

Hispanics, Refugees Targeted

Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

In Hispanic barrios from East Los Angeles to Chicago's Pilsen to Long Island towns newly populated by Salvadoran refugees, in border cities all along the 2,000-mile frontier with Mexico, panic is spreading as the "Immigration Reform and Control Act" of 1986 goes into effect May 5. Although the "amnesty" provisions are first to be implemented, already employers have begun wholesale firing of "illegal aliens." Thousands of Central Americans fled to Canada early this year to escape expected deportation. The president of the Dominican Republic, the Mexican Congress and even U.S. puppet Duarte in El Salvador have pleaded with Washington to "go slow" on implementation. For as the United States and its

southern neighbors are increasingly integrated economically with the influx of several million undocumented workers, shutting off the escape valve to *el norte* could produce a social explosion in the poverty-wracked Caribbean basin.

In the U.S., anti-immigrant hysteria is fueling racist attacks against Hispanics and Asians, foreign-born and American-born alike. On successive days last November, California voters approved a ballot referendum making English the official state language and President Reagan signed the Simpson-Rodino immigration bill making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented foreign workers. Together this

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WV Photo

Central American refugees from death squad terror imprisoned in concentration camp, El Centro, California.

South Africa

Black Rail Strikers Defy Apartheid Regime

With the social power to crush apartheid, the black fist of workers power broke through the draconian censorship last week, announcing to the world its courageous defiance of the savage South African police state. A six-week black railway workers strike in the financial capital of South Africa, Johannesburg, suddenly escalated into a major confrontation with the racist apartheid regime.

On April 21 the government sent thousands of heavily armed troops and police to patrol rail yards and stations, attempting to break the strike. The following day, cops with whips broke up a union meeting in the Johannesburg suburb of Germiston, killing one striker and seriously injuring another. A few hours later, police assaulted another group of strikers, killing five. But this time the strikers, armed with axes and clubs, fought back and the apartheid butchers took a few injuries for a change. The downtown Johannesburg headquarters of the black-centered labor federation COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) was



Railway strikers battle cops in Johannesburg, April 22.

New York Times

ransacked by cops who beat up the unionists and arrested 400. The killings occurred after South African Transport Services (SATS) announced the firing

of 16,000 rail workers who defied a government back-to-work deadline.

But in the Transvaal industrial heartland of South Africa, black labor is

uncowed. Thousands of Soweto residents are staying away from work in protest against the eviction of rent strikers and in solidarity with the rail strikers, as young activists set up roadblocks to turn back traffic out of the sprawling township that provides the muscle power for Johannesburg industries. Buses and taxis as well as trains have stopped running, and students have closed the high schools. Mail delivery in the black township of two million has stopped due to a strike of nearly 7,000 black postal workers which has also disrupted mail service in Johannesburg.

The *Los Angeles Times* (16 April) reported the white supremacist government was "apprehensive about a new wave of civil unrest that, this time, might involve workers rather than students." South African railways are strategic to the economy, equivalent to rail and trucking combined in the U.S., which is why, despite the draconian police-state repression, apartheid rulers hesitated before moving against the strikers, and why they are now cracking down with a vengeance. The South African black proletariat has the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery. What is desperately required to break those chains is a revolutionary proletarian leadership.

Those Who Labor Must Rule

The fact that thousands of black strikers on the railways were able to defy the bloody apartheid butchers for six weeks is testament to their growing strength and self-confidence. The strike began in mid-March at the City Deep rail station in Johannesburg after a

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Defense of FSP—Vital to the Workers Movement!

The Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) has been pushed to the wall in a lawsuit by a vindictive ex-member, Richard Snedigar, suing to take back a 1979 donation of \$22,500. In December the Washington State Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of a lower court order that the FSP disclose their internal party minutes and other internal documents. On April 10, King County Superior Court Judge Warren Chan ruled against the FSP, giving the case to Snedigar by default—punishing the FSP for its principled refusal to comply with this disclosure order. The FSP is now threatened with the seizure of its funds and party property by the state and the possible jailing of members!

