their elders." Friedman quotes the noted military correspondent for the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, Zeev Schiff: "The events which are occurring [in the occupied

territories] are the buds of a civil war" (*New York Times*, 3 October).

But like the black and coloured youth of South Africa, these Palestinian youth with kitchen knives, pistols and an occasional grenade in hand face a one-sided overwhelming preponderance of force on the side of their oppressors, and they lack a Marxist political leadership that can show them the proletarian road to national liberation. Within the PLO there is a division of labor between Arafat the "diplomat" and shadowy groups like the Palestine Liberation Front which commit indefensible grisly terrorist stunts to provide a fig leaf as Arafat sells out the Palestinian birthright to the Butcher of Black September, the imperialists and the Zionists, if only the latter would play. The other factions of Palestinian nationalism are only divided on which Arab despot and enemy of the Palestinian people to sell out to this week.

The Israeli rulers want war and they have their fingers on the nuclear trigger. A leading U.S. authority, Colonel William V. Kennedy, referring to data gathered by American spy satellites, reports that during the 1973 Near East war:

"Israel's Jericho surface-to-surface missiles were armed with nuclear warheads in a frantic three days of activity centred around Dimona in the Negev. These 20KT warheads could have been launched against targets in Cairo or Damascus, and a political decision had been made that if Israel's borders were violated the country would unleash a quick flurry to warn Arab forces that continuation of the war would result in their own destruction."

—*Intelligence Warfare* (1983)

Another Israeli-Arab war in the context of the American-led anti-Soviet war drive threatens to rapidly escalate into nuclear confrontation between the U.S. and USSR as almost occurred in the 1973 war. The Near East can become the trip wire for World War III, posing the military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and imperiling the very survival of humanity.

But Israel is not South Africa, the Zionist rulers have neither the human nor material resources of the Afrikaners, nor are the Hebrew people as a whole living off the superexploitation of Arab labor as whites live off of black labor in South Africa. Of course, Israeli capitalists increasingly rely on super-exploited labor from the West Bank, but no matter how fanatically anti-Arab, the Israeli Jew of Near Eastern origin is hardly better off than the Palestinian laborer from Galilee or Hebron. Nationalism is a dead end for the oppressed Palestinians, Zionism is a deathtrap for the Jews of Israel. The urgent requirement is a revolutionary party of Arab and Hebrew workers to fight for the genuine realization of the right of self-determination for both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



WV Photo

Week Five Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Week Five	%
Atlanta	100	118	118
Boston	350	355	101
Chicago	280	396½	142
Cleveland	180	361	201
Los Angeles	160	263	164
New York	900	878	98
Oakland	470	756½	161
San Francisco	230	505½	220
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Cop Murder of Anti-Nazi Protester Sparks

German Youth Revolt Against Gestapo Measures

Protesting a neo-Nazi meeting recently in Frankfurt, West Germany, anti-fascist militant Günther Sare was run over by a police water cannon. The killer cops were acting under the orders of the Social Democratic (SPD) interior minister of the state of Hesse. Thousands of angry demonstrators throughout the country lashed out against this cold-blooded state murder. For several nights West German cities presented an eerie scene as flames leapt from burning autos while police helicopters swept the streets with powerful searchlights. Hundreds were arrested. A total ban on demonstrations was decreed in Frankfurt.

The West German state made it clear that it will brook no challenge to its "authority." For months, Christian Democratic federal interior minister Friedrich Zimmermann has been pulling the strings in a mounting attack on leftists. Last year this notorious right-winger and his so-called Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*—West Germany's "democratic" Gestapo) launched an "anti-extremist" smear campaign equating leftists with fascists and prominently displaying the *Spartakist* logo of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* along with Nazi swastikas (see *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

The police murder and subsequent uproar in the streets has rocked the shaky Bonn government. On October 9, two to three thousand people came to the funeral of Günther Sare to pay their last respects. Our German comrades took part in a September 30 Frankfurt protest with signs including: "Vengeance for Günther Sare! Jail the Murderers!" and "Stop Cop/Nazi Terror by Mass Actions of Unionists, Foreign Workers and Jewish Organizations!"

We reprint below a translation of a TLD leaflet that was distributed at the 4,000-strong Hamburg protest, October 6.

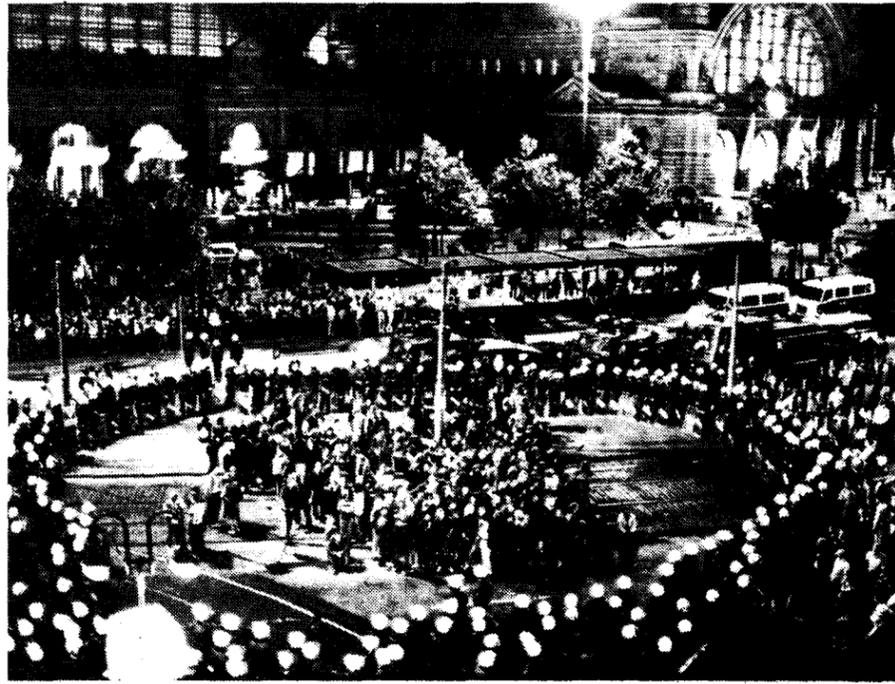
Bitburg in Action: Cops Kill for Nazis

On September 28, 36-year-old locksmith Günther Sare was brutally murdered by Frankfurt police in a savage water cannon assault as over 700 unionists and leftists protested a fascist



Spartakist

German Trotskyists of the TLD say, "Bitburg-Frankfurt: Police follow in SS footsteps."



Der Spiegel

Under order of local Social Democratic officials, West German cops surround anti-fascist protesters in Frankfurt.

NPD [National Democratic Party] meeting in Frankfurt am Main. In an attack planned at the highest levels with Zimmermann's *Verfassungsschutz*, cops surrounded the protest in the proletarian Gallus district and unleashed an orgy of murderous violence to protect the Nazi scum from the enraged protesters. This grisly premeditated murder must be avenged by the working class! Jail the killer cops!

For the present West German state—Hitler's heirs—Cold War II at home means open season on all those who dare to express their hatred of the fascists. The West German cops got their orders in Bitburg over SS graves. Now, in Frankfurt and a whole host of other West German cities, the bosses' hired killers are marching in the footsteps of the SS—just as in Philadelphia, Brixton, South Africa; just as they step up their pogroms against immigrant workers. And yet the response of the German nationalist "left" is to turn to precisely this state and to appeal to the bourgeoisie that ran Auschwitz to stop the fascists.

This was no "routine" demonstration and no "routine" cop attack. German and immigrant workers, women, oppressed minorities and youth know that the NPD means genocidal racism and anti-Semitism—Babi Yar, Bergen-Belsen, Auschwitz. And the eruption of volatile protests shows that a lot of people are burning with rage to smash this scum and their bloody terror now. This struggle is in the vital interest of all the oppressed, and it strikes at the very heart of capitalist rule. What's necessary to draw together these struggles, and consistently lead them in the strategy of the proletarian seizure of power, is a revolutionary workers party!

The "far-sighted," "left" nationalists, taking the SPD bureaucrats' cue, do their utmost to lead all protest to the altar of capital. The Greens prostrate themselves before a state savagely slashing democratic rights and with a worker's blood fresh on its hands, begging abjectly that it ban the fascists and "demilitarize" the cops as a better prop for capitalist rule. The Stalinist DKP [German Communist Party] beseeches the state to have its cops do

the clubbing "to protect democracy and no longer to protect the enemies of democracy," i.e., to go after the real enemies of the constitution. They turn their backs on the demonstrators and hail demonstrating police in Kiel as class-struggle unionists (*Unsere Zeit*, 1 October). Drop all charges against anti-fascist protesters! Stop the police manhunt!

The enraged German bourgeoisie is hell-bent on ruthlessly smashing the broad potential in the population for struggle against fascist terror, in order to galvanize the masses for the anti-Soviet war drive. Frankfurt is in a state of siege. Two days after the protest the latest Stammheim trial began against three accused militants of the RAF [Red Army Faction—referred to by the media as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"], another chilling reminder of what the bourgeoisie has in store for those leftist opponents it brands as criminals. Protesting youth are smeared as "terrorists" and "chaos mongers"—"inferior people" who deserve nothing but torture

and death. According to the smear, "red equals brown" [communist equals Nazi], but the real targets are the left—as shown by the Hesse *Verfassungsschutz* Report for 1984, reprinted in the SPD-dominated *Frankfurter Rundschau* only days before the anti-Nazi protest. Today the cops murder for the brown-shirt scum; tomorrow the bosses would not hesitate to use them to do their bloody work against the entire organized working class.

Once again the SPD bureaucrats play the role of the bourgeoisie's "bloodhounds" in organizing state repression. Günther Sare was murdered under the administration of Hesse's violence-baiting SPD minister of the interior Winterstein. On their way home in the evening, horrified Frankfurt residents need hours to get through the police cordons. Turning a corner they may find themselves driving toward a tank with a machine gun turret, like the ones used by the Federal Border Police. All this, courtesy of Winterstein. A cop is a cop, and an SPD party card makes no difference, as Trotsky said of the Weimar police.

The ÖTV (government employees) unionists who were there on September 28 are representatives of the only class that can lead youth, immigrant workers and other minorities in the struggle to stop the fascists and cop terror. On September 29, five thousand people—youth, workers, decent people—demonstrated spontaneously, but the DGB/SPD tops held back the trade-union ranks from organized protests. To unleash the power of the unions, to combat mass unemployment and the state-of-siege conditions the bosses are now giving them a taste of, militant unionists must break the stranglehold of their reformist misleaders and forge a class-struggle leadership which stands on the program of proletarian revolution and under the leadership of the revolutionary party. Such a party would have sought to mobilize militant contingents of several thousand metal workers from Opel and other big plants on September 28 to teach the fascists a lesson they would not soon forget.

The current explosion of outrage poses the need to break politically with "left" German nationalism at a time when the Social Democrats—yesterday's "pacifists"—are literally crushing protesters to death in the service of Cold War. Class struggle must blow apart the class peace (*Burgfrieden*) of German imperialism! Only a fight led by a multinational revolutionary Trotskyist party to establish a workers government can do away with fascism and endless capitalist terror. Jail the killer cops! Stop Nazi/police terror through mass actions by the unions, immigrant workers and Jewish organizations! ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(Editor)

Open Letter to the Communist Party

The following statement was issued October 15 by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee.

According to the *Daily World*, New York State Communist Party leader and mayoral candidate Jarvis Tyner has said the CP's "People Before Profits" slate would "challenge other candidates to debate." The Spartacist Party, running Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president, accepts your challenge.

A look at the respective platforms will show that the difference between the CP and Spartacist campaigns is the difference between reformism and revolution.

• "People Before Profits" calls for a "united slate of progressives," and indeed, the Communist Party is not running in its own name in this election. This bogus "anti-Koch unity" is an attempt to keep opposition to the racist mayor tied to the capitalist Democratic Party. The PBP dropped a CPer as candidate for city council president in order to put on George McDonald, a self-described "independent Democrat." And the *Daily World* crows that your Brooklyn city council candidate Maria Ramos was a delegate to the '84 Democratic National Convention and a leading local organizer for Jesse Jackson in the Democratic primary.

