

## No Détente Illusions—Defend the Soviet Union!

# Reagan's Summit Blackmail

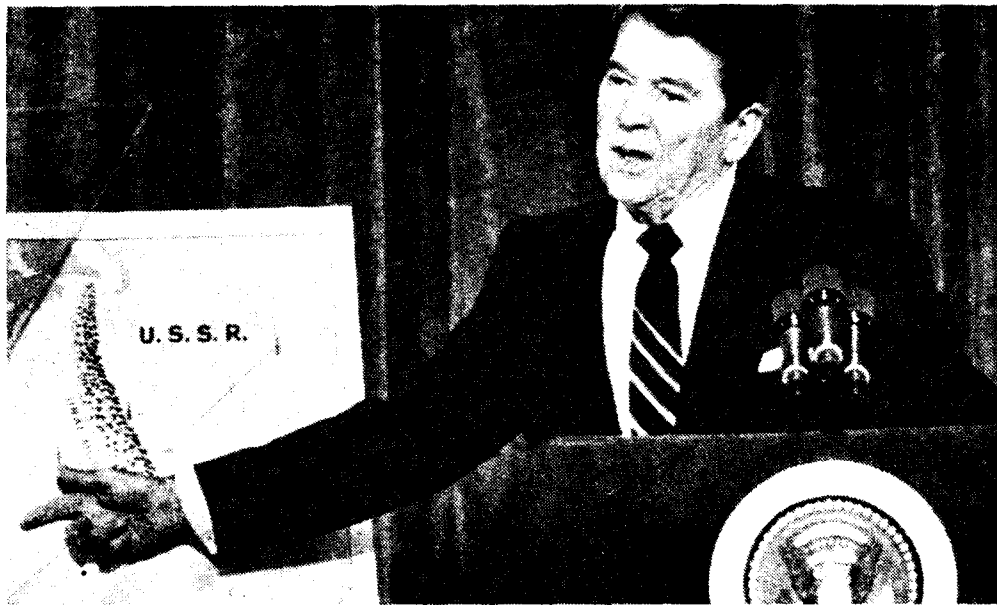
While the Russians talk peace and disarmament, Reagan shouts about anti-Communism and counterrevolution. Going into the summit, the Reagan gang has been even more warmongering, insulting and provocative toward the Soviet Union than their usual foaming at the mouth about the "Evil Empire." The White House has made it unambiguously clear that there will be no talk at Geneva about "Star Wars," MX missiles, the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles stationed in Europe—eight minutes from Moscow—or any other American weapons system, either in place or on the drawing board. As part of his dangerous game of nuclear chicken with the Russians, Reagan is trying to bully and blackmail Gorbachev and roll back armed resistance and anti-imperialist social revolutions, from Managua to Moscow.

The Russian leaders cannot understand this behavior, especially before a meeting that is supposedly to "negotiate differences and reduce tensions." In his recent interview with *Time* magazine, Gorbachev exclaimed:

"The summit meeting is designed for negotiations... on the basis of equality, and not for signing an act of someone's capitulation... Then the bellicose outcries are all the more inappropriate. Why flex muscles needlessly, why stage noisy shows and transfer the methods of domestic political struggles to the relations between two nuclear powers? Here the language of force is useless and dangerous."

—*New Times* (Moscow) No. 37, September 1985

Dangerous it is; as Gorbachev reminded his American audience, "We have not lost a war, or even a battle to the United States, and we owe it absolutely nothing." But the Kremlin leadership is in a



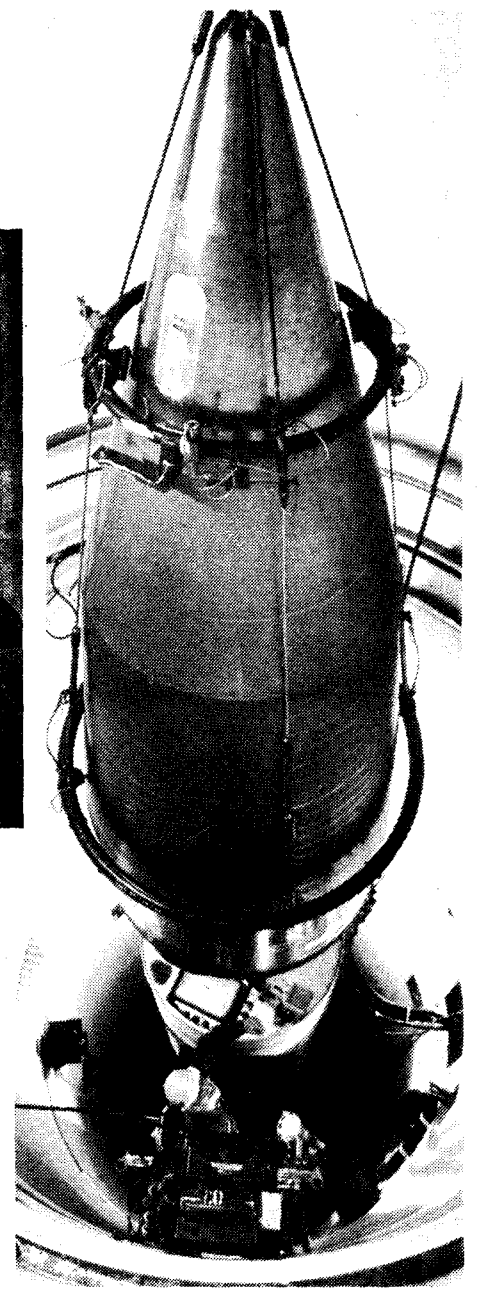
War-crazy Reagan could blow up the world trying to "roll back" Soviet workers state.

bind. Having forsaken the program of proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, they know no other way to ultimately stay the hand of the bloodthirsty, war-crazed imperialists than through the dangerous illusion of "disarmament." The only way the imperialists can be "disarmed" was demonstrated in Russia itself in 1917: by workers revolution.

The Kremlin tops insist that the USSR and U.S. have a mutual interest in these negotiations—preventing nu-

clear war. Even Reagan doesn't want World War III for its own sake; he doesn't long to see the U.S. destroyed in a nuclear holocaust. But the commander in chief of American imperialism is both saner and crazier than that. Karl von Clausewitz, the great Prussian military theorist, stated that war is the continuation of policy by other means. Washington's policy toward the Soviet Union now is, simply put, to destroy the land of the Bolshevik Revolution of

*continued on page 6*



Mark Meyer/Time

# Defective Defectors

"He's for real," crowed a senior Reagan administration official over the supposed defection of alleged KGB spymaster Vitaly Yurchenko. Senator Patrick Leahy, vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, hailed Yurchenko's crossover this summer as a "hell of a blow to the Soviets." And British intelligence analyst Christopher Andrew opined that Yurchenko was worth "about 20,000 seduced West German government secretaries" (*Newsweek*, 4 November). But last week the CIA's "prize catch" strolled away from a Washington restaurant, Au Pied de Cochon (The Pig's Foot), leaving his hosts with the tab and appearing shortly thereafter at a news conference at the Soviet embassy to announce his "redefection" to the USSR.

Funny things are happening to Ronald Reagan on his way to the summit, and we're enjoying the spectacle as he tries to wipe the egg off his face. Redefector Yurchenko didn't provide anything "new or sensational" after all, claimed the U.S. president, dismissing the affair as a "deliberate ploy" by the Soviets. Too bad for Reagan. From the halls of the U.S. embassy in Kabul to the shores of the Mississippi, would-be American intelligence and propaganda coups are turning into embarrassing fiascos as various Soviet "defectors" seem to want nothing more than to go home to Russia. "I know your side" now, said the redefecting KGB colonel. "It's better than reading a thousand books."

The Cold Warriors figure anyone

from a "captive nation" yearns to "escape to freedom" in the U.S. of A. From the Reagan White House to the *New York Times* editorial offices, it's axiomatic that every Soviet citizen wants to betray his country, or else. To prove their point, the CIA terror international operating out of Langley, Virginia kidnaps, imprisons, drugs, tortures and bribes any potential "defecting" Russian they can get their hands on. But it doesn't seem to work. We wonder, did Yurchenko reject the CIA's reported offer of \$1 million because it wasn't enough for an apartment in Manhattan? After all, you have to have a pretty hefty stake to enjoy the "magic of the marketplace."

Some Congressional intelligence "watchdogs" now say they suspected

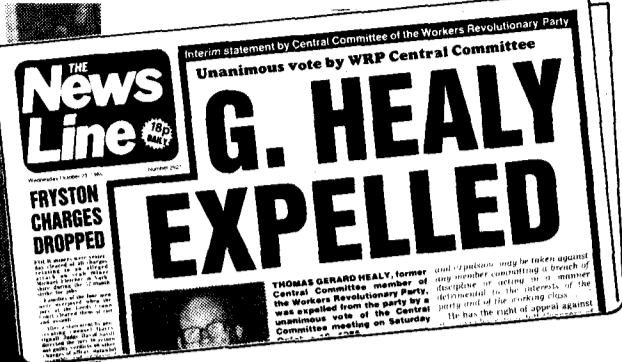
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Emmert/AFP

Vitaly Yurchenko:  
Back to the USSR!

# Banda/Slaughter vs. Healy/Redgrave



## Healyites Blow Up

**Michael Banda, Healy's long-time hatchet man, now claims he was born yesterday.**

The spectacular explosion of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is a sweet moment of revenge for a wide swathe of Trotskyists, ostensible Trotskyists, embittered ex-members and others who have been abused and slandered by the Healy/Banda machine of political bandits over the course of decades. The story broke late last month when two warring wings—one led by Gerry Healy and actress Vanessa Redgrave, the other by Healy's long-time hatchet man Michael Banda and above-the-battle intellectual Cliff Slaughter—expelled each other. The ostensible basis was the rather remarkable charge that the 73-year-old Healy had been sexually

abusing women comrades for the last 19 years or so. What gives the event its impact is not the "Red in the Bed" angle so lavishly featured in the smarmy, prurient and vicious British bourgeois press but the fact that Healy's role in the WRP roughly mimicked that of Stalin in the CPSU. The WRP's supreme organizational principle was keeping the ranks in line by a combination of simple physical gangsterism and the cult

of Healy as unique interpreter of the twin mystifications, "security" and "dialectics."

As we continue collecting and evaluating the information, we think *WV* readers will find informative the article reprinted below from *Socialist Organiser* No. 251, 7 November 1985. The article, titled "The WRP Proves Us Right," appeared under the byline of Sean Matgamna, a sharp-tongued British centrist. Matgamna and his *Socialist Organiser* know whereof they speak. And they surely have earned the right to enjoy the WRP's downfall, having been hauled into the capitalist courts by Healy/Banda for having published "libelous" statements about the WRP which were manifestly true.

Matgamna's article presents, from his own political standpoint, as good an interpretation of the split as we are likely early to encounter. And he nails the whole WRP cabal for its most corrupt political act—the explicit justification of the execution of Iraqi Communist militants by the Ba'ath military regime. "Healyites: Kill a Commie for Qaddafi" was *WV*'s headline in 1979 when the WRP thus took to the loathsome logical conclusion its corrupt press agency for murderous bourgeois-nationalists like Libya's Qaddafi, Iran's Khomeini and the PLO's Arafat.

In bringing Matgamna's article to the attention of *WV* readers we of course are not endorsing Matgamna's centrist political views, particularly his stance toward the Labour Party—from which, we think, he also derives the characterization of Healy as a revolutionary in the immediate postwar period and the evaluation presented of the alignments in the British Trotskyist movement at that time, i.e., around the demise of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

**Life-sized little Healy (foreground) dwarfed by his egomaniacal projection.**

the road, and soon the intrepid four take refuge in the rhododendron bushes.

Triumphantly, the bombardier then jumps on a wall, raises both hands above his head after the fashion of football fans, and chants "Healy! Healy! Healy!" Then he drops back into the housing estate.

After the events of the WRP's week, it's a wonder they haven't been going for each other with guns and knives! The picture of what has happened in the WRP is now reasonably clear.

The organisation has split down the middle. The Healy faction's claim that they have the majority of the members of the old organisation on their side may



### Fortress of the World Revolution

Against Stalin, the destroyer of the Leninist Comintern, the Trotskyists upheld the integral relationship between defense of the gains of the Russian October and world proletarian revolution. In 1928, James P. Cannon, veteran American communist, launched the Militant, then the voice of American Trotskyism, declaring:



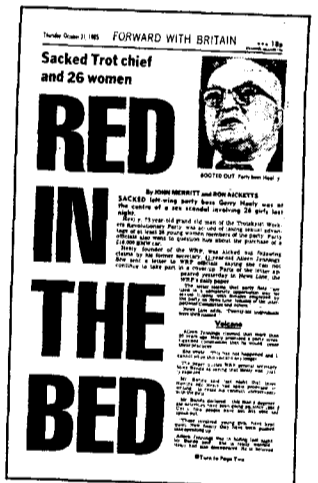
LENIN

Eleven years have gone by since the Russian workers took the hammer of revolution in their hands and broke the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link....