Defense of the FSP is critically important to the workers movement and any defender of democratic rights. The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the FSP defense, and sent letters of protest on its behalf. At the April 25 demonstration in Washington,

D.C. SL/PDC lit tables carried their petition to the Seattle court. Last week we sent the following statement to the court:

"The default judgment against the Freedom Socialist Party in *Snedigar v. Hoddersen, et al.* for refusing to disclose internal organizational minutes and records vitiates First Amendment rights of freedom of association and speech. It is a dangerous attack on the right of voluntary groups to organize for every kind of non-commercial purpose by exposing such organizations to government intimidation and blacklisting. It establishes a precedent for disgruntled ex-members to paralyze the very existence of such organizations and submits their finances to government control. Particularly for civil rights, civil liberties, labor and left-wing political organizations and minority religious groups, the right of association has meaning only insofar as members can participate and financially contribute to their activities in confidentiality.

"We urge you to reconsider your decision, vacate this default order and deny Snedigar's motion for disclosure of this constitutionally protected material."

We encourage all *WV* readers to send letters and telegrams to Judge Warren Chan, King County Superior Court, Third and James, Seattle, WA 98104.

* * *

Federal agents in Los Angeles rounded up seven Palestinians and a Kenyan on January 26. This represented the intersection of "terrorism" hysteria and anti-immigrant chauvinism. The victims—well-established businessmen, students and working people—were shackled hand and foot and charged under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act for allegedly "advocating world communism." Along with the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and assisted by the ACLU, the eight have filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the "advocating world communism" exclusionary provision of this McCarthyite law.

After the case drew national attention and protest, on April 23 the Justice Department withdrew its charges of political subversion against five of the Palestinians and the Kenyan woman. Yet they had been jailed in solitary for two and a half weeks, and deportation proceedings are still being pressed against them for technical violations of their visa status. Khader Musa Hamide and Michel Shedhadeh are still being prosecuted under the McCarran-Walter Act and the government has said that additional charges will be filed against them.

The PDC has contributed to their defense and sent a telegram protesting this Gestapo-like seizure. We encourage all *WV* readers to also send protests to the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 425 Eye Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536. Contributions can be sent to: Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051.

* * *

Seventeen Australian black Aborigines are facing frame-up charges for their courageous struggle against racist terror. On January 9 in Goondiwindi, Queensland four notorious racist thugs beat a 19-year-old Aboriginal man for



Tweed/NY Times
Witchhunt, USA: Julie Nuangugi Mungai and husband Khader Musa Hamide face deportation.

over an hour. Two Aboriginal elders were also beaten that night. After blacks taught a needed lesson to three of the punks the following day, the racist cops launched a dragnet "investigation." Seventeen Aborigines turned themselves in to spare their community from a threatened cop invasion and violence, and now face charges of "riotous behavior." On April 6 the court ordered their extradition to the Goondiwindi racist enclave. The PDC sent a telegram to the Aboriginal Legal Services of Moree, New South Wales, with our message of solidarity: "World's workers must lead fight against racist and cop terror from Harlem to Soweto to Queensland."

* * *

The fight to defend workers and oppressed from the capitalists' wholesale attacks on democratic rights is urgent. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Letter

On the Forsyth March

The following letter was forwarded to us from a student at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The writer refers to the article, "Anger Over Racist Attacks Derailed in Georgia" in *WV* No. 421, 6 February.

Workers Vanguard printed that the marchers "were ordered to refrain even from singing old civil rights songs" (last sentence of the first paragraph). I was on the march and we sang all the way into Cumming, GA. Granted I was only in a very small section of the march. I did not hear anything about the marchers being refrained from singing. The only time anyone was asked not to say anything was while leaving Cumming, when NAACP marshals asked marchers not to respond to the heckles of the counter-demonstrators. This is basic non-violent demonstrating policy/strategy, not to respond in any way to those who attack you. So all the marshals were doing was carrying out the strategies of the organized group. I just think that it needs to be noted that people did sing in Forsyth County; I did the entire time.