The Jackson campaign, which included tea and pecan rolls with George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace, was to bring out the black vote for Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale. You had no problem with this, of course, because the CP's whole "Dump Reagan" campaign was aimed at electing Democrat Mondale as a "lesser evil." Tying the working class to the capitalist Democrats has been the CP's stock in trade since the days of the People's Front when you backed FDR and his Dixiecrat veep in '36. And don't forget the 1972 fiasco when Gus Hall admitted that 30-40 percent of your party, including CCers, voted not for the CP ticket but for Democrat George McGovern.

The PBP campaign is explicitly to pressure racist mayor Koch. The *Daily World* quotes Jarvis Tyner saying that "this election needs to be dramatically pressured from the left," and "Koch can be forced to acquiesce to community pressure." The Trotskyists say working people, blacks, all the oppressed must break from the Democrats. The Spartacist platform says: Kick out Koch! Down with the partner parties of the capitalist ruling class! Build a fighting workers party!

• Racist cop brutality is running rampant throughout the city, particularly in black and Hispanic neighbor-

hoods. You call for "democratization of the police" through a civilian control board. This is the same tack taken by Reagan's ambassador to Pretoria who recently called on South Africa to set up a complaint board on police brutality, as a way of defusing the black revolt!

From Soweto to Harlem, what we're dealing with is a system of racist terror. As Marxists, we understand that the

"Bill." Bolsheviks look not to the capitalist state but to the organized power of the working class.

• The CP's campaign to pressure Koch has a certain logic, since your own program is only slightly to the left of the mayor's, and often not even that. On South Africa, the PBP calls for "divesting all city funds from companies that do business with South Africa." Koch brags he's *already* divested city council

• The PBP campaigns to keep New York harbor a "nuclear free port," because "the seven ships to be homeported at Staten Island would make New York an active participant in the arms race and a prime target in the event of war." As if it isn't already! This absurd plan would supposedly keep the Big Apple immune from the dangers of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive (while everybody in Jersey gets zapped). Besides, if the U.S. got a Staten Island navy port activated, the Soviets could knock it out with a single cruise missile—which is a good thing.

Ed Koch, the man you seek to "pressure to the left" so he will make more "positive moves," is a rabid anti-Soviet mad dog. Lately he's been shooting his mouth off at the UN equating the USSR and South African apartheid! Marxists oppose U.S. imperialism and the whole military establishment, not arguing about where any one item in the



Anti-apartheid march, New York City, August 13: While Stalinist CP (below) appeals to Wall Street to reshuffle its South African portfolio, Spartacist League (left) stands for class struggle from Harlem to Soweto.



WV Photos

police of the capitalist state can never serve the interests of the working people; as the armed fist of the ruling class they are professional strikebreakers and enforcers of racist oppression. The Spartacists call for mass mobilizations of the working class and oppressed, for armed integrated union defense guards of responsible men and women, to stop the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms.

• With an army of 60,000 homeless in the streets and rents skyrocketing out of sight, the housing squeeze is a big reason why NYC today is hell for working people. The PBP platform criticizes Koch's budget as a boondoggle and calls for construction of 50,000 new housing units, but Koch beat you at your own reformist game, calling for construction of 100,000 units! The actual shortage is far larger—even by official statistics 175,000 New Yorkers are waiting for public housing.

And who's going to build it—rent-gouging real estate speculators like Donald Trump who pull Koch's strings? PBP calls for an end to tax abatements on luxury developments, pressuring the banks to change their portfolios, demanding "that New York banks, which have over \$5 billion invested in South Africa, divest their holdings and reinvest in New York." We say you can't solve New York's housing crisis without an assault on the capitalists' "sacred" property rights: Expropriate the real estate robber barons and banks! Homeless should seize Trump City!

End tax abatements, divest, reinvest? The "Communist" Party's program has nothing in common with communism. Asked once what kinds of bills the Bolshevik representatives should put forward in the tsar's Duma, Lenin reportedly replied: "You had better introduce a 'Bill' stating that in three years time we shall take you all, black-hearted landlords, and hang you all on the lamp-posts. That would be a real

funds—meanwhile his cops are shooting down black youth in Harlem. Koch calls for petitioning Reagan for total sanctions against South Africa; CP/PBP candidate Tyner calls this "a positive move," but urges people to "bypass Koch's letter" and write their own.

Now the divesters have got their wish, pressuring Reagan to ban Krugerrands, getting the banks to hedge their options and pull billions of dollars out of South Africa. How has this helped blacks in South Africa struggling for their freedom? The Spartacist campaign says: no divestment illusions in blood-sucking imperialists—for international labor action! At the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration, Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen called on labor to shut down New York with a one-day protest strike against racist cop terror, from Harlem to Soweto.

Pentagon's arsenal should be located. The Spartacist candidates forthrightly call to: Defend the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution! For workers democracy, for revolutionary internationalism—return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

You say "People Before Profits." We say the capitalists put nothing before their profits. The PBP program is for pressuring the bourgeoisie, from Koch to Rockefeller. The Spartacists say, as Frederick Engels wrote of the housing crisis a century ago, that the only solution is "abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labour by the working class itself." We are running in this election, as the Bolsheviks did—as a platform to mobilize the working class and the oppressed in the struggle for proletarian revolution. ■

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Australian SWP Splits From USec

Anti-Trotskyists Reville Our Vietnamese Martyrs

We reprint below an article published by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand in Australasian Spartacist No. 113, October/November 1985.

When it comes to betraying revolutionary principle, the Australian Socialist Workers Party always likes to go their U.S. counterparts one better. Where the American SWP politely debates fascist Klansmen on TV, the Australian SWP apologises for the genocidal Croatian fascist Ustashi. And when Jack Barnes denounces Trotsky and the doctrine of permanent revolution as ultraleft dogma, Jim Percy openly glories in one of the ugliest episodes in the annals of Stalinist butchery: the 1945 murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, martyred for their militant opposition to the reinvansion of Vietnam by imperialist troops at the end of World War II. Now these Australian reformists have renounced Trotskyism altogether.

The disparate, and increasingly desperate, groupings that make up the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) have long lived with the glaring contradiction between their professed Trotskyism and their actual political practice of sucking up to social democrats, nationalists and Stalinists. In the case of the Australian SWP, that contradiction has finally resolved itself. The August 28 issue of their paper *Direct Action* announces they are splitting from the USec, openly expressing the dream of reformists everywhere, to obtain "mass influence" on the cheap, renouncing and denouncing Trotskyism in the most categorical terms. SWP national secretary Percy proclaimed:

"In the end, our political position is a total negation of the whole reason for the existence of the Fourth International.... I think it was wrong to form the Fourth International in the first place.... In the end the organisational form cut off Trotsky and the Trotskyists from any other possibility of development of the Communist movement."

Today, says *Direct Action*, the Cuban Communist Party, the Salvadoran FMLN, the Nicaraguan FSLN and the Vietnamese CP are "dynamically and creatively" dealing with political developments. Percy & Co. neglect to mention other "creative" organisations they have embraced lately, including the Croatian pro-fascist HDP and the

American Democratic Party. Australian SWP conferences heard speeches by Peter Camejo, a consummately cynical former honcho of the American SWP, and John Trinkl, the resident anti-Trotskyist and anti-Spartacist for the rad-lib Stalinoid New York *Guardian*. Last year, Camejo and Trinkl supported black Democrat Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition," and the *Guardian* endorsed the Mondale-Ferraro Demo-

in pursuing a sectarian, ultraleft line that would have prevented any real struggle against the imperialist enemy[!]. During the mass demonstration on August 21, for example, the Trotskyists unfurled a huge banner of the Fourth International. According to an observer sympathetic to the International Communist League, they carried banners and placards reading:

"Down with imperialism! Long live the world revolution! Long live the workers and peasants front! People's commit-

Trotskyist diatribe was openly distributed at the USec's "12th World Congress" earlier this year without a peep from any of the participants!

We Spartacists, who seek to continue the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, published a pamphlet in 1976 defending the Vietnamese Trotskyists against such despicable slanders. *Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam* was dedicated

"to the martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists. The most uncompromising fighters against imperialism, they led the 1945 Saigon insurrection against the reinvading colonialists. For this heroic struggle they were massacred not only by the French and British expeditionary forces, but above all by the Stalinist Viet Minh. Today renegades from Trotskyism hail the Vietnamese Stalinists... absolving them of responsibility for the vile murders of Ta Thu Thau and hundreds of other Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists. But the international-Spartacist tendency proudly upholds the banner of Vietnamese Trotskyism."

The 1945 Saigon Insurrection

Following Stalin's line of collaboration with the Allied forces in World War II, the Stalinist-led Viet Minh cooperated with Kuomintang China against the Japanese. When the defeated Japanese withdrew their occupation forces in 1945, the Viet Minh held effective state power. Betraying the aspirations of the Vietnamese masses for independence, the Viet Minh openly welcomed the return of British and French troops to Saigon. Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau declared: "Those who incite the people to arm themselves will be considered saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence. Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic allies." On September 7 Giau issued a decree disarming all non-government organisations, in particular aimed at the factory-based self-defence militias organised by the Trotskyists.



Polish Consulate, Sydney, December 1981: Australian SWP and fascistic "Captive Nations" cabal in "solidarity" with Solidarność' aborted counter-revolution, above. Now, SWP honcho Jim Percy (left) in solidarity with Stalinist massacre of Vietnamese Trotskyists.



Melbourne Sun

cratic Party ticket against Reagan in the '84 elections.

The latest issue of the American SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (23 September) has 27 pages devoted to the split by their Australian ex-comrades. An article by Steve Clark labels a 1984 pamphlet by Australian SWP leader Allen Myers on *The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership* an "Accommodation to Stalinist Positions." That's putting it mildly. Myers shamelessly defends the murder of hundreds of Vietnamese Trotskyists, the leaders of workers militias who 40 years ago fought against the British and French colonialists welcomed with open arms by the Stalinist-led Viet Minh. Myers writes of the August-September 1945 Saigon insurrection:

"During this extremely perilous period for the revolution, the Saigon Trotskyists appear to have outdone themselves

teas everywhere! For the people's assembly! Arm the people! Land to the peasants! Nationalize the factories under workers control! For a workers and peasants government!"

According to Myers, the fact that 30,000 people joined the Trotskyists only made this "ultraleft posturing" of the Trotskyists more "dangerous"!

"The decision to disarm the Trotskyists before they went from words to actions was obviously a wise and necessary one....

"It was at this time that leaders of the Trotskyists and of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists were executed. According to most sources, the executions were ordered by Tran Van Giau.

"The Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative."

Tran Van Giau, says Myers, was forced to go through "kiem thao (self-criticism)" because of "excesses." But not the Australian SWP—they hail this murder.

Percy & Co. indulge in a little *kiem thao* themselves for their past "misjudgment" of the Vietnamese Communist Party as Stalinist and apologise for their former adherence to "the false schema of the theory of Permanent Revolution." Myers' pamphlet, unanimously adopted by the Australian SWP leadership in October 1984, rivals the dirtiest Stalinist frame-ups against Trotskyism from the time of the 1930s Moscow trials. Today *Intercontinental Press* says this is an attempt to justify "a crime against the revolution that can have no justification." Yet this vile anti-



Keystone

Vietnamese independence fighters jailed and executed by French colonial troops in late 1945, after Trotskyists led Saigon insurrection.



Vietnamese Trotskyist martyr Ta Thu Thau.