The Russian revolution broke forever the unity of the world and divided it into two hostile camps—the camp of imperialist exploitation and the camp of social revolution. At one polar extreme stands America, the strongest imperialist world power. At the other stands the USSR, the land of the workers' rule. The antagonism between them, and the systems they represent, is irreconcilable. They cannot live together permanently side by side. The victory of the Soviet system on a world scale means the liberation of enslaved humanity and its ascent to heights of culture and achievement beyond our dreams—to socialism and beyond that to communism. The victory of imperialism would hurl civilization into the abyss. Such is the issue of the epoch of wars and revolutions in which we live and fight....

The defense of the Soviet Union is our own fight. It is and will be a central rallying slogan of the labor militants of the entire world. "Defend the Soviet Union!" is a slogan leading the workers to follow the example of the Russian revolution. So they must conceive it. So will the victory of socialism in Russia and throughout the world be finally secured.

—James P. Cannon, "Fortress of the World Revolution" (15 November 1928)



**British gutter press drools over the Healy affair.**

even be true. The bourgeois press credits the old WRP with five to seven thousand members, but it was probably not more than one-tenth of that.

So when the Bandaitees jeer that Healy only has 250 supporters, they are admitting that he has something like half the organisation.

The Healyites have declared their expelled Central Committee minority to be the WRP, and claim to have held a special conference which "rejected" Gerry Healy's expulsion and instead expelled Michael Banda and the other "conspirators" who raised their hands against the great leader.

Their resolution explicitly gave Healy a special place in the WRP, making it an article of faith to believe Gerry Healy to be "the outstanding leader of the world Trotskyist movement in the post-war period." They have brought out one issue of their own "Newsline" (eight pages and without any sports section—which undoubtedly points to a propagandist deviation by them away from mass work) and an issue of "Young Socialist." They have launched an appeal for £250,000 to bring out their "Newsline" daily from next January.

Gerry Healy is accused of sexual abuse of 26 and more women. This salacious "red-in-the-bed" stuff has

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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By Sean Matgamna

Kennington Park Road, South London, last Saturday, 2nd. Four people are selling "Newsline" as they wait for the anti-apartheid march to come by. Two men and two women; all of them are in their late 20s or early 30s.

Suddenly a half-brick comes whizzing through the air from the other side of the road and lands at their feet. It has been thrown by a burly man, also about 30.

The brick is only the start. A steady rain of stones follows the brick across

# Smash Zionist Stormtrooper Kahane!

SAN FRANCISCO—Israeli fascist thug Meir Kahane was met by protest demonstrations at his two appearances here October 28. The Zionist terrorist Kahane, former two-bit *Führer* of the Jewish Defense League, is pushing his program of genocide against the Palestinian Arab people in a 12-city fundraising tour of the U.S. Meanwhile, according to the *Los Angeles Times* (9 November), the FBI is attributing to Kahane's successors in the JDL the bombing murder of Alex Odeh, head of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, in Southern California a month ago.

At San Francisco State University there was a chance to drive the murderous scum Kahane off the campus by militant mass mobilization of students and labor. This is what the campus Spartacus Youth League called for in the leaflet we reprint below. The SYL leaflet was distributed prior to Kahane's appearance at Professor Dwight Simpson's International Relations class. Fearing that Kahane would get the treatment he justly deserves, the SFSU administration cordoned off the classroom with riot-helmeted campus cops and the meeting was closed to the press and all but selected students. Campus and SF cops and Kahane bodyguards even set up an elaborate scheme to get Kahane off campus after his meeting, involving decoy cop cars and a Kahane impersonator.

But the liberal Zionist and Arab student organizations played right into the hands of the administration and Kahane. Aping the chauvinist "Peace Now" movement in Israel which excludes Arab participation, the campus Zionists held a soft-core pro-Zionist anti-Kahane rally at noon. Meanwhile, the Palestinian nationalists and their Marcyite hangers-on, after staging a brief counterdemonstration at the Zionist rally, held a picket outside Kahane's appearance.

Both groups were united only in their opposition to the SYL's call for militant action to drive Kahane off campus. John Rothmann, president of the Northern California chapter of the Zionist Organization of America, denounced "our friends the Trotskyists, the Spartacus League" for our leaflet and defended Kahane's "free speech." And the Palestinian nationalists policed their demonstration, attempting to disperse students who sought to confront Kahane as he left campus. SYL members joined the picket outside the class at 2 p.m. with signs calling for "Drive Kahane Off Campus!" and "Arab, Hebrew Workers, Overthrow Your Rulers!"

In the evening, Spartacist supporters formed the largest contingent at a demonstration of 500 protesting Kahane's appearance at the posh St. Francis Hotel. Our chants included "Smash Kahane's Final Solution, For Arab-Hebrew Workers Revolution!" and "Eli

"The Wolf" Got His, Smash Fascist Kahane!" ("Eli" was an American-born kill-crazy paratrooper in Vietnam and an FBI agent-provocateur who became a Zionist and converted to Judaism and emigrated to Israel to murder Arabs. In 1980 this fascist killer was justly dispatched by a Palestinian militant.) Against the pitiful liberalism of the Marcyite front group PAM—whose signs read "Say no to Kahane" and who tried unsuccessfully to grab our bullhorn and then appealed to the cops—we

of Palestinian Arabs from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Golan, Gaza and southern Lebanon as well as the 600,000 Arabs who are Israeli citizens, Kahane's armed thugs, often Jews from the U.S., have terrorized Arab communities and schools. The fascist Kach party has grown rapidly in a country where sadistic police, troops and fanatical "settlers" armed to the teeth get their Gestapo-like kicks humiliating, beating and killing Arab men, women and children.

united mobilization against Kahane of Arab, Jewish, black, leftist and other opponents of his genocidal terror? *Nationalism*. The nationalism of both liberal Zionist and Arab student organizations has stood in the way of giving Kahane the Um el Fahm treatment he so richly deserves to get here at State. At an October 14 meeting called by the General Union of Palestinian Students, a vote was taken to exclude the Jewish Student Action Committee (JSAC) from the planned anti-Kahane protest. Protest organizers pay lip service to "the spirit of Um el Fahm." If they had been at Um el Fahm on 29 August 1984, would they have told Jewish anti-Kahane protesters to go home?! Kahane benefits from this division.

But while the Palestinian students put forward the nationalism of a terribly oppressed and desperate people, the liberal Zionists echo the nationalism of the oppressor. JSAC wants to protest Kahane. At the same time it takes pains to put itself forward as the "true" defender of Zionism. But despite JSAC's protestations to the contrary, Kahane expresses in fascist form the Zionist *consensus* for massive state terror against the Palestinian people. From Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan to Begin, Sharon and Peres—from Deir Yassin 1948 to Sabra/Shatila 1982 and Tunis 1985—Israel has been based on robbing the Palestinians' birthright through state terrorism. Even the most "leftist" of the pioneer Zionists carried out the exclusion, dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinians in line with the slogan, "conquest of land, conquest of labor." The "Labor" and Likud war criminals are following in their footsteps.

Doing its best, as always, to fan the flames of other people's suicidal nationalism is the Workers World Party (WWP), better known in the guises of its myriad front groups (People's Antiwar Mobilization, All-Peoples Congress, etc.). Of course the Marcyites of the WWP are the most gung-ho armchair *fedayeen* (Arab commandos). They not only promiscuously embrace infinite varieties of nationalism; they revel in its genocidal logic, endorsing even indiscriminate acts of terror against innocent civilians. But the bottom line for these "Third World" cheerleaders *par excellence* is: "Uncle Sam to the rescue." When Israel launched its *blitzkrieg* into Lebanon in 1982, the WWP organized a protest which called for "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal." Well, Reagan gave the Marcyites effective U.S. action with the sending of the Marines and the disarming and evacuation of the PLO fighters. The direct result: the Sabra/Shatila bloodbath directed by mass murderer Ariel Sharon.

The Arab/Israeli conflict is the product of the historic interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory. The Zionist state was created by their forcible separation through the national expropriation of the Palestinians. There is no just, democratic solution under capitalism to the claims of both the Hebrew-speaking people and the dispossessed Palestinian people for the right of self-determination. This can be achieved only through a binational Palestine in a socialist federation of the Near East.\* The urgent need is for an internationalist workers party, a Trotskyist party, to lead the way forward to peace and national justice for all the peoples of the Near East.

**'KAHANE OFF CAMPUS!'**

\*(For an in-depth presentation of the Trotskyist analysis and program on this question, see "Near East Tangle," *Spartacist* No. 35, Autumn 1983.)

Spartacus Youth League  
27 October 1985



October 28: SL contingent at demonstration protesting Kahane outside St. Francis Hotel in SF. —

counterposed our revolutionary strategy for the genuine realization of the right to self-determination for both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East.

## SYL Leaflet

The fascistic, murderous Meir Kahane's scheduled appearance at SFSU on October 28 is an outrage and a provocation against the Palestinian victims of genocidal terror and against all enemies of racism. Kahane should be driven off campus by a united action of Arab, Jewish, black, leftist and other opponents of racism and fascist terror. He should get the same treatment here that he got on 29 August 1984 in Israel, when 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters drove him out of the Arab village of Um el Fahm.

Kahane had declared he would march on Um el Fahm to "register" Arabs for deportation, ranting that the town had "no right to exist," because "there are no Arab towns, only Jewish towns occupied by Arabs." Deliberately modeling himself on Hitler, Kahane seeks to spearhead the "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem"—genocide. Stop Kahane!

Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi who for years tried to pass as a gentile, "Michael King," became notorious in the U.S. for building the ultraright terrorist Jewish Defense League, which attacked black militants, Arabs and leftists, and bombed Soviet diplomatic offices. He wanted to be a full-fledged fascist in the U.S., but he had a problem: fascist movements in America not only centrally target blacks, as well as going after other minorities, leftists and unionists, but they also seek to kill Jews. This was again demonstrated recently by the fascists' machine-gun murder of a Jewish talk-show host in Denver, and by the recent bombing of a synagogue and a rabbi's home (as well as the Humanist Party's office) here in SF with the same type of bomb used [against] an Ethnic Studies class at SFSU.

So Kahane emigrated to Israel, where he built a *bona fide* fascist cult called the Kach party, and got elected to the Knesset (parliament). Openly campaigning for the expulsion and genocide

As the noted Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak, a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, stated in an interview with the Spartacist League's newspaper *Workers Vanguard* (12 October 1984): "Israeli Jewish society is being more polarized and about half of it is being rapidly Nazified. The more the U.S.A. supports Israel, the greater and more rapid will that Nazification be." The Zionist Hitlerite Kahane represents not only a broadly supported genocidal campaign but the fact that ultraright Zionism, which is increasingly becoming "respectable" in Israel, is fueled by cadres and money from the U.S.

We solidarize with the Palestinian youth under the Israeli boot who are fighting back. They need a Marxist leadership, a Trotskyist party, to point the way to liberation through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Not only is Zionist Israel based on denying the Palestinians their birthright, but it is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. If they are to have a future, the Hebrew workers must be broken from their Zionist rulers and exploiters and won to the cause of Palestinian national justice. The anti-Kahane protest at Um el Fahm, a rare demonstration of Arab-Jewish unity, shows the real potential for a binational revolutionary party dedicated to the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking people within a socialist federation of the Near East.

Liberal protest organizers "concerned" for Kahane's "free speech" have refused to call for driving Kahane off campus. "Free speech" is a red herring here. The issue is self-defense against fascist terrorists and organizers for genocide. At the same time it is suicidal to call on the capitalist SFSU administration to "ban" Kahane. The bourgeois state and its minions cannot be "pressured" into becoming "friends of the oppressed." This is the same administration that "banned" the revolutionary Marxist Spartacus Youth League, and which would be only too happy to have a pretext and "precedent" for going after Arab student militants, other politically active foreign students, black activists and leftists.

What has sabotaged the necessary



Der Spiegel

Meir Kahane, fascist ayatollah of Israel.

## California Labor: Stop the Scabs, Stop Scab Goods!

# Watsonville Cannery Strikers Determined to Win

WATSONVILLE, California—For ten weeks of bitter class struggle some 2,000 striking Teamster Local 912 frozen food workers have stood their ground against the bosses of Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw, the arrogant rulers of this company town. Neither the backstabbing union misleaders nor the scabherding capitalists, their brutal cops and injunction-waving courts have broken the militancy of the mainly Mexican women strikers. At mass meetings workers have elected their own strike committee; two weeks ago they jeered and voted down Watsonville Canning's "final offer" of a 25 percent cut in base wages by an overwhelming margin of 800 to 1! But the companies hope to defeat this strike by holding out until mid-December, when the broccoli season winds down and many workers return to Mexico until production starts up again in early spring. The bosses must be brought to their knees *now*—and labor is gonna have to play hardball to win.