WV replies: Thousands from around the country turned out for the Forsyth County "civil rights" march to express

their anger over racist terror and racial segregation there. But the march's black Democratic Party organizers like Hosea Williams did everything within their power to keep it a hat-in-hand affair. We readily accept our reader's personal account of singing on the march. As we noted in our article, the march was much bigger than its organizers had either expected or wanted, so intent were they on tight control to the point even of hushing up civil rights songs. Thus one reporter for the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (25 January) described how, "At first the marchers were quiet. Soon a few of them were singing a chorus of the old civil rights hymn, 'Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round,' until several march leaders turned around and shushed them. They wanted no provocation coming from their side."

In the eyes of Williams & Co. anything is a "provocation" which could threaten their dream of winning a place in the sun for themselves by using the black masses as electoral pressure on the Dixiecrat/Democratic Party. The "black elected officials" channeled the outrage over the Klan attack on the previous week's "brotherhood march" into "nonviolent" reliance on the armed forces of this very violent and racist government. The Reagan/Meese Justice Department and FBI—up to their shoulder holsters in the murder of civil

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TROTSKY

Barcelona May Days

In the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War, the Stalinists justified their Popular Front alliance with the Republican bourgeoisie by claiming that first the war against Franco must be won, and later—i.e., never—for revolution. But bourgeois reaction can only be defeated through revolutionary class struggle. Revolutionary leadership was key. When the workers of Barcelona rose up in the heroic May Days of 1937 in defense of their conquests



LENIN

against the Popular Front's onslaught, they were treacherously disarmed by the anarchist CNT and centrist POUM leaders, who ordered them to leave the barricades. The resulting crushing of the workers of Catalonia by Stalinist-led Republican police spelled bloody defeat in the Civil War.

The masses of the whole country have had a gigantic experience. A long time ago, they lost the illusions of 1931, as well as the warmed-over illusions of the Popular Front. Again and again they have shown to every part of the country that they were ready to go through to the end. If the Catalan proletariat had seized power in May 1937—as it had really seized it in July 1936—they would have found support throughout all of Spain. The bourgeois-Stalinist reaction would not even have found two regiments with which to crush the Catalan workers. In the territory occupied by Franco not only the workers but also the peasants would have turned toward the Catalan proletariat, would have isolated the fascist army and brought about its irresistible disintegration. It is doubtful whether under these conditions any foreign government would have risked throwing its regiments onto the burning soil of Spain. Intervention would have become materially impossible, or at least extremely dangerous.

Naturally, in every insurrection, there is an element of uncertainty and risk. But the subsequent course of events has proven that even in the case of defeat the situation of the Spanish proletariat would have been incomparably more favorable than now, to say nothing of the fact that the revolutionary party would have assured its future.

—Leon Trotsky, "A Test of Ideas and Individuals Through the Spanish Experience" (August 1937)