Quatrième Internationale

According to one right-wing historian, the Trotskyists "did not agree with the Viet Minh that by negotiation alone they would be able to maintain independence. They did not trust the Viet Minh; they refused to give up what weapons they had. The Trotskyite International Communist League held meetings demanding arms for the people" (E.J. Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina, 1940-1955*). Far from being ultraleftist, the Vietnamese Trotskyists' political weaknesses in fact lay in the direction of underestimating Stalinist

continued on page 13

1918-1919 Berlin

Spartacus 1918-1919
Tempera
Fritz Brosius 1938



Our Revolutionary Heritage

THE SPARTACISTS

We display here a series of five paintings recently donated to the Spartacist League by the artist, Fritz Brosius, which were inspired by the German Spartacus Uprising of December 1918-January 1919. This was the explosion of a proletarian mass movement growing out of the chaotic breakdown of the Kaiser's empire and the bourgeois order amidst the tremendous destruction of the first imperialist world war. Following the successful Russian October Revolution of 1917 the failed German Revolution following World War I was to be a central historical event defining the next 30 years of history, not only in Germany but on a European and global scale.

The day before her murder by the counterrevolutionary forces, Spartakusbund (Spartacus League) leader Rosa Luxemburg denounced the attempt by the bourgeoisie, using the treacherous Social Democrats as its tool, to drown the revolution in blood.

Militärverlag der DDR



Her final article, "Order Reigns in Berlin" (14 January 1919), rings out defiantly:

"You stupid lackeys! Your 'order' is built on sand. The revolution will raise itself up again clashing, and to your horror it will proclaim to the sound of trumpets: 'I was, I am, I shall be'."

Today the international Spartacist tendency strives to carry forward the heritage—proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist—of these heroic German communists, the *Spartakisten*.

Fritz Brosius' paintings were done in 1938, in the medium of tempera paint and in the style of German expressionism. In the first panel, Karl Liebknecht, who was co-leader of the Spartakusbund together with Luxemburg, calls the workers to arms to fight for a socialist republic. This is followed by scenes depicting the arming of the workers, the deprivations and determination of the Berlin masses during the general strike, pitched battles in the factory districts, and finally the revolution's tragic defeat with the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Beginning with a bright red, the paintings become increasingly grey.

As a young high school student, Brosius himself experienced the revolutionary storm in Berlin. He and his fellow students took part in demonstra-

tions, visited barricades around the Alexanderplatz, and ran messages for the Spartacists. You could buy arms everywhere, he recalls, as disaffected soldiers sold their uniforms and weapons for food. Many of them joined the Freikorps mercenaries brought in by Social Democrat Noske to crush the Spartacists. Later, in the 1920 Kapp Putsch, Brosius saw the same counter-revolutionary Freikorps carrying the *Hakenkreuz*, the swastika which was to become the symbol of the Nazis.

After immigrating to the U.S. in 1925, Brosius joined the American Communist Party but found that the CP's narrow nationalist politics had nothing in common with the revolutionary internationalism of Karl, Rosa and the Spartakusbund. The paintings grew in part from Fritz's bitterness over his bureaucratic expulsion from the CP in 1938, which he learned of by reading the *Daily Worker*. He now considers himself a friend of the international Spartacist tendency.

Spartacus, Spartakusbund

The Spartacist tradition reaches far back in history: in 73-71 B.C., Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator and former free man, organized a courageous revolt of escaped slaves from all corners of the

Roman Empire. Under his leadership the slave army numbering tens of thousands defeated successive Roman armies and consuls and fought their way to the Alps. But they could not produce a social revolution. Eventually overpowered militarily, Spartacus' heroic fight was not forgotten. Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, once listed his favorite heroes as the astronomer Kepler and the slave leader Spartacus. In a letter to his collaborator Frederick Engels (27 February 1861), Marx remarks:

"I have been reading Appian's account of the Roman civil wars, in the original Greek.... Spartacus is presented to us as the finest figure in classical history. A great general (not a Garibaldi), a man of noble character, a real representative of the antique proletariat."

—quoted in D. Ryazanov, *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist* (1927)

Half a century later, a group of internationalist socialists in Germany, fighting their "own" bourgeoisie in the midst of the imperialist war, began publishing a clandestine newspaper, *Spartacus*.

When on 4 August 1914 the German Social Democrats voted in the Reichstag for war credits for the imperialist robbers' war, Rosa Luxemburg, a Jewish Polish woman and an opposition leader of the German SPD,



Rosa Luxemburg (left); Karl and Sophie Liebknecht and their children. An issue of the Spartakusbund paper, October 1918.





declared that this party had finally become a "stinking corpse." She and Liebknecht fought against *Burgfriedenspolitik*, class peace with the Kaiser and capitalism. But, unlike Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia, the German Spartacists failed to draw the organizational conclusion.

Instead they remained inside the SPD and then, up to the eve of the revolution, the Spartakusbund was part of a loose opposition inside the left-moving centrist Independent Socialists. Because of their failure to crystallize a hard, revolutionary formation there was no

to fight in Germany because, like Lenin, she understood the strategic importance of the powerful German working class. She won the hatred of the stodgy SPD leaders for her fierce opposition to bourgeois parliamentarism; for the same reason she was revered by the German workers. After her release from prison, she moved rapidly toward Leninism, overcoming her earlier reservations, and took a clear stand for the October Revolution.

Among other outstanding leaders of the Spartakusbund were Leo Jogiches and Franz Mehring. Jogiches, like Rosa

Stalin's strangulation of the Bolshevik Party as the bureaucratic political counterrevolution replaced internationalism with "socialism in one country." Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought to return the Communist International to Leninism. A new "August 4" occurred in 1933 for the Comintern and Social Democrats when Hitler took power in Germany unopposed. Henceforth Trotsky fought for a new, Fourth International. The betrayal of 1933 led to the imperialist slaughter of WW II.

The fate of Luxemburg's Polish party was inescapably tied to the fate of the German and Russian revolutions. The German defeat of 1923 set the stage for the failure of the Polish revolution. Still the Polish party kept its fighting spirit. In the Stalinist purge of the Comintern, the Polish CP was the only party to speak up in defense of Trotsky. So much did Stalin fear the "spirit of Luxemburg" that he bureaucratically ousted the Polish party's leadership three times and eventually dissolved the party, physically liquidating its leading cadres.

We Are Spartacus!

In the early years of the Communist International, the revolutionary masses honored the "Three L's," Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Today it is up to the international Spartacist tendency to reclaim the revolutionary tradition of the Spartakusbund. In Poland, years of Stalinist misrule have driven much of the working class into the arms of counterrevolution. The hero of the yellow "union" Solidarność is, fittingly, not Luxemburg or Jogiches but the fascistic nationalist Pilsudski. In West

Germany the Social Democrats attempt to make Rosa into a toothless liberal pacifist. They even put her face onto a petty symbol of the bourgeois order, a German postage stamp! But the name Spartacus still makes the German bourgeoisie see red.

The Spartacist League is fighting for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. Our Bolshevik campaign in New York City is part of our struggle to forge an internationalist workers party; a party of proletarian revolution to do away with wage slavery and the scourges of the decaying capitalist order—racist cop terror, homelessness, joblessness and imperialist war. We fight for black liberation, for international class solidarity, for defense of the Soviet Union, the birthplace of the first proletarian revolution, against imperialist attack. Our program for workers power from South Africa to the U.S. has a name: Spartacist!

Spartacist is a particularly fitting name for communists in the U.S. The road to black liberation is to finish the Civil War—which abolished slavery but did not make blacks free—through socialist revolution. In the words of the *Internationale*, the communist anthem, "Arise ye slaves, no more in thrall." So we say with Karl Liebknecht who, in his very last article challenged the bourgeois enemy:

"Spartacus crushed?... Steady! We have not fled, we are not beaten, and even should they throw us in chains, we are there, and shall remain! And victory will be ours... And whether we are alive or not when that goal is reached, our programme will be alive; it will reign in the world of a liberated mankind. Yes, in spite of everything!" ■



"Spartacus 1918-1919" by Fritz Brosius displayed in the Spartacist League local hall in New York.

experienced, communist party, like Lenin's Bolsheviks who led the Russian workers and oppressed to socialist victory in October 1917. Yet the Spartakusbund comrades certainly did not lack in spirit, class hatred and a will to fight. "Spartacus" became a synonym for revolutionary anti-militarism and internationalism.

As founder and leader of the socialist youth movement in Germany, Karl Liebknecht educated the youth in the spirit of anti-militarism. He broke the discipline of the SPD's parliamentary faction in December 1914 when he refused to vote further war credits for the German government. In 1915, he published the first antiwar leaflet with the famous slogan: "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" Arrested in 1916, he was freed by the November 1918 Revolution. But Karl and Rosa were brutally assassinated by Freikorps thugs with the complicity of the SPD leaders Ebert and Scheidemann, striking a deadly blow against the German Revolution.

Karl Liebknecht was an organizer and initiator; Rosa Luxemburg was the theoretical leader of the Spartacists. Deeply internationalist, she was an active supporter of the Russian Revolution in 1905 in Warsaw where she was a leader of the Polish Socialists. She went

a Polish socialist and her long-time companion, tirelessly exposed the murders of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, until the counterrevolution struck him down as well. Franz Mehring, the socialist historian, joined the working-class movement at the age of 45. In 1917, he finished his definitive biography of Karl Marx, an outstanding gift to the world proletariat. He served the revolutionary cause until his death in the January days of the 1918-19 revolution, at the age of 73.

Three days after the murder of Rosa and Karl, Leon Trotsky addressed the Petrograd Soviet to speak in honor of his comrades-in-arms:

"Liebknecht for us is not only a German leader. Rosa Luxemburg for us is not only a Polish socialist who stood at the head of the German workers. No, for the world proletariat they are both our own, our kin, we are all linked with them by a spiritual, indissoluble bond. To their last breath they belonged not to a nation, but to the International!"

In 1923 a new revolutionary situation arose in Germany, but indecisive leadership led to defeat. The feeble Weimar Republic further disintegrated, and the fascist plague spread among the desperately impoverished petty-bourgeois and lumpen masses. The failure of the German Revolution isolated the Russian Revolution, opening the way for

From the editorial page of our Spartacist No. 1, February-March 1964.

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 1 FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964 16 CENTS

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

Our Name:

We chose the title, **SPARTACIST**, after the name, **Spartakusbund**, taken by the German revolutionary left wing led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the First World War. The German Spartacists waged a brave struggle against their imperialist rulers in wartime and, moreover, had to fight every step of the way in opposition to the degenerate, patriotic Majority social democrats of their time.

In the United States the Trotskyist youth in the early 1930's called their paper *Young Spartacus*. It was an outstanding journalistic fusion of an advocate of revolutionary ideas with a guide to action. We aspire to do no more today than serve as well in honor of the name we have chosen for our endeavor to express the viewpoint of consistent *Trotskyism*, the authentic revolutionary Marxism of our epoch.

These opening and closing the PC action were the party's left wing... (text continues)

Central Commission... (text continues)

phase in the history... (text continues)

social tendencies... (text continues)

Reagan and AIDS...

(continued from page 1)

the hospital.

All over the country, people won't go into restaurants where they think the waiters might be gay. In Los Angeles, a gay health center received three bomb threats. Its director has been threatened with death, while a woman employee was attacked by a carload of thugs who threw acid on her, burning her face, shoulder and arm. One of the attackers screamed, "Die, you AIDS faggots!" (Time, 23 September).

In New York the impossible occurred: the IRT had an empty seat at rush hour. On it was spray-painted: "Did an AIDS patient sit here last?" (New York Times, 30 August). The city houses AIDS patients with no place else to go in "secret" locations because neighbors went into convulsions at each attempt to open a nursing home for them. In



Robert/Sipa

AIDS victim Rock Hudson.

Queens one man raved, "They will be ambulatory! They will be walking our streets!" (New York Times, 30 August). In Stamford, Connecticut, 14 jurors asked to be dismissed from a case because the defendant had AIDS. The poor bastard hasn't a chance of getting off—he'll be convicted for having the disease.