On November 12 a busload of scabs was surprised at the South Valley Shopping Center in Gilroy. "Flying pickets" reportedly arrived in five or six vans, and the strikebreakers were apparently badly routed (*San Francisco Examiner*, 12 November). The courageous strikers have galvanized support from working people: weekend rallies in Watsonville have repeatedly drawn several thousand people from the Mexican community, local campuses, and significantly from the labor movement in the Bay Area (two hours drive away). Union leaders from Cesar Chavez of the Farmworkers to the ILWU's Curtis McClain have felt compelled to posture as supporters of the strike. But meanwhile unionized farm workers continue to harvest the vegetables, and heavily unionized railroad workers, warehousemen, drivers and grocery workers transport and handle the produce—while the strikers are left to man the picket lines by themselves. In Watsonville five other unionized canneries are working!

Decisive labor action now can win this struggle! Spread the strike—shut down all the canneries! Weekend parades won't stop the scabs—for mass picket lines at the plant gates! For labor solidarity—let the scab produce rot! A few truckloads or boxcars of broccoli dumped on the roadside will win this strike a lot faster than all the hot air "solidarity" messages of union fakers put together.

Output of frozen broccoli, the plants' basic product, has been reportedly cut by up to 60 or 70 percent (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 October). But the com-



Militant strikers and supporters march through Watsonville, November 3.

panies are now recruiting scabs all over, first and foremost in Watsonville itself. Turn the strikebreaking court injunctions "ordering" token picket lines into worthless scraps of paper! Bay Area labor—Teamsters who've had it with takeaways and union-busting, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Farmworkers, Machinists, Molders—must flood Watsonville to *shut the canneries tight*. Remember the 1934 San Francisco general strike and the 1946 Oakland general strike! The unions in this area were built by class struggle—not by playing according to the bosses' rules.

Real solidarity is on the picket lines, not in Sunday sermons. As striker Gloria Bettencourt told *WV*, "A weekend march does nothing, because the plants are closed then. They should come during the week." Bettencourt is a member of the Strikers' Committee that 500 strikers, fed up with the sabotage of Local 912 bureaucrats, elected at an October 15 assembly. The cops are trying to railroad her husband, Amador, a striker, picking him out of a crowd of 50 strikers and charging him with throwing a Molotov cocktail at a scab bus. He has been held in jail for one month with bail set at \$250,000. Free Amador Bettencourt!

### Strike Together and Win!

Liberal union misleader Cesar Chavez promises victory by urging people to withdraw their money from Wells Fargo, the bank apparently used by the struck companies. Such consumer boycott strategies—based on applying "moral pressure" to the bosses—are totally impotent. It didn't save striking air traffic controllers their union or their jobs, and it won't win here either, where the big California-based banks, the growers and cannery operators are all tied in together. Chavez's Farmworkers ought to be *striking alongside* their sisters and brothers in the canneries. And railroad workers must stop the freight cars from the struck plants that carry scab produce bound for big national supermarket chains. Flying pickets linked up with Teamster and ILWU workers must keep this scab trash out of the warehouses. Retail Clerks must block it from getting onto the shelves. That's the only "solidarity" worthy of the name—the kind that *wins strikes*.

The Teamster tops kept all seven Watsonville canneries working without a contract for three months. All but Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw are still working. At three com-

panies sellout contracts were "ratified" without union meetings called to discuss them: Smucker's and Crosetti's are to have a two-tier wage scale with \$1.50 less an hour for new hires, takeaways in health benefits and a pay freeze. Rip up the contracts—all the canneries must join the strike!

Workers told *WV* that at the beginning of the strike a group of women put forward a resolution for a "general strike of all the canneries." Teamster officials blustered that this would be "illegal." The strikers reportedly asked why they had to toe the line drawn by the bosses, "since the companies do illegal things all the time." As Gloria Bettencourt told us:

"That's the only way we'll win: by everyone going out on strike. The other companies are helping the struck bosses—like Crosetti's is helping Watsonville Canning fulfill its deals with broccoli growers. Boxes marked 'Crosetti' and 'Watsonville Canning' go in on the same trailers."

The strikers want to fight and win. At the October 28 mass meeting where they overwhelmingly rejected Watsonville Canning's ultimatum, workers stood in line to snatch up 500 copies of a Spartacist leaflet in Spanish; a number came back to ask for stacks to give out themselves. Many unionists emphatically agreed with our calls for militant, mass labor action to win the strike. Sales at the contract vote and at solidarity rallies the following weekends raised the number of Watsonville subscribers to our press to more than 70 (overwhelmingly to Spanish-language *Spartacist*).

### Labor Wars in the Fields

Our program of class struggle is drawn from the militant traditions of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and early Communist Party, which fought against racism and for the principles of industrial unionism and independence from the capitalist state. It was the reds who did the first real organizing of California farm and cannery workers, long spurned by the imperialist-bribed labor lieutenants of capital like Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor. While Gompers spurred on the murderous anti-Asian racism that led to pogroms and expulsion of Chinese workers from agriculture and mining in California, the IWW advocated "direct action" by the masses of all races and both sexes, and it practiced the solidarity it preached. The IWW fought tooth and nail against the bosses' racist "divide and rule" tactics by organizing on both sides of the border against the

racist union-busters.

In the early 1930s the Communist Party organized the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), which led a series of militant strikes and organizing drives. The CAWIU embraced farm workers, cannery workers and packing shed workers in a single industrial union to wage class struggle against the bosses. And it was a far cry from the pacifism of people like Chavez. In 1933 when vigilantes shot three workers to death and the National Guard rounded up Mexican, Filipino, black and white cotton strikers in the San Joaquin Valley, the CAWIU demanded: "Disarm the rich farmer or arm the worker for self-defense!" (This history of California farm labor organizing, from the 1870s to WWII, is covered in Cletus E. Daniel's *Bitter Harvest* [1981].)

The pioneer efforts to organize militant industrial unions of agricultural workers were defeated by bloody repression. The Stalinist CP long ago went the way of reformism, of the "popular front" with the anti-labor Democrats, while today's union leaders like Chavez try to pretend the old days of class struggle are over. They rely on liberal Democrats and government bodies like the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (controlled by California governor Deukmejian and his growers) in a futile effort to keep the bosses in line. But it won't work: in Watsonville today the bosses' press smears the strikers with charges of "arson" and "violence." The cops carry out mass arrests of strikers and student supporters, while winking at scabs who brandish firearms, knives and clubs.

From the Chinese Exclusion Act to the murder of farm strikers by vigilante mobs in the '30s, to the incarceration of Japanese American farmers, to the racist "bracero" programs and "migra" raids of today, the history of California agribusiness is a history of racist crimes against working people. The Spartacist League demands: Full citizenship and union rights for foreign-born workers! This means a struggle against the union bureaucracy, which pushes racist "Buy American" protectionism and refuses to lift a finger against racist "migra" raids. (Chavez has actually called on the hated INS in the past to "stop illegal aliens" being imported as scabs.)

Watsonville strikers told *WV* they had to fight just to get union materials translated into Spanish; at one point Teamster officials ruled this "out of order" because "this is the United States." The bureaucrats have also been content to allow the segregation of women workers in the lowest-paid job titles. Women cannery workers getting a taste of power through class struggle are demanding an end to discrimination. Free, company-paid childcare available 24 hours a day is also a burning need for these workers, many of whom have young children.

It is only by mobilizing the full power of the working class and *all the oppressed* against the employers and their strikebreakers that the bosses' attacks can be smashed. Screw the bosses' laws! For mass picket lines! Hot cargo scab goods! Victory to the cannery strikers! ■



Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

Communist-led farm workers in California during 1933 cotton strike.

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# Spartacist Election Rally: We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

The New York City Spartacist Party election campaign culminated in a spirited rally Saturday, November 2 at Borough of Manhattan Community College. In addition to speeches from the candidates, the BMCC event highlighted Spartacist campaigns of concrete internationalist solidarity, in defense of embattled Nicaragua and supporting the bitter year-long British miners strike. A slide show depicting important class battles and our mobilizations against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and fascist terror at home was a big hit. The party-building red rally closed with the singing of the communist anthem, the *Internationale*.

Campaign manager and rally chairman Frank Hicks introduced Alison Spencer of the Spartacus Youth League national committee, who told of the SYL's campaign that raised over \$27,000 in material aid to Nicaragua against the U.S. trade boycott. "It was about this time a year ago when we learned that the youth of Nicaragua were being pulled from the coffee harvest into defense of their revolution from attack by U.S. imperialism and the 'contras,'" Spencer said. "We took this as our signal that it was time to mobilize here in this country."

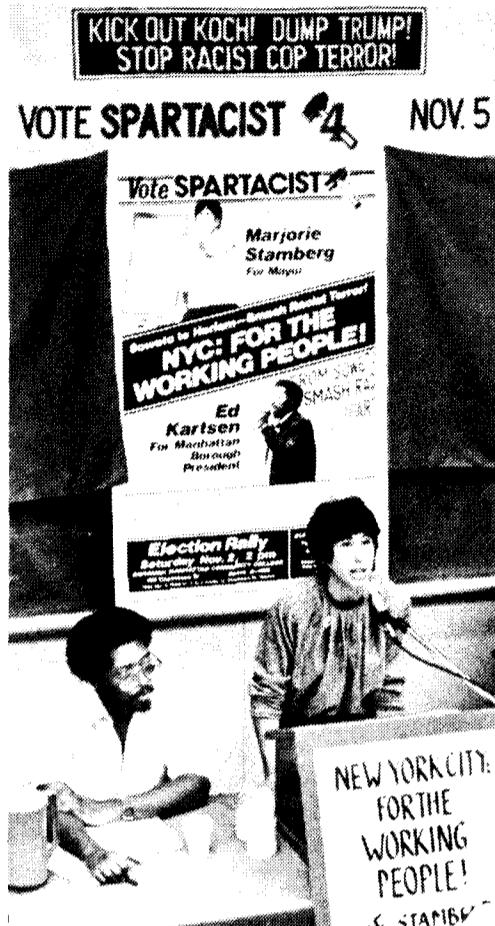
Gene Herson, a 20-year member of the National Maritime Union, recalled the campaign of the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—which raised over \$24,000 to aid striking British miners' families, bringing the significance of that strike to trade unionists throughout the U.S. He displayed a shining brass safety lamp which had been presented to the PDC in New York by the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers. Other lamps, symbols of recognition of the international solidarity rendered to the miners, are in Moscow, in the office of the Soviet mine workers; in Odessa, where many mine strikers' children were invited on holidays; in Sweden, in France, in London, and with the San Francisco Bay Area Spartacist League.

Herson introduced greetings to the rally from Don Hughes, a militant Welsh coal miner and a spokesman of the NUM. Don's telephoned message spoke of the vicious cop violence against the strikers which is now being used against the ghettos of Britain's cities:

"Throughout the 12-month strike, I saw men on picket lines, mine workers trampled underfoot by police horses. I saw police in riot gear wielding truncheons and riot shields against men dressed only in T-shirts, jeans and sneakers. The same thing has happened today in the black areas of some of the cities of my country. But at long last they are giving the cops a little bit of what they gave them over the years, and more power to them. Because there's nothing in the world more vile than racism, and the British cops and the New York cops are equally racist and vile."

Don concluded with fraternal greetings from the National Union of Mineworkers of Great Britain, and from the South Wales NUM. On the same day of the New York City rally, Brother Herson added, Don Hughes was marching in the streets of London together with the Spartacist League and other miners protesting the apartheid regime in South Africa.

A high point of the rally was the slide show presented by *Workers Vanguard*



Ed Kartsen and Marjorie Stamberg (above) wind up Spartacist campaign with rousing red rally at BMCC, November 2.



WV Photos

labor reporter Mark Lance. Beginning with pictures of November 27, 1982, when a Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped the KKK lynchers from marching in the streets of Washington, D.C., he commented, "for us, it was a little taste of workers power." One shot showed Stearns, Kentucky coal miners with a sign proclaiming that scabbing is dangerous to the health; another showed Morenci, Arizona copper miners with the same slogan. The link was *WV* and our "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" supplement, distributed in more than 100,000 copies to militant workers throughout the country.

We reprint below edited excerpts from the speeches by Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg for NYC mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president.

**Kartsen:** Reagan's America is becoming increasingly racially polarized, as I think everyone in this room knows, and the murder of the eleven MOVE members, including five children, in Philly marked this polarization. The black mayor, Democratic Party lackey who performed this massacre, atrocity, racist murder, is being ridiculed even by more or less standard Democratic politicians. Wilson Goode nationally symbolizes what Reagan expects from every mayor throughout this country. In order to defend this system, you need Philadelphia. And in New York City, Koch is Reagan's man to defend capitalist law and order.

Koch is fully aware, of course, that according to all the estimates half of the black and Hispanic youth in the city are unemployed. He knows that there are people who are going to live in the subways, in the tunnels, many of whom are going to freeze to death this winter. Koch knows that industrial workers in

this city are increasingly facing wage freezes and wage cuts, disintegration of union conditions and job conditions across the board. Koch knows that social services are disintegrating. Koch is on a campaign to make Manhattan safe for multibillionaires, or millionaires, which is what you need to get an apartment.