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Anti-Smoking Witchhunt

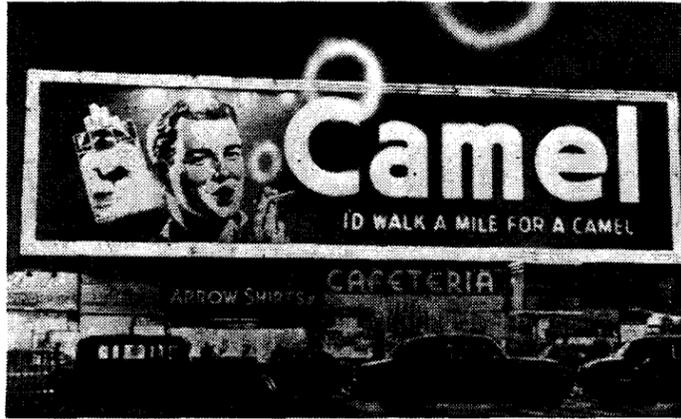
A wave of "smokeout" moralism is sweeping the country, spearheaded by a new generation of clean-living Yuppies. Among the first areas to outlaw smokers were that bastion of Babbitt liberalism, Minnesota, and the bean sprout totalitarians of Santa Barbara and Berkeley. In fact, these "young fogies" are running point for a section of the ruling class which has decided it can improve its profit-and-loss figures by tightening up on the workforce, all in the name of "health." In December, the Reagan administration ordered curbs on smoking in federal offices. And New York State's Public Health Authority issued a *diktat* (now tied up in legal challenges) supposed to take effect May 7 banning tobacco from just about every public place imaginable, as well as in workplaces.

The United States Army too has declared itself essentially a "smoke-free" environment—the same people who stockpile chemical weapons and whose nuclear holocaust plans can make the whole globe an irradiated smoke-enveloped piece of rubble. The whole campaign reeks of hypocrisy and cynicism: executives living high on prime rib and Cuban cigars (too richly subversive for the rest of us), their cocaine-and-champagne brokers and PR firms telling workers they'd better "live pure," increase productivity or get dumped.

Big Brother is already hard at work. Insurance companies are using a new urine test which can detect nicotine traces 24 to 36 hours later, secretly trapping people tempted to put "non-smoker" on their applications to get lower insurance rates. Most dangerous

is Attorney General Meese's push for private industry to take its anti-drug "surveillance" into parking lots and taverns. Harking back to the days of the totalitarian "company town," USG Acoustical Products Co. announced its policy on tobacco: "If an employee smokes off the job, as well as on the job, or if they're smoking in a bar on Saturday night with friends, they might

ordered to shut off a second air purifying system in the passenger cabins in order to save on fuel costs. As for the "secondary smoke" hysteria, there's no conclusive medical evidence on its ill effects, though obviously good ventilation would help everybody. But putting scrubbers on company smokestacks, or building decent housing with air conditioning, won't help the bottom line—so the companies pollute the atmosphere like crazy and dump on the poor smoker. Adding insult to injury in this racist society, an academic research project is



**Yuppie totalitarians—
butt out!
People have a
right to smoke.**

put their job in jeopardy" (*Chicago Tribune*, 25 January).

The name of the game is "Increasing Productivity Through On-Site Smoking Control," the title of an article in *Health Care Strategic Management* (April 1985), which points out that "A long-term rule of thumb is that approximately 92 nonsmokers can accomplish the same workload as 100 smokers." Another article quotes an economics professor as stating, "The average employed smoker in the US... has been estimated to waste 6 percent of his working hours to the smoking ritual" (*Military Medi-*

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Julian Bond Defies Drug Witchhunters

ATLANTA—This city's black political establishment has been thrown into turmoil by the latest installment of Reagan's anti-drug hysteria. Former Georgia state senator and SNCC activist, Julian Bond, now head of the Atlanta NAACP, found himself in the cross hairs of the Meese police and their local surrogates. Bond has long been a thorn in the side of the white racist rulers and an outsider within the black Democratic establishment. In 1966 he was barred from his elected seat in the state legislature for his opposition to the Vietnam War. Last year he earned the ire of the Dixie cup brigade when he denounced drug testing as "demagoguery" and "McCarthyism" in response to a bait by his victorious opponent John Lewis during a bitter Congressional race in Atlanta's fifth district. Julian Bond has been the only prominent black

politician to come out against the drug witchhunt. And now he has been made a victim of that witchhunt in a vicious nasty racist smear job which targets all of us.