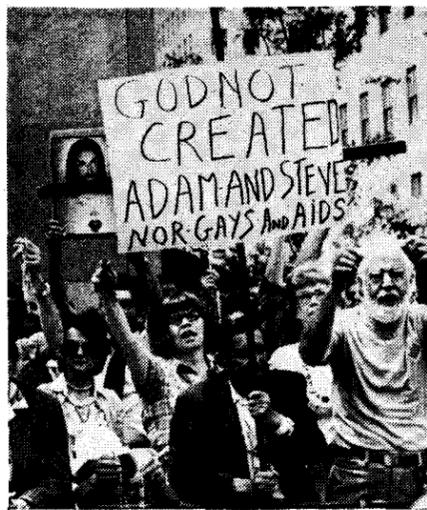
The state of Colorado has a "secret" list of those who tested positive in the AIDS antibody test. The test, developed last spring to screen out blood infected

with the AIDS virus from blood banks, is now being used by a whole range of private and governmental organizations to pinpoint potential AIDS victims. The Red Cross keeps a list of all those whose blood was rejected for whatever reason—and its current policy is not to notify those who are positive for AIDS unless this has been confirmed by another test. But the names go on a computerized list, notoriously unconfidential. It's blacklisting, and with insurance companies actively seeking a way to screen out potential AIDS victims from their rolls, the implications are sinister.

The Department of Defense plans to administer the test to all potential armed forces recruits, rejecting those who test positive, and may also test all those currently in uniform as well. Those with positive results will be discharged. The Army is keeping a list of all those rejected. Although officials say the list will be "confidential," several health departments across the country have been offered names. Already one gay sailor with AIDS has been thrown out of the Navy for homosexuality; his "defense lawyer" wouldn't even stay in the same room with him. Not only does the U.S. military want to purge the armed forces of gays, it also wants to avoid having to pay medical bills for AIDS patients, which can run into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

In San Francisco, four nurses filed a complaint with the state board of health that they were disciplined for wearing gloves and masks when treating AIDS patients. Although gloves and masks are not necessary in treating AIDS patients, they won their complaint. The nurses' well-publicized campaign for this medically unjustified measure included accusations of patients screwing in the wards (an act for which doctors and nurses are notorious). No health care worker has ever contracted AIDS on the job, and only three—two in the U.S., one in Britain—have tested positive for the AIDS antibody after accidental cuts or needle sticks with infected blood. Yet, while SF hospitals are full to overflowing with AIDS victims, doctors and nurses disappear when they are admitted. Such anti-gay bigots—purveyors of Catholic moralism, not modern medicine—should find themselves a new profession. They're like the army officer who says, "I resign in case of war."

California Republican Representative William Dannemeyer, who ran for



Women and Revolution

Ignorance, Fear and Loathing: crucifix-waving fanatics in NYC (above); Moral Majority rag (right).

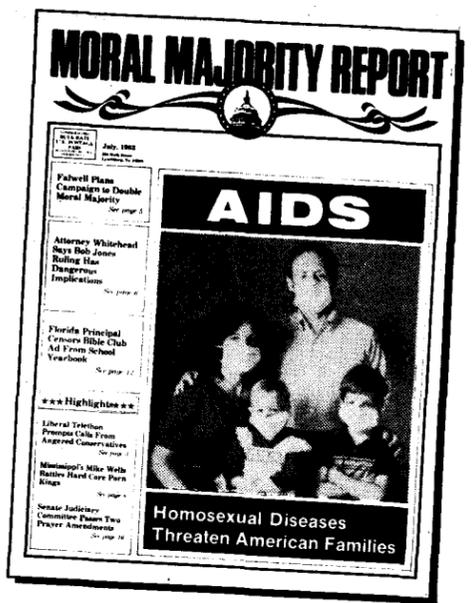
office on a fundamentalist platform "God made Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve," announced plans to introduce federal legislation to legalize the vilification of AIDS victims and the discrimination against homosexuals generally. He proposes to make it a criminal offense for high-risk individuals to donate blood, prohibit AIDS patients from working in the health care profession, prohibit "discrimination" against health care workers who refuse to treat AIDS patients, withhold federal funds from any city that doesn't close down the bathhouses, and pressure school districts receiving federal funds to bar children with AIDS from attending school. Working with Danne-meyer as his special consultant on AIDS is one Paul Cameron, author of the pamphlet "Murder, Violence, Homosexuality," who was expelled in 1983 from the American Psychological Association on "findings of ethical violations" (San Francisco Chronicle, 19 August). Dannemeyer is a ranking member of the House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the environment, which has jurisdiction over AIDS research and financing.

If there's any good news, it's thanks to Rock Hudson. The popular actor's courageous announcement that he had AIDS helped get the dread disease "out of the closet" and boosted publicity and funding efforts on behalf of AIDS victims. Now that Hudson is dead, it turns out that the FBI had maintained files on him for 20 years because of his homosexuality.

Reaction in the Schools: The Cutting Edge

Since 1981 there have been approximately 180 children in this country with diagnosed cases of AIDS, the majority tragically infected in the womb from the mothers' blood; less than 100 of these are still alive. The howling social reaction on the AIDS question is currently focused on their attendance at school. Polls have shown that from one-third to one-half of people asked believed it possible to catch AIDS from kids that bite, scratch, share food and eating utensils, pee on toilet seats. Nobody has ever caught the virus in this manner. Yet all over the country—from Dade County, Florida to Carmel, California—children with AIDS have been barred from attending public school. In Queens, 11,000 boycotted classes on the first day of school, kept home by parents in protest over one second-grader said to have AIDS being allowed to attend school. A ranting crowd of 500 at one parents' meeting roared with approval when a school board member asked them to "join us in standing in the schoolhouse door" to bar AIDS victims. It's no accident that the official used the very words of George Wallace when he spearheaded racist reaction against integration of Alabama schools.

Parents threatened to blockade all the schools in the district, the city's largest. One parent said, "If the city can have Harvey Milk High School for gays, it can have a school for AIDS victims"



(Daily News, 20 September). The Queens school board voted to exclude from school not only children with AIDS, but children whose parents (or in one case a mother's boyfriend) have the disease. On October 9 the National Education Association came out for testing of students and teachers for exposure to AIDS when there was "reasonable cause" to suspect an infection. It's a scheme guaranteed to qualitatively escalate the witchhunting of homosexuals, particularly in light of the Moral Majority's campaign to hound gay teachers out of work.

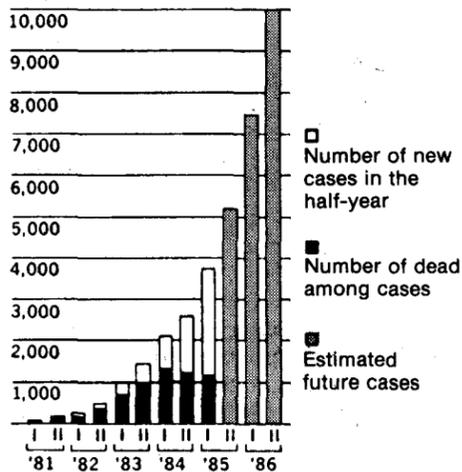
This fear of AIDS children spreading contagion is ironically, grossly backwards. One can't get the disease by being in a room with AIDS victims; but they can die by being in a room with someone who's sick with something else—an AIDS kid's immune system can't fight off an infection. It's the AIDS child who's at risk from his loathsome fellow students, the children of the righteous. As Dr. Edward H. Reisner said in a letter to the New York Times (15 September): "As every parent of school-age children knows, a classroom is a factory for every cold and contagious illness that a child may bring into it. We don't exclude infected children from school. But AIDS patients, for their own protection, should be kept out and educated at home just as other children with handicaps are now cared for." The child's doctor should carefully review the medical condition of each AIDS child and send to school only those whose health is judged good enough. At the same time, AIDS children have a right to attend school.

This campaign to rid the schools of anyone and anything that deviates from the fundamentalist caricature of a human being distracts attention from the real problems of the schools. Why don't parents become hysterical over the fact that the government is slashing school funding? Why don't they scream and yell that the prisons that go by the name of schools don't teach kids anything? Or that sex education is virtually nonexistent—a little knowledge of biology right now would do everyone some good. If they're so worried about sanitation, why don't they insist that schools clean their bathrooms more often and stop sending the kids home with head lice?

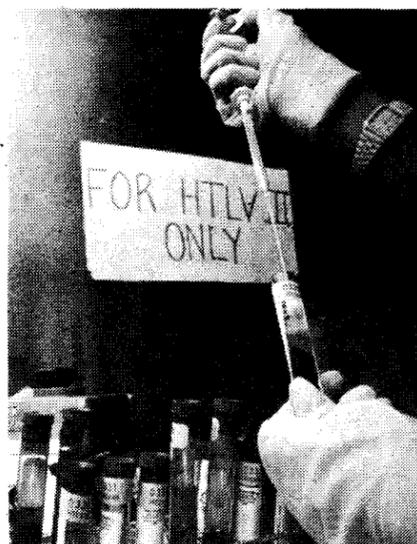
What Science Knows About AIDS

The AIDS virus (HTLV-III or LAV) is a retrovirus which mutates constantly, much like the influenza virus, but at a much faster rate. It kills by attacking the body's immune system, specifically the T-cells, which are crucial in defending the body against disease. Victims thus die of a secondary, "opportunistic" infection, such as pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, or rare cancers such as Kaposi's sarcoma. The Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control (CDC) narrowly define AIDS to include only those who have developed a secondary disease. There are, however, perhaps ten times that number who have a condition called AIDS-Related Complex (ARC)

CASES AND DEATHS

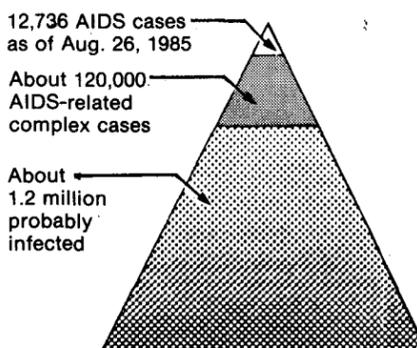


Deaths are included in the same time period in which the disease was diagnosed, and not necessarily when the victim died.



Pozarik/Gamma-Liaison

TOTAL NUMBER INFECTED



Estimates represent the upper ranges of CDC's projections. Charts: Washington Post



Sipa

Microscopic view of AIDS virus.

Billions for AIDS Research!

In New York City AIDS has reached epidemic proportions: it is now the city's leading killer of men aged 30 to 39. But overshadowing this terrible disease is the hysteria over AIDS whipped up by racist, anti-sex bigots. In sections of Queens like Ozone Park, notorious as the "torture precinct" where cops used stun guns on blacks to keep this enclave lily-white, hundreds of parents have kept their kids out of school in order to prevent one lone AIDS child from attending.

It is now unclear if the child has AIDS, or possibly the lesser AIDS-Related Complex. If children have the actual AIDS syndrome, and if after examination their doctors don't object, they have the *right* to go to school. Kids with ARC whose doctors say okay *should* go to school. And in any case it is the AIDS child, not his or her fellow students, who is at risk.

AIDS has become a political football in the city elections this fall. A number of candidates of the capitalist parties are fanning the flames of fear and exploiting this issue as a springboard for anti-homosexual witchhunting and every other form of social reaction. Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president condemn this cynical "Moral Majority" bigotry. These days it seems like you have to be a revolutionary just to say that society should care for the sick.

Mayor Koch also jumped on the school boycott bandwagon—after all, he wanted those racist votes in the primary. But Republican/Conservative mayor candidate Diane McGrath wants to score big with AIDS. She not

only wants to close down gay bathhouses, but also theaters, bars and bookstores "that encourage promiscuous sexual activity," in order to "protect these people from themselves." She proposes to deprive hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers of their livelihoods, barring anyone testing positive



Spartacists at NYC Gay Pride Day, June 30, march past St. Patrick's Cathedral, home of anti-homosexual bigot Cardinal O'Connor.

for AIDS antibodies from jobs as doctors, nurses, restaurant workers, barbers and beauticians.

Even obvious public health measures against AIDS have been squelched. Health commissioner David Sencer proposed that the ban on over-the-counter sales of hypodermic needles be lifted to enable drug addicts to avoid sharing contaminated needles, a major source of transmitting AIDS. Yuppie Democrat/Liberal Carol Bellamy denounced this sensible idea as "one of the most hare-brained ideas I've heard from

city government." Not wanting to appear "soft on AIDS," Koch nixed Sencer's proposal.