In order to conduct this war, he also needs his army of killer cops. Murderers such as Sullivan and the eleven cops that kicked to death Michael Stewart are mobilizing day in and day out in the courtrooms in order to enforce Koch's racist license to kill. And they're getting away with it. Koch has of course got the media behind him, and in fact the *New York Times* went so far as to criticize the Spartacist League for making the issue of cop terror a central focus of its campaign. The Wednesday issue of the *New York Times* stated as much, that we "play up" this issue. Well, black people are justifiably outraged at the acceptance of racist murder as the normal way things are supposed to run. Even Koch's extensive campaign hasn't stopped an increasing wave of rage at that racist pig Koch—a term and a headline that we're very proud of.

Black Democrats can only promise they will not turn into the kind of monster that Wilson Goode is. But no matter how militant sounding, dynamic, articulate these black politicians may sound, their link to the Democratic Party takes all of the forcefulness out of what they propose to do. At the Eleanor Bumpurs memorial meeting this past Tuesday, angry black people including Mary Bumpurs were offered adherence to "proper police procedure" by Vernon Mason. Well, "proper" police procedure is, of course, what was used to justify the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs. And "police procedure" is used in order to justify every instance of cop terror against minorities and union members

day in and day out.

As far as we are concerned the only proper procedure under these conditions of mass cop brutality—from the stun gun torturers in Queens to the drunken cops who are marauding the streets of Manhattan—is to organize mass defense squads of responsible working men and women, linked to community organizations and unions, exercising their right of armed self-defense. We demand vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs, for Michael Stewart and Edmund Perry. We're running in the New York City elections in order to build a working-class party that will mobilize minorities and the mass political power of the working class in order to stop Ku Klux Klan and Nazi terror, both in and out of blue uniforms.

## New York City: For the Working People!

Koch's black Democratic Party lackeys like Dinkins, who is my major opponent for borough of Manhattan president, did nothing more than cover for Koch when he called Farrakhan a racist. He's covering for Koch's mass racist terror. But Farrakhan by supporting Hitlerism is incapable of leading black people anywhere but to race war, which is a dead end. Hitler used Jews as scapegoats, just as the intention is here to use Jews as scapegoats. Metzger of the Ku Klux Klan makes that clear when he says Jews and blacks are the enemy. So Farrakhan preaches that Jews and whites are the enemy. The flames of anti-Semitism are being fanned in order to divert class struggle against the capitalist system of exploitation. Our slogan is "New York City: For the Working People!"

It is defense of the profit system internationally that is motivating Reagan to do everything in his power to launch a war against Nicaragua. Reagan

*continued on page 10*

# Summit...

(continued from page 1)

1917—the same goal that the U.S. and 15 other imperialist powers had when they invaded Russia to crush the early Soviet state in the egg, the same goal Adolf Hitler had when he launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union in 1941.

Remember that last year Reagan “joked” on an accidentally open mike: “My fellow Americans, I’m pleased to tell you today that I’ve signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.” Oddly enough, the Europeans were not at all amused, and Reagan’s fellow Americans also can kiss their asses good-bye should he ever go over the edge and launch a first strike. Of course, Reagan & Co. don’t sit around planning when to push the button. Both they and the Democrats want to get global counter-revolution on the cheap by financing their “contra” international. But these “free world” terrorists can lead to a head-on military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

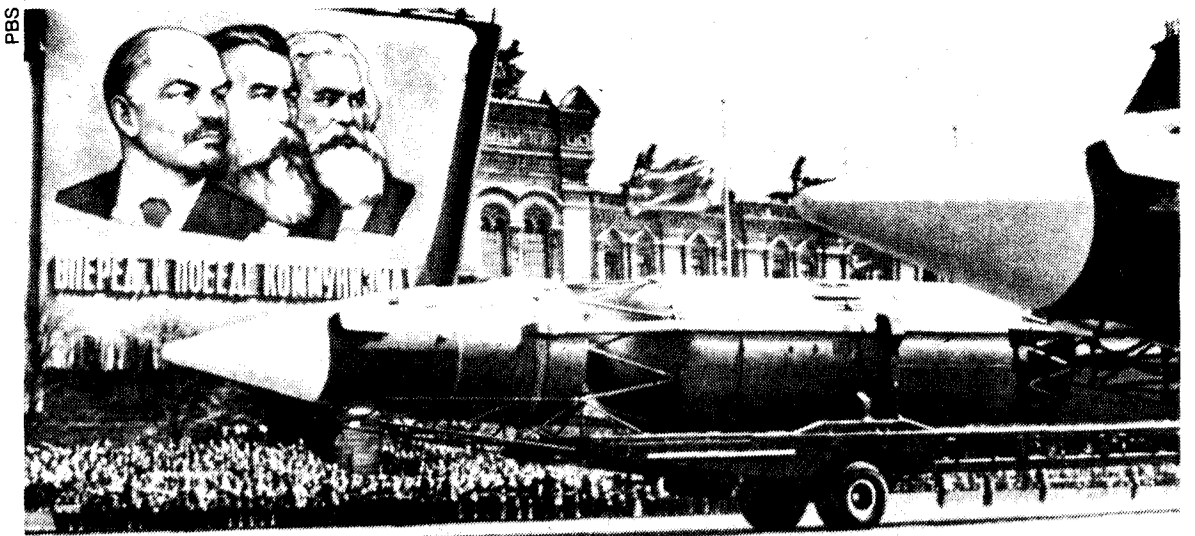
The U.S. imperialists believe that if they continue to escalate an all-out arms race, economic warfare, confrontations and provocations in the colonial and neocolonial “Third World,” if they keep trying to slam the Kremlin up against the wall in a game of nuclear chicken the Russians will finally crack under pressure and the U.S. will prevail. Don’t bet on it. Hitler applied rather more pressure on the Soviet Union and look what happened to him! American militarism will not cow the Soviet people or even the bureaucrats in Moscow, who are very conciliatory indeed.

Despite bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the remaining gains and



Wohl/Sygma

The “workers’ bomb”: Soviet military parade in Moscow.



powerful example of the October Revolution—whose 68th anniversary we commemorate this month—are the main obstacle to world capitalist domination and exploitation. Crudely put—no Russia, then no Cuba, no Vietnam: these anti-capitalist upheavals and the resulting deformed workers states would have been reduced to irradiated rubble were it not for the military/industrial powerhouse of the Soviet Union. The vision of a communist future, toward which the first great step was taken in Russia in 1917, continues to inspire the working masses and oppressed peoples the world over. That future—the only alternative to barbarism or worse—depends in the most urgent and literal sense on defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialist attack.

Since Reagan does not dare to actually begin bombing Russia in five minutes, U.S. imperialism has focused its attacks on the periphery of Soviet power and influence. During Cold War I this was called the strategy of “rollback.” Thus, the day after the Soviet foreign minister recently reiterat-

ed to the United Nations a proposal to reduce long-range nuclear missiles by 40 percent, Reagan called for global counter-revolution. He singled out five countries—Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola and Nicaragua—claiming they are cases of “Marxism-Leninism’s war with the people” (*New York Times*, 25 October). Except for the Moscow-allied military dictatorship in Ethiopia, each of these are arenas of armed struggle for the social emancipation of the workers and oppressed, struggles for national liberation and survival. For the U.S., they are, most importantly, places to fight a proxy war against the Russians.

## From Détente to Star Wars

In previous summit meetings, U.S. presidents have made at least a show of pretending to seek some agreement with the USSR. But there will be no “spirit of Camp David” in Geneva. Reagan has demanded unconditional surrender on all fronts. In his *Time* interview, Gorbachev stated, “It appears that even the slightest headway depends exclusively upon concessions by the Soviet Union, concessions on all questions—on armaments, on regional problems and even on our own domestic affairs.”

Why then go to Geneva at all just to listen to Reagan’s anti-Communist ravings? Because the Soviet bureaucracy hopes and believes that things can be different. They look back with longing to the Brezhnev-Nixon summits and the “détente” period of the early 1970s as a golden era of U.S.-Soviet collaboration second only to the alliance with Roosevelt and Churchill during World War II. (Reagan’s trip to Bitburg gives more than a clue about what side the U.S. ruling class would choose now.) In particular, the Kremlin tops hold up as a model of arms control the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) and Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) negotiated in 1972.

But the short-lived détente of the early ’70s was a result of the severe

weakening of U.S. imperialism—militarily, economically and politically—at the hands of the victorious Vietnamese Revolution. ABM and SALT I were negotiated at the same time that Moscow was pressuring North Vietnam to sign the Paris “Peace” Accords. Architect of mass murder in Vietnam and of détente Henry Kissinger called this “linkage”: in the Paris Accords the North Vietnamese agreed to a ceasefire-in-place in exchange for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In his memoirs Kissinger makes clear that had Moscow not helped the U.S. secure an “honorable settlement” in Vietnam, Nixon & Co. would have torpedoed détente entirely.

The enormous expenditure of the Vietnam War, however, retarded the Pentagon’s development of strategic nuclear weapons and allowed the Soviets to catch up and achieve rough nuclear parity. SALT I was carefully designed to brake the Soviet nuclear buildup while giving U.S. imperialism time to develop more advanced weapons systems. Kissinger explained: “If there had been no agreement, we could have done no more: and we would have been worse off because the Soviets were in a position to add numbers immediately and we were not” (*Economist*, 3 February 1979).

Reagan came to office vowing to achieve military “superiority” over the Soviet Union—i.e., first-strike capability. Pershing 2s were deployed in Western Europe—over a certain amount of popular opposition—just eight minutes flying time to Moscow. The highly accurate MX missile and now, above all, the Star Wars project were rammed through. Even Reagan admitted that Star Wars produced “distrust in the world” because the U.S. rulers “appear to be seeking the potential for a first strike” (*New York Times*, 7 November). No kidding!

“Star Wars” flagrantly violates—and indeed simply rips up—the 1972 ABM treaty, as Gerald Smith, the chief U.S. negotiator of that pact, has flatly stated. A report by the U.S. Congress’ Office of



Reagan’s blood brothers: Nicaraguan contras butcher prisoner (left); Afghan mullahs at home in the White House.

New York Times, 8 October 1985

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## The Editorial Notebook

### The Elusive Lenin

President Reagan was asked the other day if he still thought the Soviet Union was an evil empire. Yes, he told Ted Koppel of ABC, because of things like the downing of a South Korean airliner in Soviet airspace. Moreover, he said, Soviet leaders repeatedly proclaimed their global ambition, which is why “I have often quoted” Lenin’s statement that:

“We will take Eastern Europe. We will organize the hordes of Asia. And then we will move into Latin America and we won’t have to take the United States; it will fall into our outstretched hands like overripe fruit.”

When did Lenin say that? The quote fell like an overripe fruit into a televised discussion that followed Mr. Reagan’s appearance. A Soviet official, Georgi Arbatov, denounced it as

a Nazi invention once exposed by the commentator Alistair Cooke. Mr. Cooke, sitting at hand, seemed to smile in assent.

When later asked for details, Mr. Cooke said he couldn’t recall what, if anything, he had ever broadcast about the quote. He had his own theory: the line might have come to Mr. Reagan from an old movie script. The White House press office wanted to be helpful, but it could not document the quotation either.

At the Library of Congress, researchers found an old folder showing they had been asked several times to check the citation some years ago. It failed to turn up, as promised, in *The Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume X, page 172 — or in any Russian or English edition of the works. Also in the

folder was a clipping from *The Chicago Daily News*, dated Dec. 8, 1958, describing the quote as a fake but giving no source.

Just then, an indirect reference to the same idea turned up in a new book on South Africa by our colleague Joseph Lelyveld. He wrote that he heard

### Where Ronald Reagan Read of the Plot To Conquer America

the same language attributed to Lenin by right-wing generals in Pretoria. He said that they apparently learned it from a book called “None Dare Call It Conspiracy,” published in Rossmoor, Calif., in 1971 and avidly read by members of the John Birch Society.

Thus prompted, I finally found what seems to have been President Reagan’s source: “The Blue Book of the John Birch Society,” compiled in 1958 by Robert Welch. On page 10, his book says:

“Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had laid down for his followers the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, farseeing, realistic and majestically simple. It has been paraphrased and summarized as follows: ‘First, we will take Eastern Europe. Next, the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle the last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit into our hands.’”

So there it is: an undocumentable Birchite “paraphrase” offered “often” as a live quotation by a President of the United States.