The "liberal" *Atlanta Constitution* spearheaded the vendetta against Bond when it published "leaked" allegations made by his estranged wife—which she retracted in a phone call to the paper before publication—that Bond and a number of other black Democratic politicians in Atlanta, including Mayor Andrew Young, were "cocaine abusers." Alice Bond told the *Constitution* she had made the totally unsubstantiated charges while "emotionally distraught"—indeed, the night after a personal brawl with a woman friend of Bond's. The police captain in charge of the all-white "investigative" team (all quickly transferred to other assign-



Julian Bond

ments) confessed that her information "wasn't good enough to go after any of them," and "was more rumor than anything." But the campaign of scurrilous personal vilification against Bond continues unabated, with the FBI and a federal grand jury now drawn in as well.

In a 14 April press statement Bond lashed out at the Moral Majoritarians who sought to pry into his personal life, declaring it was "not the business of those professional scavengers and rumor mongers who have made life hell for innocent people." While denying that he has ever touched cocaine, he vowed: "As long as I live, I'll never take a drug test. I think it's an invasion of my privacy."

But while decrying "McCarthyism," under the gun Bond threatened to fink to the grand jury and "name names" about alleged drug use by reporters on the *Journal Constitution*, which has been crucifying him. Meanwhile, a host of Bond's fellow black Democrats added their fuel to the fire. Black city councilman Hosea Williams urged Bond to "come forward and deal with it as President Gerald Ford and Mrs. Ford dealt with her alcoholism." Even as Bond was being pilloried by the racist press, Williams was leading a handful of black schoolchildren through the streets

now studying (to the tune of \$2.5 million) why blacks smoke more than whites and trying out ways to get them to stop. That's "social concern" for you in this rotten reactionary climate—millions of bucks to take away one of life's relatively inexpensive pleasures for those who enjoy taking a puff.

So smoking a lot isn't good for your health—but neither is too much liquor (or prime rib), and Prohibition only resulted in making the Kennedys and Mafia rich. People ought to be able to read, eat, drink and enjoy whatever consensual activities they want without cops or yuppie power prudes sticking their noses in. We deeply resent "sin taxes," designed to make people who want a smoke or drink pay for the obscenities of this reactionary government (which still hasn't bothered to stop federal subsidies to the tobacco industry, economic bulwark of Jesse Helms and the Southern Moral Majority types). And we're for reopening trade with Cuba—as Fidel said, "If it isn't Cuban, it's not a cigar."

Karl Marx wrote in 1855 concerning English liquor laws: "The classical saints of Christianity mortified *their* body for the salvation of the souls of the masses; the modern, educated saints mortify *the bodies of the masses* for the salvation of their own souls" (from "Anti-Church Movement," June 1855). In a rational, socialist society the money this ruling class uses to prepare nuclear Armageddon would be used to find cures for cancer and other diseases, making those pleasures people indulge in somewhat more risk-free. Meanwhile, we say "butt out" to these totalitarian snoops. In the words of the immortal Billie Holiday regarding all sorts of private, personal choices, "Ain't nobody's business if I do." ■

of Atlanta on his own anti-drug crusade, while dismissing the threat of racist terror exemplified by the Klan assault on Williams' own march in Forsyth County: "In relationship to what drugs are doing to us, Forsyth County is just a pebble on the beach!"

The furor over Bond has already led to demands that the overwhelmingly black municipal workforce and all prospective city employees be subjected to mandatory drug tests. And the white head of the Atlanta police "union" has now demanded that the entire predominantly black city administration undergo drug tests. The sinister forces at work here have begun to alarm even the black front men for Reagan's drug witchhunt. On April 24, Williams and fellow anti-drug campaigner Dick Gregory were arrested in a protest denouncing the "witchhunt... to defame and destroy black leadership not only in Atlanta but throughout America." To be sure, the Reagan gang are rubbing their hands with glee at the spectacle of a discredited black Democratic political establishment in the city scheduled to host the 1988 Democratic convention. Reagan/Meese got them over a barrel because, from Jesse Jackson to local pols like Williams and Lewis, they've tried to out-Reagan Reagan in the drug witchhunt.