The mayor appealed to "experts" such as a special narcotics prosecutor who wrote that "drug addicts, in the frenzied and desperate minutes before injecting a needle into their veins, could

care less about contamination." In fact, as pointed out by Allan Brandt, Harvard Medical School professor of the history of science and medicine, in Canada, where sanitary needles are widely available, the number of intravenous drug users with AIDS is quite low. In contrast, in New York City the number of infected intravenous drug users is at least 60 to 80 percent, and probably higher. Koch has pronounced a death sentence: drop dead, black junkies!

And what about the left? The Com-

munist Party's "People Before Profits" slate has been largely mum on AIDS—hardly a surprise coming from the notoriously puritanical Stalinists. The CP's *Daily World* uncritically reports on the Queens school boycott, and a *DW* editorial notes Reagan's "sympathy and understanding" for children with AIDS. The CP has *not one word* of condemnation against the explosion of Falwellite hate which threatens to deprive gays of jobs, homes and medical insurance.

AIDS is caused by a virus, not by sex, not by "sin," not by pornography. As the Spartacist League stated two years ago, "While the fundamentalist, paranoid Puritan ethic encouraged by our rulers alleges otherwise, the fact is: sex does not equal disease, does not equal death. *Any* kind of sex. Aside from the fundamental question of saving lives, one damn good reason to get this frightening outbreak cleaned up is so people can enjoy sexual activity in safe, healthy conditions—including the baths and bars if that's their scene" (*Women and Revolution* No. 27, Winter 1983-1984).

The current anti-sex hysteria against AIDS patients and gays affects us all. The only person in New York City who apparently *isn't* threatened by AIDS is Ed Koch. He gets his kicks by screwing poor people, black people, working people. The Spartacist Party fights for full democratic rights for homosexuals. We oppose any laws against so-called "crimes without victims," which outlaw sex, pornography and drugs. What's needed is *billions* for AIDS research. With insurance companies threatening to deny coverage to potential AIDS victims while the number of victims grows daily, medicine as big business is even more of a travesty. Free medical care for AIDS patients—Free, quality medical care for everybody! ■

or "pre-AIDS." Not all those infected with the virus get AIDS, but ARC can kill, too—some patients waste away; others die of brain damage evidently caused by the AIDS virus.

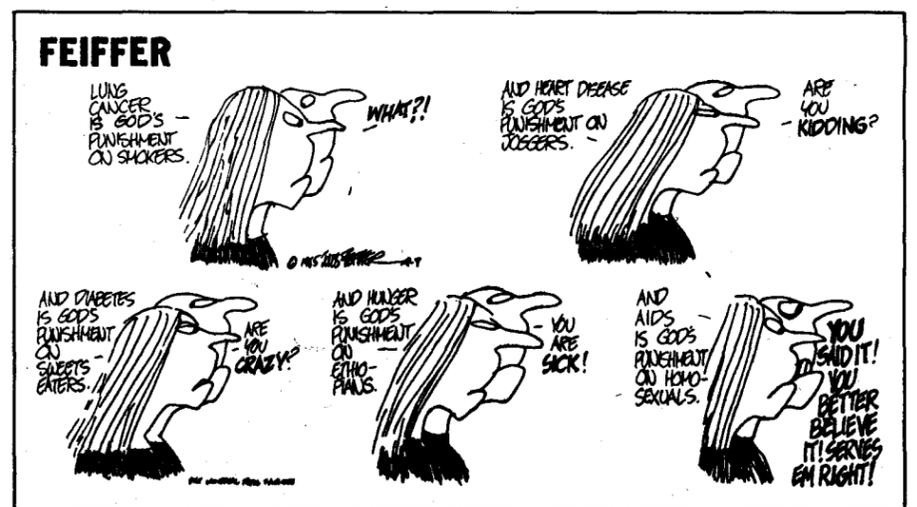
Nobody knows why some develop AIDS, some ARC, while others show no signs of illness at all. Some scientists think that an already weakened immune system—due to illness, malnutrition or some other factor—may precipitate contraction of AIDS once a person has been infected. If true, this would help explain why in Zaire (where it's called "the horror"), Brazil and Belle Glade, Florida (the city with the highest per capita incidence of AIDS in the U.S.) AIDS is a disease of poverty, equally divided between men and women. In the United States 25 percent of the victims are black, which is twice the proportion of blacks in the population as a whole.

It's pretty clear that AIDS is spread through direct contact with infected blood. It is believed that in order for a person to get it, he must first have a break in his skin allowing the virus to get into his bloodstream. That's why IV drug users, hemophiliacs and people receiving blood transfusions are at high risk—though the U.S. supply of blood has recently been made qualitatively safer through testing to detect infected

blood. In the case of gays, it is thought that semen, which carries the virus, transmits the disease during anal intercourse which can cause tears in the mucous membranes of the anal canal.

The evidence against casual transmission of AIDS is pretty good. In 12,000 documented cases, in families living with a patient for years—sharing bathrooms and eating utensils, with no special precautions—only sexual partners or infants born to infected mothers have shown any evidence of the disease. Just on an empirical basis, if it were easy to catch, a lot more people would have it now. But it's almost impossible for scientists to say that something will "never" happen. Yes, they have to say that there is a theoretical possibility that a person can contract AIDS through exposure to a victim's tears or saliva. For example, if a child with AIDS cried, and somehow the tears got into a freshly bleeding cut in another child's skin, or an AIDS victim bit another child, and if enough virus was present to cause an infection, it could "theoretically" happen. But the chances are extremely remote.

Of course, many people react with thoroughly understandable skepticism when told by government "experts" that something is safe. After all, that's what they said about Three Mile Island and



about the swine flu vaccine (the flu shot of several years ago) which caused a spectacularly high number of "side effects" including paralysis. Distrust runs so high that some people have even speculated that the AIDS virus originated as part of a CIA experiment in biological warfare. The Cubans have accused the CIA and presented convincing evidence that the agency introduced a disease of pigs known as African swine fever to Cuba to kill Cuban pigs. Did swine fever mutate into AIDS and migrate to the U.S.? It is in fact not known how AIDS originated. It is much more probable that AIDS began in monkeys in Africa, where it mutated into a virus capable of infecting humans. Maybe it got into the U.S. through contaminated blood extorted under hideously unsanitary conditions from the impoverished, starving population of Haiti and imported here by New York profiteers.

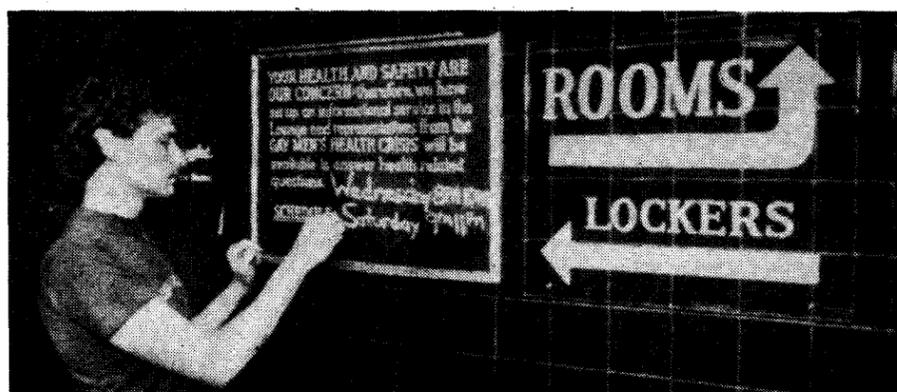
How Not to Control an Epidemic

The opprobrium directed at AIDS patients is a huge obstacle to a scientific study which could establish its epidemi-

ology. Faced with such a stigma, is anybody—not least prostitutes, gays and drug addicts, already considered "criminals" under the laws of many states—going to volunteer for an AIDS antibody test? Basically the entire question of fighting this disease has been reduced to a political football in the rightists' program to instill fear crystallized in a religious, anti-sex witchhunting mindset.

Some scientists are now issuing dire warnings that AIDS is about to "explode" into the heterosexual population. They warn that anyone with multiple sexual contacts is at risk. Men are counseled to beware of "drug-addict prostitutes." And the U.S. army is using scare stories that Berlin prostitutes (a Red plot?) are spreading AIDS to American GIs. While it certainly appears that AIDS is sexually transmitted and it is undoubtedly true that many contacts with other human beings of whatever kind increase chances of infection with disease (especially the common cold), we are suspicious of disaster predictions related to sex. There are contradictory facts. For example,

continued on page 12



Gay activists seek to educate bathhouse users about AIDS.

Estrin/Newsday

Reagan and AIDS...

(continued from page 11)

New York Health Commissioner Sencer says that the percentage of heterosexuals with AIDS in the city hasn't changed in five years. Scientists have not so far isolated the AIDS antibody in vaginal secretions and admit that studies have shown that it is much easier for men to give the disease to women than the other way around. Moreover, anal sex doesn't have to be rough; perhaps there is something else going on as well. Otherwise one would expect to see prostitutes in the "high-risk" category—certainly they have multiple sex partners and engage in a lot of anal sex with partners not inclined to be especially gentle.

The solution posed by many city politicians is to close the bathhouses. We adamantly oppose the gross bigotry and anti-sex Puritanism which motivates the government in this regard. But we have to say that right now the idea of going to a bathhouse does not come off as the biggest turn-on. In fact, business has declined by as much as 50 percent in some bathhouses since 1982, and many gay groups have worked to educate bathhouse users to the dangers involved, including the attempt to force bathhouse owners to comply with guidelines like the distribution of free condoms and educational literature.

In the absence of any cure, treatment or vaccine for AIDS, the CDC last August issued recommendations for "safe sex" procedures such as using condoms. Said Dr. James O. Mason, acting assistant secretary for health, "We could curtail the rate of transmission with behavioral changes alone" (*New York Times*, 1 October). But what does that mean—chastity? A mere few months ago Mason met pleas for more funding for public education on AIDS with a sneer, "Do you really believe gay men can be changed through education?" (*New York Native*, 17-30 June). Perhaps he would advocate the elec-



Der Spiegel

Then and now: superstitious hysteria of medieval Europe devastated by bubonic plague epidemic; New York prison officials dressed for contact with AIDS prisoners.

restriction to avoid harming others by participating in one of the few joys life has to offer, sexual intercourse.

It has been said that the only true way to be safe is total monogamy... but then again can one ever be totally sure of one's spouse? In the midst of the screaming school boycott, one mother put the point of fear of getting AIDS precisely: you know, if you think about it, schools are the least of the problem—forget about taking your kids to a McDonald's; playgrounds are the worst places; you may as well zip your kid up in a bubble and leave it there. In any case, it's a hell of a lot safer to hug an AIDS patient than to have an argument with a New York City cop.

One of the scariest things about AIDS is the formidable obstacles in the way of formulating a successful vaccine. Scientists are trying to discover a constant in the virus' protein coat which would enable them to make a vaccine effective against all the mutations. Retroviruses operate by inserting their genetic codes into the DNA of the host cell. Once it is there, it is impossible to get it out. Therefore once a person has caught full-blown AIDS, he can at present only be treated for the disease, but not cured.

elude modern medical technology at its current state. In the last decade the U.S. spent millions upon millions on artificial heart development and trying to find a cure for cancer without any notable results. In the 12th century, no matter how many ducats the king spent they weren't about to find a way to fly. The enormity of the challenge makes it all the more imperative that lavish resources be placed in the hands of a nationally coordinated research project on AIDS. In the meantime, society could do much to lighten the tragic plight of AIDS victims—at a minimum providing free health care so AIDS patients who are thrown off insurance policies, or don't have any to begin with, aren't dumped onto the streets to die.

Science Not Superstition

Fear and hysteria do nothing to stop disease. Throughout history mankind has been scourged by many horrible diseases; not until science began to roll back stark terror and superstition did man begin to conquer those diseases. Today supposedly enlightened 20th-century people are reacting to AIDS like Europeans did to the Black Death in the 14th century. Believing plague was a punishment by god for sin, people flagellated themselves and conducted pogroms against the Jews. They also killed cats (believed to be witches' familiars), thus eliminating one of the only means they had to control the rat population which spread plague. But unlike the anti-AIDS bigots today, in 1665 the city of London at least understood that primary medical care during an outbreak of disease was important: readers of the fine historical novel *Forever Amber* will recall that nurses were dispatched by the government to care for the sick.