KARL E. MEYER

# Try the Traitors Sakharov!

## Why Let Bonner Go?

Dripping with "human rights" hypocrisy, U.S. secretary of state George Shultz gloated over the Soviet Union's recent announcement that Yelena Bonner, wife of "dissident" Andrei Sakharov, will be permitted to go abroad allegedly for medical treatment. Gloating is surely the order of the day for the U.S. imperialists and media jackals who have mounted a frenzied years-long "Free Sakharov" campaign, trying every ploy in the book to pressure the Russians, even at one point retailing the "disinformation" that Sakharov was dead. Bonner and Sakharov, the father of the Soviet H-bomb, are *traitors* to the Soviet peoples. They are avid advocates of American nuclear weapons expansion who eagerly sought to pass information to the U.S. embassy and Western "correspondents." We ask: *Why are the Russians playing Reagan's game?*

Sakharov and Bonner are a far cry from the usual Soviet "dissidents" as presented in the U.S. press—a downtrodden intellectual shivering in a pathetic unheated cubicle, listening for the footsteps of the GPU while fondly recalling the days of the tsar. Sakharov is a top Soviet physicist who has openly called for U.S. imperialism to develop first-strike nuclear capacity: in the Summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Sakharov came out for the MX missile and U.S. deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe. "This is concrete aid to the enemy," we observed in our article "Try the Traitors Sakha-

Yelena Bonner and Sakharov—traitors.



rov!" (*WV* No. 356, 8 June 1984).

*Izvestia* had earlier warned that "new provocations are expected of him and not for free, of course. A traitor is a traitor precisely because he sells himself out." The Soviet government organ charged that Sakharov had "repeatedly blabbed about things that any state protects as important secrets" during numerous "intensive unofficial meetings" with U.S. diplomats and correspondents (*New York Times*, 24 January 1980). And it's no secret who most U.S. "correspondents" in Russia are really corresponding with!

When Sakharov was banished to Gorky, Bonner remained in Moscow, frequently in the company of Western journalists. Last year she was caught plotting with the U.S. embassy: after letters from Bonner to the American ambassador were discovered, the U.S. was forced to admit that the plan was for

Bonner to get "asylum" at the embassy concurrent with Sakharov's latest hunger strike. She was then sent to join her husband in Gorky, under circumstances which correspond not at all to the *gulag* nightmare portrayed in the Western "free press." Gorky, though off limits to foreigners, is no Siberian tundra but a thriving city of one million. The Sakharovs have a four-room apartment, and his membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences secures them access to all the special stores that make life nice for the bureaucracy.

The stultifying repression of Soviet intellectual life is a continuing legacy of the usurpation of political power by a conservative bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin which smashed workers democracy, physically liquidating the Old Bolsheviks, to embrace counter-revolutionary and anti-internationalist policies. We adamantly oppose state

persecution of citizens for purely ideological "crimes"; the parasitic bureaucracy which perverts and disorganizes the economy and demoralizes the working class is a far greater internal danger to the remaining gains of the revolution than the repulsive pro-imperialist "dissidents." But Sakharov and Bonner are a very different case.

TASS, the Soviet news agency, put the matter succinctly:

"It has been repeatedly pointed out in the Soviet press that, by virtue of his scientific activity, Sakharov is a person possessing important state and military secrets. For this reason and in the interests of national security, he is deprived of the possibility to go abroad."

As intransigent defenders of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism, we denounce the Kremlin's decision to let Bonner flee into the waiting arms of the atom-bombers of Hiroshima. This piece of détente diplomacy is a deadly dangerous "gesture" of appeasement to the nuclear madmen in Washington who see every act of Russian "reasonableness" as a confession of Soviet weakness and a proof that America uniquely possesses the will to prevail. The truly evil creatures lurking in Langley must be lining up already to beat a path to Bonner's hospital bed.

Last year *WV* made a modest proposal: "Since the Reaganites claim their only concern is 'humanitarian' and not strategic-military, the Kremlin might suggest a simple trade of 'aging' scientists: Sakharov in exchange for Edward Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb and now a prime mover of Reagan's plans for the 'Star Wars' program to annihilate the Soviets from space." Here's another: Bonner comes to the U.S. and in exchange Nancy Reagan goes to Afghanistan—where the CIA is instrumental in running much of the world narcotics network—to carry on her battle against drug abuse. ■

Technology Assessment understated the obvious: "A strategic defense which could assure the survival of all or nearly all U.S. cities in the face of unconstrained Soviet nuclear offensive forces does not appear feasible." But the real aim of Star Wars is to protect U.S. land-based missiles, reducing the effectiveness of a Soviet retaliation to a U.S. *first strike*. Responding to this latest massive provocation, Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the general staff of USSR armed forces, warned the American people that "Washington underestimates the potential of the Soviet Union."

### Proletarian Revolution: The Road to Peace

At bottom the Cold War, including the resurgent arms race, is a *class war*, a war which began in 1917 between world capitalism and the state issuing out of the Bolshevik Revolution. This imperialist war, alternating hot and cold, against the Soviet workers state exacts a horrible toll on the economy and masses of the Soviet Union, and in America where the victims of race-terror, unemployment and social decay are supposed to find anti-Sovietism their opiate. Yet the so-called socialist left in this country and internationally *denies* the anti-Soviet war drive is at the root of Reagan's militarism and shamelessly ducks or eschews defense of the Soviet Union. These would-be leaders of a movement for "peace and disarmament" in fact support or adapt to imperialist anti-Sovietism.

In the liberal imperialist, pro-Democratic Party "solidarity" milieu—whether it's over the Near East, South Africa or Central America—various rad-libs and reformists try to ignore the Soviet Union, pretending that U.S. militarism is mainly concerned

about Third World nationalist regimes and movements. Archetypal is Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party, dyed-in-the-wool parliamentary cretins who occasionally don Fidelista or Sandinista fatigues for some vicarious guerrillaist cheerleading. You can read pages of SWP paeans to the ever-upward "radicalization" and "freedom movements" from South Africa to the Caribbean (e.g., *Militant*, 13 September) without a single mention of the Soviet Union as a serious factor in world events, much less the *main target* of U.S. imperialism's war drive.

No one outside the blinkered popular-front "progressive" milieu can take such willful blindness seriously. Who is gullible enough to believe that all the MXs, Pershing 2s, cruise missiles, etc. are directed at Managua, not Moscow? Who would buy the line that it was a threat to imperialist profits or imperialist domination of the Caribbean that led Washington to launch a flotilla against the tiny island of Grenada? Yet when the Spartacist League raises slogans like "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America," the pop-fronters go berserk, resorting to thug violence and even calling the capitalist cops against the reds. Why? *Because denying the relevance of the Russian question is the key to their hoped-for political bloc with the Democrats.*

The once-Trotskyist SWP has now become openly and explicitly anti-Trotskyist, though still remaining marginally in the more-divided-than-ever "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," led by Ernest Mandel. Mandel's USec still maintains a hollow pretense of identification with Trotskyist tradition, but the last thing they want is Leon Trotsky's uncompromising defense of the Soviet Union against



Peter Turnley

### Soviet leader Gorbachev with French president Mitterrand in Paris.

imperialism. Trotsky and American SWP leader James P. Cannon fought a bitter faction fight against a petty-bourgeois opposition which refused to defend the USSR in the midst of a liberal outcry over the Soviet invasion of Finland in 1940. Yet today in nationalist- and social-democratic-led European disarmament movements, in Central American "solidarity" movements, the Mandelites never mention defense of the Soviet bloc. How do they solve this contradiction? By *explicitly denying that defense of the Soviet Union is posed.*

Writing in the *New Left Review* (September-October 1983), Mandel supports the East German "peace" movement which calls for the disarmament of this (bureaucratically deformed) workers state. The task is to "prevent world nuclear war," he says, by relying on "the instinct for survival (in the physical sense of the term) in the possessing classes," claiming the latter would never unleash their missiles "on

the altar of abstract ideas or 'absolute principles'" like anti-communism, defense of the market economy or hatred of revolution. The "main danger," he opines, is "foreign interventions against revolutions in progress" in the Third World. In a December 1983 forum in Frankfurt, West Germany this pseudo-Trotskyist was even more explicit in responding to interventions by comrades of the international Spartacist tendency:

"... my organization has predicted since the late '70s—and this prediction has been proven true—that beyond any doubt it is targeted against the colonial revolution. We have stated that a war with the Soviet Union is not now on the agenda."

This latter-day social-democratic Karl Kautsky has an incredible faith in the rationality of the class enemy. The Pershing missiles will not be launched in the next five years, he assures his listeners, because "the American imperialists know that the

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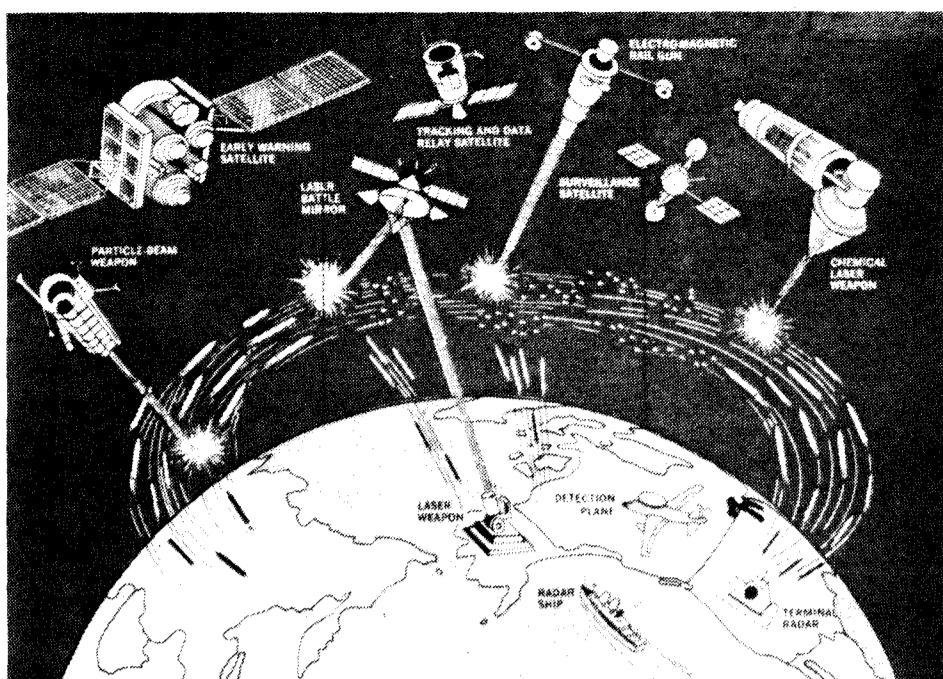
# Summit...

(continued from page 7)

moment they push the button someone in Moscow will push the button too." Thus Mandel assures us that in all the numerous times since World War II the U.S. has seriously posed or threatened use of nuclear weapons against the Soviet bloc—from Vietnam in 1954 to the 1973 Israel-Arab war—the imperialists were simply bluffing.

As for the rationality of the Reagan gang, consider their behavior last month when they hijacked an Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean; after forcing it down at a NATO air base in Sicily, American commando troops tried to seize the plane and for several hours faced off against several hundred Italian troops with guns drawn. If they will do that with allies, what are they capable of against Nicaragua, Cuba or anyone else they consider a "Soviet surrogate"? Not to mention what could happen if today's gung-ho Cold Warriors in Washington ever went eyeball-to-eyeball with the Soviets in the replay of the Cuban missile crisis they have been yearning for all these years.

Inveterate tailists, the Mandelites for the past several years have been following in the wake of West European social



Star Wars: Reagan's first-strike Fantasyland.

Quinan/Washington Post

democracy. In his Frankfurt forum, Mandel accuses the Spartacists of "covering for Stalinist crimes against the working class" in Poland. On the contrary, the Mandelite pseudo-Trotskyists—from their opposition to Soviet intervention against U.S.-financed Islamic feudalists in Afghanistan to Poland, where they sing hosannas

to Reagan's and the pope's favorite "union"—end up four-square in the imperialist camp.

And what of the Moscow-loyal Stalinist Communist Party? The CPUSA has ducked every important issue posing defense of the Soviet Union, from Afghanistan to Poland to KAL 007. Now general secretary Gus Hall asks

retorically, "Can the Reagan administration policy of putting profits before peace be turned into a policy of peace without corporate profits?" Yes, says Hall, through "mass protests and public demonstrations across our land.... The people and Congress can force Reagan to meet Gorbachev halfway at the Summit in November" (*Daily World*, 24 October). Hall's faith in the "contra Congress"—which has tried to out-Reagan Reagan in support to Nicaraguan mercenaries—is consistent with the CP's historic policy of groveling before the Democrats.

Whether it's Stalinist-style class collaboration with a non-existent "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie or flagrant anti-Sovietism masquerading as Trotskyism, none of these ostensible socialists offer a road to peace. The most vital task for the peoples of the world today is irreconcilable class struggle leading toward workers revolution against the despots, dictators and imperialist mass murderers who are on a course leading to the annihilation of the planet. Central to defeating this murderous "unholy alliance" is the forging of an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, dedicated in words and deeds to defense of the gains and heritage of the October Revolution against Reagan's hoped-for American Reich. ■

# Defectors...

(continued from page 1)

from the beginning it was "too good to be true"—the KGB's supposed No. 2 man for North American operations going over to the West for political reasons. But especially with the ongoing secretaries scandal in Bonn and the "Walker affair" of Navy non-coms allegedly selling the Pentagon's deepest secrets for a few bucks, most took Yurchenko as good coin. He represents "the Macleans and Philbys of 50 years ago," said analyst Andrew. The British intelligence apparatus is still smarting over the fact that Kim Philby, their head of anti-Soviet ops during the postwar years, was a KGB "mole."