The government's anti-drug hysteria is part of the bipartisan drive to regiment the population for war (while the contra killers are the biggest drug traffickers on the continent). Julian Bond has been singled out because he rankles the racist rulers. He has been a leading figure in the Montgomery-based "Klanwatch"/Southern Poverty Law Center, which has been repeatedly bombed, and burned down by the Klan in 1983. At the same time, Bond's bourgeois liberal politics lead him to the suicidal policy of demanding "free speech" for these fascist killers! We say: No platform for racist terror—the KKK/Nazis must be crushed through mass labor/black mobilizations! Hands off Julian Bond! Smash the drug witchhunt! ■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

rights activists, from Viola Liuzzo to the Greensboro Five—were looked to as the protectors of black rights in Forsyth County! So far the only person charged over the Forsyth march was a black marcher arrested for carrying a gun for self-protection in case of racist attack! And the Klan felt sufficiently emboldened in the aftermath to stage more racist provocations including cross-burnings on the very outskirts of Atlanta.

There is a widespread desire to challenge and defeat the escalating racist terror in Reagan's America, as the turnout on January 24 showed. The

genocidal program of the KKK was expressed in a banner they carried that day at Cumming: "Kill 'em all. Let God sort them out." It's going to take more than prayers and songs to smash this scum. "Nonviolent strategy" is and always has been a dead end for black struggle, preaching reliance on the "good will" of the racist oppressor. To smash racist terror means bringing out black and labor power, as in the successful Spartacist-initiated mobilization which stopped the threatened Klan march in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. But that requires a break with the Democratic front men for Reagan reaction and the fight for a workers party committed to black liberation through socialist revolution. ■

Bay Area Shipyard Showdown

Bureaucrats Isolate Todd Strikers

ILWU Action Is Key

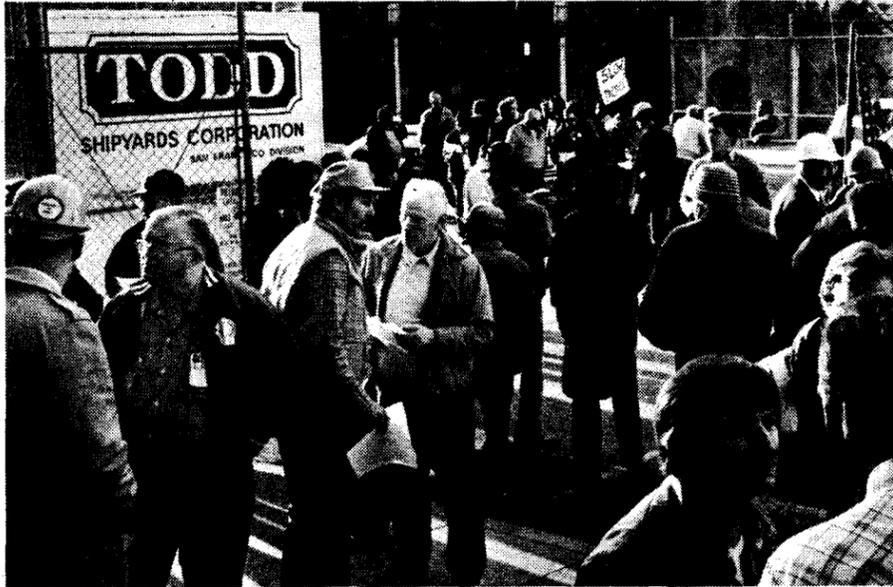
SAN FRANCISCO, April 23—Striking shipyard workers suffered a serious setback last week as strikers were forced back to work at Service Engineering and Continental Maritime, the second and third largest of six struck shipyards. This piecemeal strategy of separate settlements—with which the bosses broke the 1983 shipyard strike—is being used by the labor misleaders to isolate the largest yard, Todd, and bring this militant four-week strike to defeat. The metal trades union tops have had to drive the strikers back to work, and not without a lot of trouble. The shipyard walkout was originally sparked at Todd shipyards by a one-day Bay Area ports shutdown by ILWU longshoremen in support of the striking Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), and immediately spread to five other shipyards. Class struggle scares the hell out of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—what shipyard workers need is a leadership that can win. Now more than ever, a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike is needed to launch a labor counteroffensive against years of concessions and givebacks.