The principles of the Age of Enlightenment during the revolutionary years of capitalism in the 17th and 18th centuries began to lay the basis for the eradication of medieval superstition with scientific knowledge. Leeuwenhoek discovered the existence of bacteria; William Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood; Louis Pasteur established the germ theory of disease. Edward Jenner, one of the greatest benefactors of man in history, developed and popularized a safe vaccination against smallpox. (It's interesting to note that the same "land of the free, home of the brave" reactionaries who opposed the "commie plot" of fluoridated water also opposed compulsory vaccinations. In Minnesota, where smallpox vaccinations were not legally required until well into the 20th century, over 500 people died of smallpox in 1924-25.)

Capitalist society has so far moved to eradicate those diseases which pose the biggest threat to itself, the massive urban epidemics like plague, smallpox and cholera which interfered with daily social life so as to seriously disrupt profits. Many tropical or rural diseases are today actually on the increase. Cholera is epidemic now in Ethiopia and the Sudan; it can kill in a few



Der Spiegel

hours—you shrivel like a prune as all the water in your body is evacuated as diarrhea. Leprosy is rampant all through the Third World, even though the medical knowledge to control and eventually stop it altogether exists. Very few new drugs for treatment of tropical disease have been developed in the last 15 years.

In contrast, it was very much in the interests of U.S. imperialism to conquer yellow fever. It was this dread disease which wiped out the army Napoleon sent to Haiti to suppress Toussaint L'Ouverture's black republic. In the late 19th century Washington found yellow fever a major impediment in its imperialist appetites to rule Central America and the Caribbean. Both the construction of the Panama Canal and the American victory in the Spanish-American War were threatened by outbreaks of yellow fever. Once the priority of eradicating the disease was set, army doctors led by Walter Reed very quickly determined the cause (an agent, later discovered to be a virus, transmitted by mosquitoes) and eradicated it within a few months.

Life and Death in Reagan's America

The American ruling class has got the witchhunting mindset of the 17th century, and they're looking for some witches to burn. If you're black, gay, a woman, young, old, Hispanic, working-class—watch out! They'll put you on the list. They want everyone to quake in fear of a hateful punishing god that visits plague upon the sinful. And they want everyone to fear the state in the same way. They've targeted the classroom, to raise a generation in slavish fear, obedient to "authority" and prone to step into line when Reagan unleashes nuclear Armageddon against the "Evil Empire," the USSR. They've tried to dump Darwin, teach belief in the virgin birth, and if you're not a virgin yourself they want to get you with the Squeal Rule which requires doctors, counselors, etc. to report to parents if teens request birth control.

For women Reagan's program is Hitler's "*Kinder, Kirche, Küche*" (children, church, kitchen). He's out to legalize abortion; all across the country "right to life" terrorists are fire-bombing abortion clinics. Already poor women can't use Medicaid funds to pay for abortions—Democrat Jimmy Carter, who commented, "There are many things in life that are not fair," saw to that. Hysteria over "child abuse" is forcing the closure of many childcare centers, driving women back into the home when they have nowhere to leave their children for care while they are working. And while Reagan weeps crocodile tears for the "unborn," infant mortality rates in the U.S., long considered a basic social indicator, have become a serious concern to health care professionals. A far higher proportion of newborn babies die in Harlem than in Cuba.

Lately the right-wing censors have declared war on something they call



McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

Reagan-inspired terrorism: bombing of abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida.

troshock "treatment" of homosexuals favored by Mormon doctors—Mason was the Mormons' commissioner of health services before joining the government. Meanwhile a manual describing "safe sex" procedures, *Mother's Handy Sex Guide*, was denounced by a Los Angeles official as "plain, hard-core pornography" (*Time*, 23 September).

Mason also admitted that the Reagan administration actively considered quarantining all AIDS victims. This is simple anti-gay bigotry and a sop to superstitious hysteria. In treating certain diseases, like bubonic plague (yes, every year a few Americans catch plague; it's rampant in rodent populations in the West), quarantine is a crucial public health measure. But not in the case of AIDS. The virus is not spread by AIDS patients, who are too sick to do much of anything, but by an estimated one to two million carriers who don't know they have it. Indeed, one of the more horrible aspects of this disease is that while they know they're dying AIDS victims feel a moral

In this sick capitalist society, where medical care is run for profit and twisted by fear and threats of everlasting hellfire, research on AIDS is grossly hampered. Drug companies say that developing drugs for treatment of AIDS is no priority—it's more profitable to make a new Valium. And a monumental legal battle is shaping up between French and American scientists for the royalty rights for the HTLV-III antibody test. The government budget of just under \$200 million for research is grossly inadequate, and a lot of the money has come at the expense of other health programs like research on cancer and infectious diseases such as hepatitis. The previous federal budget allocation of \$126 million barely covers the cost of a couple of platforms for aiming telescopes at the sun on the space shuttle! Reagan's priorities are clear: Star Wars technology to reduce the Soviet Union to a pile of rubble is much more important to the imperialist warmongers than conquering a dread disease.

It's possible that the AIDS virus will

"secular humanism." In 1984 Congress passed a law denying federal funding to integrated "magnet" schools that teach secular humanism; they purposely did not define the term. To the religious fanatics it means anything they've put their mark of Cain on, from Marxism to sex education to evolution. The dictionary defines humanism as "any system or mode of thought or action in which human interests, values and dignity predominate." If thinking that a woman ought to be able to obtain an abortion without being mugged by terrorists is "secular humanism," then that's what Marxism is about. If fighting for everyone's right to conduct their sex lives as they damn well choose without being harassed or jailed by meddling snoops is "secular humanism," then we're for it. If being revolted by a society where the sight of a pathetic bag lady trying to sleep on the subway gratings by someone's stretch limo is an everyday occurrence means you're a "secular humanist," then there should be more of them.

The rabid, profit-crazed, American ruling class has a program of death and destruction: build prisons instead of schools, shut down the mental hospitals, dump the sick on the streets, turn off the heat in their places of refuge. Reagan continues to slash spending for welfare, Medicare, school lunch programs—all to build bigger bombs to kill with.

It seems like only we socialists stand for the principle that people ought to be able to live their lives decently, in peace. In 1917 the Bolsheviks led the Russian workers to victory under the slogan "Peace, Bread, Land!" in the midst of the bloody carnage of World War I. But even if socialist revolution had triumphed throughout the world, it could not then have prevented the devastating 1918-19 worldwide epidemic of influenza that killed 20 million—more than died in all of the war. Socialist revolution will put an end to Reagan's mad dreams of nuclear holocaust; the abolition of capitalism will enable man to build a society which uses its resources to produce for social need, like combatting disease and educating youth, rather than in pursuit of profit. As Isaac Deutscher noted:

"May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on. In doing so they have naturally been inclined to ignore or belittle man's other predicaments. But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?"

"In fighting against social inequality and oppression we fight also for the mitigation of those blows that nature inflicts on us...."

"Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these."

—Isaac Deutscher, "On Socialist Man" ■

Vietnamese Martyrs...

(continued from page 7)

treachery, which left them unprepared for the betrayals and bloodbaths which cost them their lives.

When British and Indian troops landed in Saigon on September 10, they were welcomed by the Viet Minh. The Saigon People's Committee and the Trotskyists of the International Communist League issued a joint manifesto denouncing this treason; in response, the Stalinists sent troops to surround the People's Committee meeting and arrested the Trotskyist leadership on September 14. On September 22, the British moved to rearm the French colons, who unleashed a wave of terror against the Vietnamese; the Viet Minh sought "negotiations" with the British and opposed "violence" while the masses of Saigon insurrected against the colonial troops. Armed contingents of workers led by the Trotskyists were in the forefront.

The Viet Minh, meantime, were busy negotiating the return of the French, whose expeditionary force under Leclerc landed on October 5, moving to crush the insurgency and "restore order." The Stalinists assisted, arresting the Trotskyists of the Struggle (*La Lutte*) group, who were imprisoned and shot as the French approached. In the North a well-organized Trotskyist group, which published a daily paper in Hanoi, *Tranh Dau* ("Struggle"), was also wiped out by Stalinist repression. Ta Thu Thau, one of the most prominent leaders of the Trotskyists, was arrested on orders of the Viet Minh. "Tried three times by local People's Committees, he was acquitted each time—a tribute to the Trotskyists' reputation in Vietnam at that time. Finally, he was simply shot in Quang Ngai in February 1946, on orders from the southern Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau" (*Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam*).

Myers claims that the Saigon Trotskyists' "ultraleft line... would have prevented any real struggle against the imperialist enemy." Yet as we have seen, the Stalinists welcomed the Allied imperialists. In March 1946 Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement for limited "independence" within the French Union, permitting the stationing of 15,000 French troops in the North. It took eight more years of bitter struggle to drive the French colonialists out of North Vietnam. And only in 1975, thirty years and two million dead later, was imperialism driven from the peninsula. The Vietnamese Trotskyists, who fought for a workers and peasants government in 1945, were champions of the Indochinese revolution. We honor their memory and their struggle.

These days the Vietnamese Stalinists themselves don't talk much about how they executed their Trotskyist compatriots. Tran Van Giau was purged from his post and demoted to academic historian. But when French socialist Daniel Guérin interviewed Ho Chi Minh in Paris in 1946, he was clear enough about Ta Thu Thau: "He was a great patriot, and we mourn him," Ho told me with unfeigned emotion. But a moment later he added in a steady voice, 'All those who do not follow the line I have laid out will be broken'."

Corollary of Menshevism: Murder of Trotskyists

The Australian SWP pamphlet is explicitly Menshevik, openly defending the reformist "two-stage revolution" dogma and the consequent need to rely on the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The corollary of this class collaboration is murdering Trotskyist "ultraleftists" who might threaten the preservation of capitalist exploitation. Says Myers:

"The CP was also being realistic and sensible when it attempted to establish a



WV Photo

During antiwar protests, Spartacist League fought for revolutionary internationalism.

broad national united front...and when it made the compromises and concessions necessary to secure such an alliance. The main enemy at that time, the enemy who had to be defeated if the revolution was to go forward, was foreign imperialism, not Vietnamese landlords or capitalists—their turn would come later. This is why one southern party official, Nguyen Van Tao, issued the warning during August: 'All those who have instigated the peasants to seize the landowners' property will be severely and pitilessly punished.... We have not yet made the Communist revolution which will solve the agrarian problem. This government is only... a bourgeois-democratic government, even though the Communists are now in power.'

Here Myers goes to the heart of the historic division between the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution and Stalin's pipedream of "socialism in one country." In the debate over China in the 1920s, Trotsky fought Stalin's disastrous policy of collaboration with the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, a policy which ended with the 1927 massacre of thousands of Communists and militant workers who had voluntarily turned their arms over to their bourgeois "allies."

But why stop there? Don't forget those Spanish "ultralefts," assassinated by the People's Front because Stalin was more interested in preserving an empty alliance with "democratic" British and French imperialism by maintaining capitalist rule in Spain than in winning the Civil War against fascism. And what about that most dangerous "ultraleft sectarian," Leon Trotsky, alleged agent of the Mikado and Hitler? We are awaiting a tract by the Australian Ustashi-lovers about how Trotsky, too, had to be eliminated in the name of the popular front of all progressive freedom-loving anti-fascists.

A few months ago the author of *The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership* snarled at one of our comrades in Sydney, "We support the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists and we support the murder of some Australian Trotskyists." Myers' poisonous sectarianism is particularly dangerous in the present context in Australia, where right-wing Vietnamese *gusanos* have violently attacked anyone who speaks out in defence of Vietnam. This includes gatherings of trade unionists and public appearances of representatives of the Vietnamese government, as well as forums of both the SWP and Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. This deadly threat must be met by a united defence of the workers movement [see "Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, U.S." WV No. 380, 31 May].

In Defence of Trotskyism!