Over at Foggy Bottom, the State Department wasn't having much better luck than the bumbling vicarious cowboys in William Casey's CIA. Take the case of Aleksandr Sukhanov, a private in the Soviet army in Afghanistan who wandered into the U.S. embassy in Kabul. Despite inducements from the embassy staff, which in a "nonintimidating atmosphere" (i.e., locked up in solitary with the CIA) attempted to convince him to defect, Sukhanov was only interested in returning to the USSR. That he was not secreted away in a diplomatic pouch probably had something to do with the fact that Afghan troops surrounded the embassy and cut off all utilities.

The Kabul non-defection coincided with a three-part series in the *New York*

*Times* salivating over lurid tales of Soviet soldiers defecting to the bloodthirsty *mujaheddin*. (They came up with a handful, out of the several hundred thousand Soviet troops who have served in Afghanistan.) The *Times* mentioned in passing that there were not more defections because the Islamic feudalists routinely scalp or slit the throats of captured Soviet soldiers. And it alluded to the fact that the CIA's Afghan "freedom fighters" are major sources for international drug trafficking, supplanting the Company's former Laotian poppy fields.

While the Reagan administration was trying to get over Private Sukhanov's refusal to take the anti-Soviet plunge, a Ukrainian sailor jumped ship near New Orleans. Here was a chance to recoup, thought Washington—only local officials didn't seem to catch on. Seaman Miroslav Medved, described by a government-hired psychiatrist as an impulsive lad "grabbing for the glitter and gusto," was returned to the *Marshal Konev*. Thereupon Reagan threatened to seize the *Konev* by force and the State Department kidnapped Medved and held him overnight while the Coast Guard surrounded the Soviet ship. But when the seaman still insisted he wanted to go home, he was reluctantly returned.

The ultraright went crazy. A boatload of Ukrainian émigrés approached the *Konev*, yelling, "Defect! Defect!" The crew turned them down, asking instead for beer and pizza. Meanwhile, Senator Jesse Helms subpoenaed the sailor to appear before the Senate Agriculture Committee. ("It's a grain ship, isn't it?"

Soviet seaman Medved (with beard) being seized from freighter by U.S. officials.



Rose/New Orleans Times-Picayune

said Helms.) After unsuccessfully trying to serve the papers for an entire day, they hid them in a carton of cigarettes delivered to the captain as a "gift." A Helms aide commented, "It appears that this is just another sacrifice in cold blood to the black mass of summitry." But on November 9 the ship sailed.

The script for the double defection of Vitaly Yurchenko could have been borrowed from the film *Night Flight from Moscow*. The international incident around Miroslav Medved's "joy swim" reads like a Frederick Forsyth novel. But as bizarre as aspects of the story may be, attempting to detain a Russian ship and holding a Soviet soldier hostage in a U.S. embassy are provocative acts of piracy and war. Imagine what would happen if an American ship were bottled up in Leningrad harbor: Washington would threaten to unleash World War III! Nor is this anything new: the U.S. Navy routinely tries to cripple Soviet subs on the high seas.

An earlier Soviet "defector" who returned to the USSR in 1984—Oleg Bitov, an editor of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*—also said he had been drugged and kidnapped, as did three apparent deserters from the Soviet army in Afghanistan. When Soviet ballet dancer Aleksandr Godunov defected a couple of years ago, Washington held an Aeroflot jet with his wife aboard though she wanted to return. And don't forget the State Department's kidnapping of 12-year-old Walter Polovchak when his

Ukrainian parents decided to return to the Soviet Union after discovering that life in Chicago wasn't all the "free world" was cracked up to be.

It's not that the Americans are always hospitable to KGB defectors, either. Yuri Nosenko, the bugbear of Nixonite *New York Times* columnist William Safire and his hero James Jesus Angleton, was held in solitary for four years while the CIA tried to figure out if he was real. (To this day, former CIA counterespionage chief Angleton claims that the Sino-Soviet split is just a ruse to fool the West.) Perhaps the most telling comment of all, in this spate of defections and redefections, came from a career CIA officer, Harry Rositzke: "I have never seen a political defector in 30 years."

We suspect there were quite a few hearty toasts passed around in the KGB offices at Dzerzhinsky Square in Moscow when their man Vitaly held his D.C. press conference. In Washington, the owner of Au Pied de Cochon announced plans for a new drink, a "Yurchenko shooter," consisting of Stolichnaya vodka and Grand Marnier liqueur. And in Senator Durenberger's "oversight" committee (so-called because of the vast amount of CIA skullduggery they overlook), a bogus leaflet was circulating reporting the defection of CIA director Casey... with "mixed" effects on U.S. intelligence. *The American imperialists are justly victims of their own anti-Soviet hysteria.* ■

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# Healyites Blow Up...

(continued from page 2)

been spread all over the tabloid press for the last week. But by far the most important and interesting developments have been the other charges that the Bandaitees have laid against Healy and implicitly against their own organisation and its entire history.

In "Newsline" and in interviews with the bourgeois press, WRP general secretary Michael Banda has repeated SO's [Socialist Organiser] comments on the WRP—phrase for phrase and sometimes word for word.

Banda has:

1. Denounced Healy's followers such as the Redgraves as people who have the attitude of religious cultists towards their "guru" Healy. We were sued for saying that.

2. Denounced Healy for systematic and routine violence and brutality against members of the organisation. We were sued for saying that.

3. Denounced Healy for using pressure, intimidation and violence to coerce young women comrades into sexual activity with him. We were sued for saying that the organisation "exploited" raw young people.

4. Newsline now denounces the Healy faction for having a morality of "anything goes for the organisation."

5. They challenge the Healy-Redgrave faction to sue them if what they say is not true. "In the days when they dominated the Workers' Revolutionary Party, newspapers, political opponents, trade unionists and individuals who happened to cross them were showered with writs" ("Newsline" 5.11.85). You can say that again!

## Paranoid

6. Banda describes Healy as "a classic case of schizoid paranoia." Classic case or not, he has been publicly paranoid for at least a quarter of a century.

7. Banda denounces Healy's works on dialectical materialism, long the bible on which WRP members were trained, as "an outrageous piece of charlatanism."

8. Banda denounces Healy for justifying the execution of Communist Party members by the vile Ba'athist regime in Iraq. Reports have appeared in one bourgeois paper that militants from Iraq who came to the WRP school were later turned over to the Iraqi regime, which killed them. Banda is quoted as saying that the motive was to get "bags of money."

It is not clear whether this is true or not, though people within the WRP



"The way they were": Vanessa Redgrave, Michael Banda and the Qaddafi connection.

claim to have evidence that at least one person was so denounced to the Iraqi government.

## Explosion

There are also some political shifts by the Bandaitees, adding up to a small move away from the lunacy of Healy and towards a slightly more realistic appreciation of the world they actually live in. It is still too early to assess this, because many things are obviously being said for effect, and the anti-Healy WRP has not settled down politically yet.

The probable reasons for the explosion and its dynamics are now pretty clear also. Healy had agreed to take a back seat or retire, no doubt under pressure, but apparently with the agreement of some who are now his supporters. But Healy is a half-crazy—and sometimes completely crazy—old man, who would not find that congenial.

There may have been political differences or nuances in play, but that would have had no autonomous weight. Healy seems to have been forced to sign a written agreement to retire. But the Political Committee bloc that had pushed for his retirement then began to break up.

Two prominent WRP leaders, Mitchell and Torrance, seem to have changed sides, and perhaps others did too. The Political Committee reversed the decision that Healy would retire. A minority led by Banda revolted and appealed to the Central Committee, whose majority backed them.

They decided on drastic action against Healy, and grabbed the weapons to hand. Hence the charges.

For the Bandaitees it was probably a matter of survival. Theirs is a world where nobody has the right to disagree with the caliph, where disagreement is heresy against the leader in his capacity as pontiff and treason against him in his capacity as monarch. To "conspire" and lose, or to usurp and be overthrown, is to lose your head.

courtroom bore the atmosphere of the Deep South. Carter later recalled the little he knew about law at that time: "In New Jersey it's against the law to give a black man a fair trial." The 400 prospective jurors from whom the jury was selected contained only eight blacks. After Judge Larner dismissed a black prospective juror for having a sixth-grade education, he refused to dismiss a white juror with a fifth-grade education.

In 1974, Bello and Bradley recanted their testimony, revealing that it was bought by Passaic County prosecutors for promises of leniency on a string of pending criminal charges and a reward of \$10,500. Two years later Carter was granted a new trial but it was nothing but a rerun of the earlier railroad job. Under pressure from the prosecutor, Bello recanted his recantation and returned to his earlier story. A polygraph test which revealed this story to be a lie was suppressed by the prosecution. Regarding the prosecution's conduct in this trial, Judge Sarokin said in his ruling:

Healy has politically "executed" other long-time associates for a lot less than forcing him to retire. For example, Tim Wohlforth, leader of the U.S. clone group for a dozen years, was purged because he was slow to join Healy when Healy denounced Wohlforth's wife as a CIA agent.

If Healy regained control, his defeated opponents would not have lasted long. So Banda and his allies acted as Healy had long taught them to act: brutally and without concern for decency, credibility or consistency.

The WRP's atmosphere was saturated with incipient or actual violence, intimidation and terror. The organisation was a cult, built on the leader principle around Healy. Within it Healy did more or less what he liked.

It is as certain as anything is that in that organisation sexual exploitation, and where necessary harassment, intimidation, or worse, would be part of the great leader's way of life.

In one notorious case—I know the people involved—Healy beat up a woman comrade, a full-time organiser, because she wanted an abortion rather than to have his baby. (This is probably the case that got to the Control Commission in 1964—she had two brothers and a husband in the organisation, one on the Central Committee.)

But nevertheless it is also true that a considerable part of the ballyhoo against Healy's sexual antics is both frame-up and an appeal to backwardness. Insofar as anything was voluntary in the WRP, many of the "harem 26" must have acted voluntarily.

## Revolutionary

Despite the political and personal weaknesses and inadequacies that over 20 years ago turned Gerry Healy into a bitter enemy of the Trotskyism he set in in his youth to fight for, Healy was once a revolutionary. He was one of a small group at the end of the '40s and the beginning of the '50s who had the courage to set out to rebuild the Trotskyist movement when it collapsed

"Underlying the prosecutor's theory and summation is the insidious and repugnant argument that this heinous crime is to be understood and explained solely because the petitioners are black and the victims are white."

Prior to the 1976 retrial, Carter's case had gained much media attention and public support. Bob Dylan had a song, "Hurricane," about the frame-up, and initiated a number of benefit concerts on his behalf. Muhammad Ali spoke up for Carter, and other luminaries like Harry Belafonte and basketball star Walt Frazier had endorsed his defense. But following the second "trial," Carter was virtually abandoned. The defense committee dissolved, public attention dissipated, leaving the defense without funds to even reproduce the transcripts for his appeal. In 1981 John Artis was released on parole after serving nearly 15 years of a life sentence. But Hurricane remained behind bars.

Eighteen years of Rubin Carter's life have been criminally destroyed, his career ruined, his family broken up. He had better not be abandoned now. As long as Carter's freedom is endangered,

and fell apart under the leadership of Ted Grant and Jock Haston.

If today there is poetic justice in his treatment at the hands of his pupils, as well as essential truth in what they say against him, that is the measure of how degenerate Healy had become.

Machiavelli might draw the lesson for him thus: "He who rules by fear and terror should not live to get old and feeble."

Politically the Bandaitees are in a hopeless situation. Everything they say against Healy condemns them too. They were not rank and file activists or raw youth, but Healy's close associates for many, many years.

And what WRP tradition exists apart from the one Gerry Healy made and shaped for three decades? What do they know about politics except what he taught them? What have they ever been but Gerry Healy's stooges, deferring when they felt inclined to take a view different from his?

## Teeth

Some of them may have gritted their teeth at various times—but if so, that's all they did. Whether or not the WRP turned would-be communists over to the Ba'athist execution squads in Iraq, the WRP's public justification of the execution of CPers by the Iraqi government was there in black and white in "Newsline."

And "party discipline" is no excuse for going along with Healy and the WRP across the class line—in glorifying the Iraqi regime, or Gaddafi for example.

Banda's attempt to "blame Healy" is already going to preposterous lengths. Did Michael Banda and others beat up a Central Committee member in the north-west last June? Yes. "But Healy told me to," says Banda!

Nobody who went through Healy's "machine for maiming militants" will fail to find some satisfaction in the present explosion. Public vindication for Socialist Organiser's stand against the WRP is, of course, satisfying.