The Spartacist tendency proudly defends our Vietnamese martyrs. And increasingly we are coming to be recognised as the Trotskyists. Certainly in Australia there is no contest. In our final pamphlet on the American SWP, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary* (1984), we noted that SWP leader Jack Barnes' 1982 speech explicitly renouncing the fundamental principles of Trotskyism at least clarified the left political landscape. Against the anti-Trotskyist revisionism of the USec, we

uphold the perspective of permanent revolution:

"...under certain exceptional conditions (including centrally the absence of the organized working class as a contender for power, in its own right), Stalinist- or petty-bourgeois-led peasant-based guerrilla movements have come to power in countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam. The result has been new bureaucratized workers states on a national-Stalinist program.... Yet these deformed social revolutions are themselves partial confirmations of the theory of permanent revolution, as these leaderships were forced—in opposition to their stated programs—to go over to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the adoption of the socialized property forms first established by the victory of the October Revolution, as the only way to achieve genuine national liberation and to address classically bourgeois-democratic tasks like land reform."

Today in Sandinista Nicaragua, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution again takes on a burning relevance, expressed in our call to "Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" The alternative is not a "realistic" policy, but bloody defeat, as in Spain. Throughout the war in Vietnam, our tendency fought consistently to mobilise the power of the labour movement in strikes against the Vietnam War; we agitated for military victory to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces; we warned of the dangers of Stalinist betrayal. As we wrote in our Vietnam pamphlet:

"It has been left to the international Spartacist tendency to uphold the struggle of our martyred Vietnamese comrades and call for the formation of authentic Trotskyist parties in Indochina as part of a reborn Fourth International. While unconditionally defending the new deformed workers states... we have called for extending the revolutionary conquests and opening the road to socialism by political revolution to replace Stalinist bureaucratic rule with the democratic rule of the working class (supported by the exploited peasantry) through soviets."

The Australian SWP's denunciation of Trotskyism, lock, stock and barrel, is the logical culmination of decades of deepening reformist degeneration by the various factions of the United Secretariat, which broke with authentic Trotskyism a long time ago. The component groupings of the USec long ago lost the ability—and desire—to distinguish between Menshevism and Bolshevism, between Trotskyism and Stalinism, between revolution and counterrevolution. One of the few positions shared by all the competing factions is their "anti-Stalinist" unity with the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność—pet "union" of the pope, the CIA and the Western bankers.

In contrast, we Spartacists know the difference between genuine proletarian opposition to Stalinist bureaucracy, based on intransigent defence of the gains of the October Revolution, and counterrevolutionaries who ally with world reaction and religious obscurantism to restore capitalist rule. And we are not necessarily opposed to all repressive measures carried out by Stalinists. If the ultra-Barnesite Australian SWP teams up with their Pilsudskiite Solidarność papists and Ustashi Croatian fascists to bring "democracy" to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, we would most assuredly hail the verdicts brought by the Stalinist-run trials which uphold the prior decisions of a justly enraged populace to execute these counterrevolutionaries on the spot.

Our tendency, which has gained a reputation as the orthodox, hard-core Trotskyists, lays claim to the tradition and continuity of revolutionary Leninism today. Our solidarity with the revolutionary victories won by the Vietnamese workers and peasants is underlined by our defence of the courageous struggle of the martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists, who died fighting against the reintroduction of imperialist rule. Only the program of Trotskyist internationalism and proletarian revolution can ensure the survival of those victories, won at so great a cost. ■

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

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Victory to the Watsonville Cannery Strike!

WATSONVILLE, California, October 6—Upwards of 2,000 strikers and strike supporters marched through this company town, the “frozen food capital of the world,” today as a bitter cannery strike entered its fifth week. Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw, Inc. provoked the strike by imposing wage cuts of up to 56 percent, as well as a two-tier wage system and other drastic take-aways, in a bid to break Teamsters Local 912, the union representing the canneries’ workers, most of whom are Mexican women. The strikers face scabs, court injunctions and the canneries’ hired guns in blue—the local police force, which has imposed what unionists describe as virtual “martial law” on the town.

“I have seen many outrages and abuses by the police,” striker Marta Domínguez told *WV*.

“I was arrested together with three of my *compañeras* for not keeping a ten-foot distance between us on the picket line; they demanded identification and handcuffed us.... Another time I took my seven-year-old daughter with me because I don’t have money for a babysitter. The police said they would arrest my daughter if I didn’t get her out of there.”

She confirmed reports that a scab trucker fired shots in the air when crossing the picket line, and added: “One of the scabs threatened us with a rifle one time, and the police didn’t arrest him. But they did arrest one of my friends for yelling back at some scabs who were shouting obscenities at us.”

Cops are using a court restraining order limiting the number of pickets, to terrorize strike supporters. Seventeen students and their teacher from Watsonville High (where food for strikers has been collected) were arrested September 20 for crossing the street near Watsonville Canning; the teacher was booked for “contributing to the delinquency of minors”! A local college paper (Santa Cruz *City on a Hill*, September 26) quoted a striker’s apt comment: “The police are like terrorists with us. They treat us like animals.” At today’s march Watsonville cops clad in full riot gear were out in force, together with reinforcements from neighboring towns and, reportedly, Fort Ord.

The power of the labor movement must be brought to bear to defeat the arrogant canning companies’ union-busting assault on these oppressed



Watsonville, California—Labor solidarity rally and march, October 6, for Hispanic workers battling rapacious cannery bosses.

Mexican women workers. Not only do the canneries own the courts and cops in company towns like Watsonville, but throughout California agribusiness profits—sweated out of the back-breaking labor of men, women and children in the fields and canneries—grease the palms of capitalist politicians, Republican and Democrat alike. With their home boy Reagan in the White House and Reaganite governor Deukmejian in Sacramento, the broccoli and cauliflower growers see the green light to wipe out unions.

But the area has a long history of labor struggles going back to the '30s and '40s, when Communist-led unions organized successful strikes of Mexican, Japanese, Filipino and white field hands and cannery workers. Sympathy for the Watsonville strikers runs high among area unionists, a cross section of whom came out for the solidarity march today. A sizable contingent from the Watsonville-area United Farm Workers came to the march—a show of support that was significant in light of the Teamster union’s history of vicious raids against the UFW.

But if “solidarity” is not to be an empty word for weekend marches to blow off steam, it must mean militant, mass labor action. *All* the canneries must be brought out on strike—6,000 Local 912 members are *still* working without a contract at five other canneries. Today the marchers walked to the cannery gates 2,000-strong, but what is needed is daily *mass pickets* of area unionists to stop the scabs and turn the strikebreaking injunctions into worth-

less scraps of paper. And unionists must go after the employers’ weak spot: their product is seasonal and highly perishable. This means a strategy of *labor boycott*, not impotent consumer boycotts (a tactic favored by Chavez’ UFW and one which recently covered for a terrible sellout of the small and desperate Mission Foods tortilla strike in Richmond, California). Teamster drivers, railway workers, warehousemen and retail clerks must *hot-cargo* (refuse to handle) the scab produce.

The Spartacist message of class struggle was well received in Watsonville today. Strikers and supporters bought 22 subscriptions to Spanish *Spartacist*, five introductory *WV* subs and 160 individual pieces of literature; 500 “Labor’s Gotta Play Hardball to Win” supplements were distributed.

Amid the strikers’ militant chants of “¡Viva la huelga—abajo los esquirols!” (Long live the strike—down with the scabs!), rad-lib “solidarity”-mongers led the timeworn chant of class collaboration, “The people united will never be defeated.” (This was the slogan of Allende’s Popular Unity, which paved the way for the Chilean workers’ defeat by “people” like General Pinochet.) When some women strikers asked one *WV* salesman to chant, he showed them the Spanish *Spartacist* headline. The women started a spirited chant of our slogan: “*Obreros, para ganar: ¡Darle duro a la patronal!*” (“Labor’s gotta play hardball to win!”)

The strikers’ fighting spirit is a sharp contrast to the line of their union misleaders. Teamster officials threw up

one bureaucratic obstacle after another to a strike at Watsonville Canning, while Richard Shaw employees worked for months with no contract. The bureaucrats are doing their best to divide the strikers from the cannery workers still on the job at the five other plants. The Teamster officialdom, led by FBI fink Jackie Presser, imposed two-tier contracts and giveaways in recent Master Freight and (together with International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union officials) Master Warehouse negotiations. When they sell the mainly white male truckers down the river, it’s not hard to imagine how the Teamster tops treat low-paid Mexican women cannery workers.

But the legalist, reformist Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) opposition, prominent in the Watsonville strike, is no alternative. The TDU’s stock-in-trade is taking the union to court. In Watsonville they used the notorious anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act to sue the union in the same courts that are slapping injunctions on the strikers (TDU *Convoy Dispatch*, September 1985)! There can be no union democracy without independence from the bosses’ state, its strikebreaking courts, the racist “migra” (Immigration and Naturalization Service) and head-busting cops. Workers are right to be up in arms against the corrupt, anti-democratic sellout officials—but labor must clean its own house. The capitalist state is not “neutral.” When the bosses’ courts are invited into the unions to “fight corruption,” they use their foothold to bust strikes and shackle or break the unions. FBI, courts and cops out of the Teamsters!

To win strikes, to fight the special oppression of minorities and women, to organize the unorganized and the superexploited on both sides of the border, labor’s muscle must be mobilized. Against attempts by the growers and government to intimidate and terrorize the foreign-born workers, we demand full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers. The workers must rely on their own strength as a class, freeing themselves from the bosses’ parties and the bosses’ lieutenants in the labor movement. This requires the leadership of a multiracial, class-struggle workers party. Victory to the Watsonville strike! ■

Jackson Taylor...

(continued from page 16)

didn’t actually know what it was that happened, and if that would have hit the 12 o’clock news, I guarantee it, there would have been 3,000 men down there. Every pier and every ship would have stopped working.” The company, faced with a bunch of angry and determined unionists, backed off their union-busting operation. While claiming to be willing to hire union labor, it is demanding substandard rates. The ILA has rightly refused to accept this, and the *Depy* is now sitting at anchor in the Chesapeake Bay with its load of cement. Ever since Reagan crushed the PATCO strike in 1981, it’s been open season on the unions. The bosses don’t seem satisfied with just wage cuts—they want dead strikers to show as an “example” to the rest of the labor movement, like Ohio Greyhound striker Ray Phillips, run down by a scab in the 1983 bus strike; and Greg Goobic, killed a few weeks later by a scabbing truck driver who smashed through a picket line at the Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, California.

The bosses are so emboldened that they believe they can crack a powerful

union like the ILA. But the ILA wasn’t playing footsie: picket lines were established at the launch center, the employment agency and the destination point for the cargo, as well as at Port Covington. Union officials said other ports were prepared to dispatch reinforcements if necessary.

Baltimore Launch general manager John Sorensen’s response to Taylor’s death was to viciously blame the slain picketer for “running around like an animal, being where he shouldn’t be” (*Baltimore Sun*, 10 October)! He went on to dare anyone to fight his union-busting plans: “I’m not living in Russia yet, and no union or association is going to stop me.” Longshoremen should learn from this: that’s why the Russian Revolution was made—to put scabherders like Sorensen and his crony Paul Trapani out of business for good.

We honor Jackson Taylor, who died in the line of duty, defending his union. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, sent representatives to his funeral. We especially appreciate the fact that ILA Local 333 has in the past worked with us in defending the interests of labor and the oppressed. The local’s Longshore Executive Board endorsed the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobiliza-

West Coast Longshore Militant Urges Work Stoppage to Honor Jackson Taylor

This resolution in solidarity with Baltimore ILA labor martyr Jack Taylor was drafted by Stan Gow, editor of the Longshore Militant in ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco. On October 10, when the Local 10 Executive Board was scheduled to meet, Gow distributed his resolution; the meeting was not held for lack of a quorum.

RESOLVED: That ILWU Local 10’s officers send a telegram of condolences to the family of the longshoreman victim of a police killing, Jack Taylor, c/o the headquarters of ILA Local 333 and a telegraphed message of solidarity to the Local, mentioning

the murder of strikers supporting longshoremen during the 1934 strike and the similar job defense action by Vancouver, Wash. longshoremen.