But if the Healyites and Bandaitees eat each other up like the Kilkenny cats, that won't undo the damage they have done to the Marxist movement and to the name of Marxism in the British labour movement.

We can only undo the damage by building the Marxist movement.

Honest members of the WRP can take the word of the Banda faction leaders for nothing. They should study the record, debate the issues that have divided the WRP from other leftists—like those who support Socialist Organiser—and break out of the WRP ghetto and into discussion with other socialists. ■

# Hurricane Carter...

(continued from page 12)

Black neighborhoods." For stating this elementary truth, Carter became a marked man to the cops, and the FBI began monitoring his whereabouts for the local police.

The constant harassment of Carter culminated in the early morning hours of 17 June 1966 when he and Artis were picked up by New Jersey cops and questioned about a Paterson triple murder. Carter was held for 17 hours and released after passing a lie detector test. An eyewitness to the killings could not identify Carter, and the physical descriptions of Carter and Artis did not fit those given by witnesses. Two grand juries failed to return indictments.

Nevertheless, four months later, based on the testimony of two previously convicted crooks, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, Carter and Artis were tried and convicted. The New Jersey



Rubin "Hurricane" Carter in 1964. Middleweight boxing contender was framed up at height of his career.

no black man can walk down the mean streets of racist America without fear, none of us can be free. Hurricane's freedom must be labor's cause—for mass class-struggle legal defense! All out to keep Hurricane out! ■

# Election Rally...

(continued from page 5)

invaded Grenada to teach Latin America a lesson. But 700 armed Cuban construction workers nearly beat back the forces of 6,000 combined elements of the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force. And you can bet that staggered Reagan's attempt to teach Latin America a bloody lesson in Yankee imperialism. Defense of the profit system, in the form of the International Monetary Fund, which is one of the biggest loan sharks in the world, is why Reagan is out to force a war in Latin America. Defense of the apartheid capitalist system leads him to solidarize with Botha in South Africa.

And the primary threat to capitalist domination of the earth remains the Soviet Union, the home of the first workers revolution in history and the strongest non-capitalist economy on earth. Under the massive impoverishment, isolation and devastation of the young Soviet Republic following World War I, the revolution, the civil war and following the invasion of the European and American armies, that revolution suffered a setback. That setback was in the form of a political abandonment of an internationalist, revolutionary strategy and the leader of that setback was Stalin, who led the physical liquidation of Lenin's central committee including Leon Trotsky.

Today a bureaucracy retains power. But Russia has moved ahead historically in a very important way. Capitalism has been abandoned and a planned economy has given that society in many areas a remarkable power of industrial strength. You can see factories being ripped down in this country, but industrial development continues in Russia. Russia needs a political revolution to place the interests of working people fully in command, through reinstitution of Soviet democracy. But a social revolution is needed here, to abolish the profit system. In Russia there are no unemployment lines. The KKK and Nazi-lovers don't dare ride in Moscow.

Reagan's trying to break the Soviet economy by forcing it to devote more and more resources to arms production. Without this arms race the USSR could get on with the business of devoting its resources economically to improving the living standard of its people. But Reagan is stupid enough to believe the CIA propaganda about how the Soviet economy is on the verge of collapse. Workers must act internationally to oppose Reagan's imperialist terror international, from the hijacking of airplanes to terror-bombing of Tunisia. Workers must fight to abolish racist capitalism at home, which means firmly standing against the anti-Soviet war drive and the redbaiting anti-communist policies of the labor misleaders.

We need a workers party in this country and in all countries. And that means mobilizing workers to smash the cop terror in New York City. That means mobilizing against the "contras" in Nicaragua. It means in Afghanistan fighting to crush the pro-slavery mullahs. It means mobilizing to smash the Nazis and KKK terror throughout this country. It means achieving working-class justice with vengeance for the victims of the Philly bombing and the victims of cop terror in this country. It means reinstitution of the understanding that a picket line means *you better not cross*. I'm calling on everybody to join in this fight to build a workers party. Join us in protest and struggle, for the rebirth of the Fourth International!

## A Tale of Two Cities

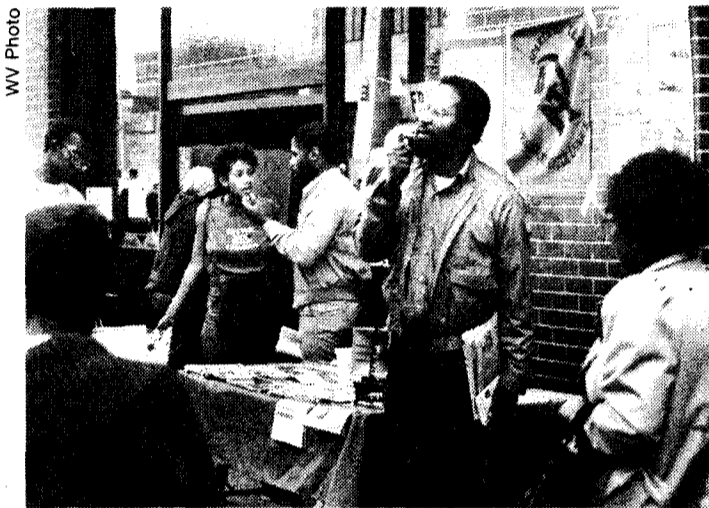
**Stamberg:** We have a racist mayor in this city who praises the cops for shooting down a black grandmother in

the Bronx because she was supposedly behind on her rent. His Republican opponent wants to treat homosexuals like the new lepers. And from the most conservative to the most liberal, all of the capitalist candidates in this city are hard opponents of labor, all of them call for more cops. That's a program for more racist murder in this city.

The Spartacist Party has been campaigning in these elections on November 5 for a revolutionary answer to Crazy Eddie Koch and Mad Dog McGrath. We've been fighting, as the banners and the signs that you see around here show, to smash the racist terror from Soweto to Harlem, for a New York City where the working people can live. And that is, as every speaker here tonight has said, a fight to build the revolutionary party of the working class.

A large part of the Spartacist Party campaign in these elections has been a fight for simple human decency. Take the phenomenon of the bag ladies. Those tens of thousands of homeless on the streets of New York did not just happen. They are the product of the

125th St. and Adam Clayton Powell Blvd.: Soapboxing in Harlem during Spartacist campaign.



crisis of American capitalism, and of deliberate state action—by Koch, by first Governor Carey and now Governor Cuomo, who threw thousands, up to 15,000, mental patients out of the state hospitals onto the streets. And they are the product of Reagan, who since the beginning of his reign has knocked 150-200,000 people off the Social Security disability rolls.

What you've got in New York is a Tale of Two Cities, much like the situation in Paris on the eve of the French Revolution. So last week when the UN celebrated its 40th anniversary, you tuned in WINS radio and it told you how there was dreaded limousine gridlock on the Upper East Side. Diplomats and plutocrats and Democrats running around town in their bulletproof smoked glass limousines, so that nobody could see in and they didn't have to see out at the misery of people huddled in the doorways or sleeping in the tunnels of the subways or in abandoned subway cars under Grand Central Station. To paraphrase Anatole France, in New York City today the rich and the poor have an equal right to sleep on the subway gratings.

So here we are running a socialist campaign in the Reagan years. As I go around speaking, people always say to me, "Are you communist?" And I say, "Yes, sir, we're as red as they come." These are capitalist elections, and everybody better understand that. They're totally rigged against the working people and the working-class parties. If you've got a cool six million dollars from the landlords and the banks like Ed Koch, if you're a rabid Republican gay-baiter like Diane McGrath, if you're a raving "Right to Life" bigot running on the slogan of "Fetus Power" like Rabbi Levin, then you're going to get some publicity in the media. But if you're a working-class party, forget it. These elections are enemy territory. But we seek to use them as the early Communist International said, as a platform to reach the masses with the program of workers revolution. Revolutionary election campaigns, as

the Comintern said, must take up all mass actions, strikes, demonstrations and whatever the fight is of the masses and the working people of its time. And that is what we have sought to do in this campaign, from our protest against "New York's own" cover-up coroner Elliot Gross the ghoul to our emergency demonstration to try to save the life of the black South African anti-apartheid fighter Benjamin Moloise, to our support to the hotel strikers back in June in New York, and also the recent Columbia workers campus strike.

## The Russian Revolution in Our Program and Our Blood

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, said in a speech in 1939, and this was in the midst of an earlier war buildup, "We are, in fact, the party of the Russian revolution. We have been the people, and the only people, who have had the Russian revolution in their program and in their blood." Well, comrades, the Spartacist League today in this country and the international Spartacist tendency

around the globe is the party of the Russian Revolution. It's in our program and it's in our blood. And when all the radlibs and the liberals try to avoid the Russian question, for instance over Nicaragua, our platform says "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America."

Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?* that a revolutionary socialist party must be a tribune of the people. It must react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression no matter where it appears. And here in Reagan's America with the so-called Moral Majority riding high, in the generalized climate of social counterrevolution, our struggle has focused on the most vulnerable. Our fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals has become quite urgent in this city, especially as the AIDS issue has become the focal point for all-sided bigotry. It's in a revolutionary tradition. When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, they abolished reactionary anti-homosexual legislation.

We've been saying that the anti-Soviet war drive is at the heart of it all. That Reagan's war on what he calls the "evil empire" was behind his war on labor, was behind his smashing of PATCO, behind his war on blacks at home, behind the firebombing of MOVE. You saw this in this election campaign. Let me take a moment to talk about the ill-fated Proposition 6, which will not be on the ballot. A bunch of pacifists and liberals worked very hard this summer and rounded up tens of thousands of signatures. All they wanted was to put a referendum on the ballot against having a nuclear battleship stationed on Staten Island.

Well, we thought this whole thing was pretty absurd: you know, if the *Iowa* isn't stationed here, supposedly New York is going to be safe from the anti-Soviet war drive and meanwhile New Jersey's going to get zapped! Besides the fact that if these bases ever get built, the Russians could take it out with one cruise missile—which we say is a good thing, and in addition it would solve the Staten Island question definitively.

The point is that it's necessary to oppose U.S. militarism *everywhere*, and not get involved in shuffling one or two battleships in the Pentagon's arsenal. So, while sharply criticizing this utopian nonsense, we would have voted for Proposition 6 to keep the battleships out of New York. But Koch got himself some compliant judges and he just knocked it off the ballot, just like they found that compliant so-called administrative law judge who squelched the investigation of the cover-up coroner Elliot Gross. So much for democracy American-style.

For anyone who genuinely opposes Pentagon militarism, who wants to fight Yankee imperialism, the only way is through workers revolution. Because as Trotsky said more than half a century ago, the question for revolutionaries is: whose hands are the weapons in? For us the Soviet arsenal, the bomb, the missiles—we are for them, we defend them, we want them. That is the reason to this date that the U.S. has not been able to go through with its schemes to roll back those revolutions from Eastern Europe to Southeast Asia. And that is why we hail the Cuban troops in Angola, why we say "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and why we say a hallmark of our campaign is defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Now the Spartacist League has revived a tradition of the Third International in election campaigns that we've engaged in over the past several years. Because you know the Second International had become reformist in large part due to the corrosive influence of parliamentarism. So that despite all their high-sounding resolutions, when World War I broke out these social patriots ended up backing their own bourgeoisie in that imperialist war. When the Third International was set up under Lenin and Trotsky, in order to check this danger the Communist parties required in advance from all the party candidates that they sign an undated resignation from any elective post to deposit with the Central Committee to be used whenever it's necessary. So here are our signed resignations, and this is a guarantee, comrades and friends, that when you're voting Spartacist, you're voting for the party and its program.

We have mounted this campaign in New York City to build the revolutionary party. We do want people to go to the polls on Tuesday—I've been telling everybody, look for the symbol of Spartacist, that's the hammer of workers power, the four of the Fourth International. But mainly and most important, we hope to win many of our friends and sympathizers here to the Spartacist League. Because our task is to build the cadres to forge a revolutionary workers party as the tribune of the people, the memory of the working class in struggle, as the combat party to lead the working class and the oppressed to power and to open the doors to a socialist future. ■

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# CP's McDonald Fiasco

In our recent "Open Letter to the Communist Party" (see *WV* No. 389, 18 October) we took the CP's People Before Profits (PBP) slate to task for dropping their candidate for New York city council president in order to put on George McDonald, a self-proclaimed "independent Democrat." Some CP supporters may have been more than a little unhappy about running a candidate whose name appeared around town on red, white and blue striped campaign stickers. But they were really squirming in their seats October 20, when at the PBP's Borough of Manhattan Community College rally they heard with their own ears McDonald's anti-Semitic ravings.

There was no mistaking his racist message. Less than a minute into his speech, McDonald began ranting that "It's a travesty that in the city of New York, we are about to elect three white, Jewish males to run the city-wide offices of this city." There was plenty of

muttering in the heavily Jewish audience, and one elderly woman yelled out "They're three millionaires!" McDonald was undeterred. He went on to denounce the makeup of the Board of Estimate for including "Ed Koch, Andy Stein, Jay Goldin, Donald Manes, Howard Golden, Stanley Simon..." And after this recitation of Jewish names he attacked real estate developers for throwing old women on the street "so they can get a few more shekels."

Following McDonald's speech, PBP mayoral candidate Jarvis Tyner felt compelled to criticize, without naming names, those who say the problem is that there are too many Jewish officials. When McDonald signed on the PBP slate, he was a big star in the pages of the *Daily World*. Yet in an October 22 *DW* article on the BMCC rally, McDonald was virtually disappeared. We're not surprised. In fact, we wonder what Soviet Red Army hero David Dragunsky, the highly decorated Jewish general



WV Photo  
CP's running mate: anti-Semitic Democrat George McDonald.

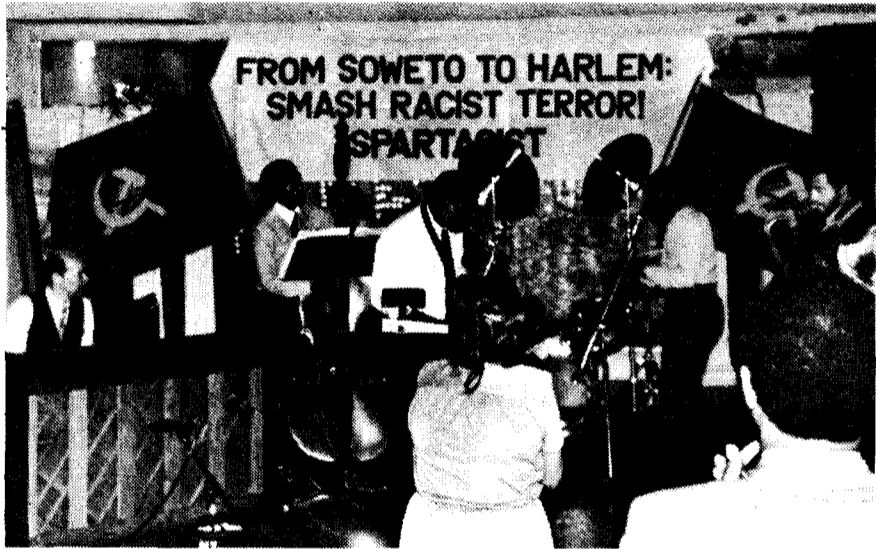
whose family fell to Nazi terror, and who was invited by the CP to speak here last spring, would say if he knew who Gus Hall and Tyner have been running around with lately.

The anti-Semitic outburst at the People Before Profits rally was shameful, and many CPers are ashamed. At Schomburg library in Harlem the night before the November 5 election, Spartacist Party mayoral candidate Marjorie Stamberg challenged Jarvis Tyner to

explain how they could run on the same platform with a race-baiting Democrat like George McDonald. Tyner avoided the question, but McDonald was unrepentant: "I'm a Democrat and proud to be in the Democratic Party," he proclaimed, explaining his presence on the PBP as a marriage of convenience. "If you're in a bloc with the capitalists, that's what you're going to get," commented Stamberg, calling on labor and minorities to break from the Democrats and build a workers party.

Earlier, at a Spartacist forum in Harlem September 24, Stamberg recalled that during WWII, when in the interests of "the war effort" the CP rejected class struggle and the fight against racial oppression at home, "It was the Trotskyists who called on the working people to defend Japanese Americans and protest their incarceration in concentration camps. It was the Trotskyists who demanded the U.S. open its doors to Jewish refugees from Hitler's terror." From the election platform the Spartacist campaign followed in the tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks—mobilizing workers and the oppressed for proletarian revolution. ■

## Election Night at Small's Paradise



WV Photo

After four months of good, hard communist campaigning, Spartacist comrades and friends wrapped it up with an election night celebration at Small's Paradise in Harlem. Beaver Harris, Dave Burrell and the 360° Music Experience provided three sets of superb freewheeling jazz, and the accommodations at Small's insured a good time for those who worked so hard to bring our revolutionary program to the working people of New York.

The benefit performance took place despite the death of band

member Francis Haynes the week before. Beaver Harris spoke of the deep personal and professional loss the band felt with the death of Haynes, the only jazz steel drummer in the world.

In a brief presentation, the candidates and principal campaign organizers were awarded party badges—silver lapel pins in the shape of the "hammer and four"—the hammer of workers power and the four for the Trotskyist Fourth International, which was the symbol of the Spartacist Party campaign.

## Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

MOVE members slaughtered in the hideous government bombing of that Philadelphia black commune, Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary and Edmund Perry's mother Veronica spoke out powerfully at Spartacist forums.

There was effective censorship of leftist parties by the major media. An arrogant *New York Times* (3 November) editorial endorsing Koch complained about an election in which "minor party candidates litter the ground." A mayoral "debate" held in the *Times* offices excluded four of the eight parties from participation. Independent TV Channel 11 interviewed all the mayoral candidates, but the network stations blacked us out. We got some coverage from the smaller black weeklies, and radio appearances on the leading black station WLIB and Pacifica affiliate WBAI, one-minute "equal time" spots on WCBS and a statement on WEVD.

At an election eve candidates night at the Schomburg black history center in Harlem, Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor Marjorie Stamberg told the audience that our program in a nutshell is to "defend black rights, defend the unions, and defend the Soviet Union." Reformists like the Socialist Workers Party want to debate with the Ku Klux Klan. The Communist Party, running on the popular-front "People Before Profits" ticket, looks to the capitalist state to "ban the Klan" and thinks civilian review boards can "control" and "democratize" the police. The Spartacists organize labor/black mobilizations to *smash* the racist terrorists.

Based on the fragmentary unofficial returns available, the votes for the leftist parties were uniformly infinitesimal, hardly going beyond their close supporters. This reflected one of the lowest election turnouts on record—38 percent of the registered voters. In New York City, where 86 percent of the voters are registered Democrats, the "real" race is the primary, and even then Koch had it sewed up. David Dinkins, the black lunkey they ran for Manhattan borough president, was such a shameless running dog for Koch that blacks in particular stayed away from the polls.

But as soon as the elections were over, Koch & Co. were back slamming their killer cops and killer cutbacks down New Yorkers' throats. On November 7, 5,000 armed "off duty" cops surrounded Brooklyn district attorney Liz Holtzman's office, calling her a "persecutor of cops, not a prosecutor of criminals," and screaming for her resignation. It was a repeat of the sinister cop mobiliza-

tion outside the Bronx courthouse last February, a bonapartist threat which successfully intimidated the city into letting cop triggerman Stephen Sullivan off the hook for the wanton killing of Eleanor Bumpurs.

And the next day a suit filed by the Legal Aid Society revealed the city is snatching *hundreds* of children of homeless parents and placing them in foster care. In a truly sadistic Catch-22, after the kids are nabbed, the parents are



Carroll/NY Daily News

**NYC cops on the loose: 5,000 armed thugs surround Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman November 7, demanding unlimited license for racist murder.**

then knocked off eligibility lists for family housing on the grounds they are simply "homeless individuals"! So grotesque and intense are New York's social contradictions that even New York Senator Daniel Moynihan picked up the "two cities" theme, warning that seething misery amidst glittering wealth would lead to social explosion.

At an election night party at Small's Paradise in Harlem, Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen summed it up. "This campaign has been a significant step forward for the Spartacist League," said Kartsen. "We've called for a workers party. We've posed the right of working people to defend themselves. We have been recognized for our opposition to cop terror, for mobilizing the communities, the working class, the homeless. We represent the future. And you comrades have put those slogans on the streets."

"We ran in this campaign to build the party that can lead the socialist revolution," said Stamberg. While the reformists were talking about the Board of Estimate, "we were talking about soviets. And when they were talking about tax abatements, we were talking about organizing for the workers to take power." Noting that it was two days before the November 7 anniversary of the Russian October Revolution, Stamberg concluded: "So let's drink a toast and go forward with the struggle, comrades." ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Spartacists in NYC Elections

### "A Bright Red Campaign"

So here we are, the Spartacists, a principled early communist party of the Lenin-Trotsky persuasion, with a few hundred members, which just ran an election campaign in Reagan's America, in Koch's New York. We told it like it is; some people liked what we had to say, we had a good time saying it, and what it's all about is building the party of workers revolution: socialism is what we want, and communism is how to get it.

The Spartacist Party was campaigning deep into the second term of the most right-wing administration since Herbert Hoover—and at least he was isolationist. If you add up everything negative from Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge and Hoover—racism, blow up the world, hate the working class, glorify the rich—in Reagan's America, we've got it all, and in a virulent superpower that's on its way down.

We were already gearing up for the campaign a year ago, as the wave of police terror, the housing strangulation, the uproar over the Bernhard Goetz case reflected a city on the razor's edge. Unlike the reformists, who spend half their time collecting signatures to "put an independent on the ballot," we were ready with our brochure "New York City: For the Working People!" when the petitioning period officially opened July 9. So we hit the streets with our revolutionary propaganda from the get-go.

The early Communist International insisted that revolutionary election campaigns must take up strikes, demonstrations, all the burning issues of the day. And that's what we sought to do

with our October 3 protest against "New York's own" cover-up coroner, Dr. Elliot Gross; an emergency demonstration October 17 to try to save South African black militant Benjamin Molloise from the apartheid hangman; our support for hotel strikers back in June and the Columbia campus workers in October.

The bourgeoisie did everything possible to keep the lid on. The city actually hired new workers for the first time in years, and on the advice of his media advisers, Koch kept his lip zipped. The state called off its Gross hearings, and Mayor Gibson "banned the Klan" from

rallying in nearby Newark. But should the KKK lynchers and cross burners insist on committing suicide in heavily black Newark, we are ready to assist them.

We took the campaign wherever working people were struggling, from a memorial for Eleanor Bumpurs in the South Bronx to tent cities on the Lower East Side and squatters taking over abandoned housing in East New York. While soapboxing outside Woolworth's at 125th Street we had heated polemics with pro-Farrakhan anti-Semitic nationalists, recalling Communist run-ins with the Garveyites in Harlem during

the Depression. We stood with labor, leafletting from the garment center and the 207th Street transit repair shop to the NMU hiring hall and CWA union meetings.

And people who met us found that we are a party that isn't afraid to take hard positions, from hailing Cuban troops in Angola to denouncing both the racist pig Koch and sinister demagogue Louis Farrakhan. We campaigned for defense of homosexuals against the AIDS hysteria. We provided a platform for the victims of racist cop terror: LaVerne Sims and Louise James, relatives of

*continued on page 11*

**Spartacist Party candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen campaign for socialist revolution.**



## Imprisoned for 18 Years in Racist Frame-Up

# Hurricane Carter Must Not Go Back to Jail!

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, former middleweight boxing contender, was the victim of a racist frame-up in the prime of his life, at the height of his career. Locked up in the hellhole of New Jersey's Rahway State Prison for 18 long bitter years, Carter has finally been released. Treating Carter like black chattel, the New Jersey authorities had him brought to his bail hearing in manacles. But U.S. district judge H. Lee Sarokin, citing the outrageous racism of the Passaic County prosecutor's office, granted Carter's habeas corpus petition and on November 8 ordered him released immediately on his own recognizance. Rejecting prosecution objections that Carter should remain behind bars pending an appeal of his decision,

Judge Sarokin appropriately admonished that "I cannot, in the face of... the injustices found, permit Mr. Carter to spend another day or even an hour in prison." "Human decency," he said, "mandates that he be released immediately."

But despite Judge Sarokin's unusual and courageous decision, there is no "human decency" or justice for blacks, workers and the poor in the racist capitalist court system. The vindictive prosecutors who framed up Hurricane Carter almost two decades ago immediately appealed the order releasing him without bail, and have vowed not to rest until they have him shackled again. Rubin Carter's fate must not be left in the hands of the Reagan/Meese judi-

ciary, for whom racist railroad jobs are particularly inviolable. Only the mobilization of unions, black organizations, socialists and all opponents of racism and defenders of democratic rights can ensure his freedom. Every move by the state of New Jersey to put Hurricane back behind bars must be met by mass protest, including organizing the power of labor through strike action.

Boxing is one of the few occupations where blacks are permitted to "make it" in racist America. Rubin Carter was a leading contender for the middleweight crown when he was railroaded to prison along with his friend John Artis in 1967. But like Muhammad Ali, who was stripped of the heavyweight crown for his opposition to the Vietnam War,



Rubin "Hurricane" Carter

UPI

success in the ring was no protection from the racist state authorities when Carter spoke out against injustice.

Carter was framed up and imprisoned for two consecutive life sentences for his advocacy of black self-defense against cop terror. Following the Harlem police rampage of 1964, Carter told a *Saturday Evening Post* reporter, "Self-defense is the absolute right of every living being on earth.... The Black public ought to protect its own against this type of tyrannical invasion by white cops into

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