RESOLVED: Local 10 calls for a 24 hour West Coast longshore work stoppage to protest the death of ILA longshoreman, Jack Taylor, killed in action by police while trying to maintain union jurisdiction against a scab work force in the port of Baltimore, Md. This is by executive action and the officers will communicate tomorrow with all ILWU/IBU Locals. The officers will communicate our intent to the ILA International and ILA Local 333.

tion which turned out 5,000 mostly black workers and youth and stopped the race-terrorist KKK from marching through the streets of Washington, D.C. The local also donated \$100 last winter to the PDC’s fund drive for Aid to Striking British Miners’ Families.

The loss of union brother Jackson Taylor at the hands of the police is an

object lesson that the capitalist state and its armed fist, the cops, are not neutral. As the ILA picket captain told us: “I just hope other unions all over the world, not only in the United States, learn a lesson from this and wake up. And the judge ain’t going to be with you. The membership’s got to do it themselves.” ■

Spartacist Candidates on Koch and Farrakhan

"Don't Let Them Turn New York into Bloody Beirut!"

The candidates of the Spartacist Party, Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president, issued the following statement October 3:

Sinister Louis Farrakhan and racist pig Ed Koch are trying to whip up race war in this country and this city. They're inciting riots outside Madison Square Garden. They are both dangerous racists, but there is a difference. Farrakhan only has his mouth; Koch has 30,000 gun-toting cops who think they have a license to kill—and they use it daily. Don't let them turn New York City into bloody Beirut. To make the streets safe for decent New Yorkers, the Spartacist Party calls for labor/black defense against the racist terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms.

For the rabid Zionist Ed Koch to

accuse the sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan of racism and bigotry is cynical hypocrisy. Koch paraded arm-in-arm through Queens with General Sharon, the mass murderer who organized the massacre of Palestinian refugees at Sabra and Shatila. Koch's cossacks treat black and Hispanic youth as if they were Palestinians on the West Bank. NYC transit cops shoot down turnstile jumpers like "PLO terrorists." Koch is Reaganism in New York City.

Farrakhan's revolting "Hitler was a great man" statement and his despicable Jew-baiting are used by Reagan, Koch & Co. to incite racist terror. Farrakhan even invited Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Metzger as a special guest to his recent rally in Los Angeles. But when Koch talks of "justifiable fury" against Farrakhan, the fascistic KKK and JDL

are readying their bombs, preparing pogroms against black people. The Jewish people more than anyone else should know how dangerous this is.

Farrakhan is often portrayed as some kind of present-day Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth. Malcolm was a courageous fighter against the American ruling class who appealed to militant black youth. Farrakhan is a demagogue who appeals to would-be black capitalists. *Louis Farrakhan wanted Malcolm X dead. In December 1964 Farrakhan declared that "such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death." Two months later Malcolm X was shot down at the Audubon Ballroom.*

Preparing for war on the Soviet Union, Reagan went to Bitburg to bury the memory of the Nazi Holocaust. We

Spartacists do not forget. The Trotskyists fought to admit Jewish refugees to America when everyone including the Zionists and FDR refused to let them in. But we also don't forget Vietnam, where the U.S. slaughtered more than two million peasants and workers. We don't forget the hundreds of Palestinian refugees slaughtered during Israel's Lebanese Blitzkrieg.

And we don't forget Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry, black victims of Koch's killer cops. The Spartacist Party is campaigning to "Kick Out Koch! Smash Racist Cop Terror!" This morning we are holding a demonstration outside the World Trade Center protesting the whitewash of Koch's Dr. Mengele, Gross the ghoul. The cover-up coroner is part of the killer cop "blue wall of silence" extending right up to D.A. Morgenthau and City Hall.

The Spartacist Party is demanding, "Blue uniforms, white sheets, racist terrorists off the streets! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry!" We are building a multiracial, fighting workers party to get rid of this rotting capitalist system that offers only race war and nuclear holocaust. ■

Gross's Cover-Up...

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mobilize foreign workers—all workers in this city—to become a political force to smash racist terror!"

Cover-Up City and the Butcher of Attica

"What we've got in New York is a Murder, Incorporated," said Stamberg, "and the godfather is Ed Koch." As Stamberg noted, "Earlier the federal prosecutor dropped his charges, and before that, Koch's 'Liman Commission' gave Gross a clean bill of health. We know something about Arthur L. Liman. He whitewashes better than Tide. Back in 1971 Liman was the general counsel for a special New York State commission to investigate the slaughter at Attica prison. Officially, 39 people were killed by the cops when state troopers stormed the jail to put down the Attica Rebellion. It was a massacre, ordered by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. But that Liman Commission cleared the butcher of Attica, bloody Rockefeller. The bourgeoisie takes care of its own."

Instead of facing trial himself October 3, that very afternoon Elliot Gross began testifying at the sham trial of the Transit Authority cops who beat Michael Stewart to death. The sinister coroner lived up to his reputation, literally changing his story *daily* on the stand, weaving tangled webs of lying

cover-up. He admitted removing Stewart's eyes without family knowledge. He admitted finding hemorrhages in both of Stewart's eyes, which experts consider a prime sign of asphyxiation, but testified they were unrelated to Stewart's death, a statement the "prosecutor" allowed to go unchallenged.

On October 8 Gross testified he currently "could not form an opinion" as to the cause of Stewart's death. This was his second change of opinion in the case. (In September 1983 Gross's first autopsy report cited cardiac arrest as the cause of death. In November 1983, Gross changed the autopsy report to attribute death to spinal cord injury.) In court October 9, Gross changed his story again, testifying death could have

been caused by a "combination of factors" including infliction of "blunt force trauma" caused by an instrument (such as a billy club), acute intoxication and effects of "physical restraints" (such as a choke hold). And on October 11, Gross testified he had let stand his erroneous report citing spinal cord injury as cause of death, because he was concerned it could make his office look like a "three ring circus!"

Stamberg, who attended the trial for several days, told *WV*: "From day one, D.A. Morgenthau's 'prosecution' of the cops has been a sham, on obscenely trivial charges of perjury and 'criminally negligent homicide.' In other words, the state claims Michael Stewart beat himself to death and the cops only failed to restrain him in time! Now Gross is doing his best to obscure *any* medical evidence in this case, laying the basis for the whitewash of this cold-blooded cop murder."

Koch is Reaganism in New York

At the very same time the Spartacists were protesting Gross the ghoul, Ed Koch was up at Madison Square Garden holding a major press conference to denounce Louis Farrakhan, who held a rally at the Garden last Monday (see Spartacist Party press release, above). Ed Kartsen stated to the protesters, "Farrakhan and Edward Koch have got a lot in common as brothers under the skin. Except Koch has got the power, and Farrakhan doesn't. And they disagree on which race they're going to terrorize and kill. Koch has got the racist policies of Adolf Hitler and Farrakhan thinks Adolf

Hitler was a good guy. Koch wants to make this a Jew versus black issue, Farrakhan wants to make this a black versus Jew issue. But we don't go for that: we know that this is a policy of racist cop terror that's going on here, to back up the wealthy."

Kartsen, a former member of TWU Local 100, noted that, ominously, a Confederate flag was flown in the NYC Labor Day parade this year, in which Mayor Koch marched. The people who support race-terror and union-busting have a symbol, he said: "In Germany it's the swastika. In America it is the Confederate flag. The Confederate flag flies with the racist murdering policy of Koch! And Gross is Koch's Dr. Mengele. Just like Dr. Mengele helped Hitler out, in conducting vicious, ghoulish Nazi 'experiments' against concentration camp victims, Gross the ghoul carries out the same policy for Koch."

Kartsen concluded: "Koch is Reagan's man in New York City. Reagan prepares for war against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and prepares for Star Wars to destroy the gains of the Russian Revolution. In order to carry out this war on labor and blacks at home Koch needs racist terror." Kartsen compared Koch's cops' killings of Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart and Edmund Perry to the murderous firebombing of eleven people in the Philly MOVE commune, the signature of the Reagan years. He stated: "New York labor and minorities must answer this wave of wanton cop terror with massive mobilizations of our own organized power." ■



Marjorie at September 26 united-front protest outside court whitewash of cops' slaying of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.

NYC SPARTACIST CAMPAIGN RALLY

Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor

Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President

From Soweto to Harlem—Smash Racist Terror!
New York City: For the Working People!

Saturday, November 2, 2:00 p.m.

Borough of Manhattan Community College

199 Chambers St. (Take any train to Chambers St.) N402 (North Building)

For more information call: (212) 267-1025

VOTE SPARTACIST!



CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 383 (12 July), our article "Nicaragua Under Siege" contained two errors due to difficulties in telephone transmission from Managua. We erroneously referred to guns shooting off, rather than being raised into the air, every time the speaker made an emphatic point at a Sandinista Youth rally June 17. Also, the number of peasants at a rally for land reform in Masaya was 30,000, not 3,000 as reported.

And in *WV* No. 384 (26 July), the article "Nicaragua Defies Reagan" gives the date of the "Day of Joy," celebrating the flight of dictator Somoza, as June 17; it should read July 17.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Campaign Protests

Dr. Gross: Koch's Cover-Up Coroner

"Gross the Ghoul Has Got To Go!" demanded demonstrators October 3 at the World Trade Center, denouncing the continuing cover-up of the crimes of New York City's chief medical examiner Dr. Elliot Gross. The protest was initiated by the Spartacist League to coincide with New York State Department of Health hearings against Gross, which were canceled at the last minute.

Demonstrators demanded "From Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" and "Blue uniforms, white sheets—Racist terrorists off the streets!" Recalling recent victims of police terror, they chanted, "Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry—Vengeance!" Among the protesters were representatives of the Perry family and the Mobilization Committee Against Police Brutality.

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party mayoral candidate, stated at the demonstration: "New York City today is cover-up city. The people who run this town got themselves a compliant 'administrative law judge,' and so the hearings against Gross were canceled. This is just one more proof that what we have here is a whole system of racist police terror. Koch's cops kill; D.A. Morgenthau comes in to stop indictments, and Gross's job is to hide the evidence."

"Gross is guilty of far more than negligence," said Stamberg. "He belongs behind bars in Attica. Gouging out the eyes of Michael Stewart to hide the evidence of police strangulation,

switching cadavers, covering up the 'eviction by shotgun' murder of Eleanor Bumpurs: nothing is too gross for Gross the ghoul. He's Koch's Dr. Mengele and symbolizes everything that's repugnant in this city."

Spartacist Manhattan borough president candidate Ed Kartsen told the 70 protesters, "We are here to fight for a labor/black mobilization to organize thousands of responsible union working-class women and men to stop

the racist murderers in white sheets and the racist murderers who walk around in blue with a badge. We need a mass working-class party to mobilize the unions, to mobilize minorities, to

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Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen lead protest October 3 against wanton killings by New York's racist cops.

Baltimore Cops Kill Striking Longshoreman

Honor Jackson Taylor, Labor Martyr

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

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

"That man Jack died for me," said one dock worker of the 59-year-old gang leader and member of ILA Local 333, who was struck down at Port Covington



ILA union brothers at memorial mass for Jackson Taylor, October 12.

by a police cruiser while he and his union brothers fought an unprecedented attempt to introduce scab labor on the Baltimore docks.

The battle began October 8, when 125 longshoremen turned out to stop the Baltimore Launch and Marine Services' use of \$5 per hour scab labor to unload



the Cypriot freighter *Depy*. Longshoremen widely believe that powerful shipping interests are behind the small company's confrontation with the ILA. Police were out in force, including a plainclothes cop who provocatively pulled out a pistol and pointed it at the picketers.

That evening the fight broke out when a scab tried to run his forklift through the picket line. The unionists fought back. Five members were arrested and two cops injured. The next morning more than 300 ILAers mobilized, overran a police line and attempted to storm the *Depy*. The cops called for reinforcements: two cruisers came speeding toward the dock at about 60 miles per hour and swerved toward a group of longshoremen. Taylor dodged the first cop car; he was struck and killed by the second.

The picket captain on site, Carl McKenzie, told *WV*: "Wednesday morning Jackson was killed. People

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