The union tops' Metal Trades Council—who have opposed this strike from the beginning—unanimously endorsed a sellout deal hailing a 15-cent raise as a "victory." After a seven-year wage freeze, 15 cents is worse than an insult! And the truth is the contract is a deep pay cut, as it eliminates travel time and shift differential, caps the cost-of-living adjustment, and institutes a two-tier wage scale with new-hires ("trainees") getting only 60 percent of the journey rate in their first year! Meanwhile, Todd workers are still out, facing a whopping wage cut that will leave journeymen and laborers making \$9 to \$12 per hour. Strikers erupted in anger over this stinking betrayal. The only one selling this besides the Council is the reformist Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (21 April), which applauded it as a "breakthrough settlement."

Conspiring with the bosses to get this rotten deal was one thing; getting it by the membership was another story. The union hacks rammed through the settlement at Service Engineering on a close vote on April 14 and got them back to work the next day. Voting for the Continental contract started on Wednesday, April 15, and was supposed to be extended for a day as strikers' anger started to boil. Instead, the bureaucrats cut off the vote and declared the sellout ratified. Then all hell broke loose.

Pipefitters Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

When Continental workers reported to Pier 50 Friday morning they found an angry Pipefitters picket line blocking the entrance, with hand-lettered protests against the union tops on the back of their official union signs. Laborers union B.A. Michael Hanrahan read a Metal Trades Council statement saying the strike was over. He jumped into a pickup truck and tried to break the line. Furious pickets swarmed the truck while Hanrahan and Pipefitters business manager Joe Mazzola traded punches. Hanrahan was chased off and the pickup backed away. None of the



San Francisco, March 31: Walkout at Todd defied bureaucrats, spread to six other Bay Area shipyards.

Continental workers followed Hanrahan's attempt to cross the line. The yard stayed shut down through the weekend.

On Monday, April 20, the treacherous Metal Trades Council bureaucrats used a police escort to try to break the line. Carpenters official Rick Anderson, the flag-waving lover of Reagan's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność, who had earlier unsuccessfully attempted to lead some of his pals across picket lines, was across the street huddling with company officials and the police. There were 300 Continental workers at the gate, with about 40 Pipefitters again picketing. "Screwed by Our Unions" was scrawled on one sign. Across the street were two dozen cops, many in riot gear.

At 7:00 a.m., starting time, a company bus pulled out of the gate and rolled up to the cops. Two alert pickets quickly blocked the doors. Despite Anderson's urging, not one worker boarded the bus.



The scab driver pulled the bus closer to the cops; again not a single worker moved. A striker shouted on the bullhorn: "If this contract passed, how come nobody got on the bus?" The bus left empty and the cops marched away. The Pipefitters line had held another day.

Later, Cliff Schellin, a Pipefitters official, threatened strikers with an injunction: you'll "probably have to go back to work tomorrow." The fitters were furious, stating that it was only their anger that forced Mazzola's hand. Strikers yelled out that Service Engineering—and the entire coast—should be shut down. The heat got too much for the picard Schellin, who retreated to his car whining, "Hey fellas, what can I do? I'm just a flunkey."

That afternoon International Plumbers and Pipefitters president Marvin Boede delivered the final stab in the back in the form of a telegram from Washington, D.C. ordering Local 38 "to

immediately remove your pickets and return your members to work by Tuesday morning, April twenty-first." In the dead of the night union officials dragged themselves out of bed to take down the graveyard shift picket line. The next morning bureaucrats worked the phones and passed out copies of the strikebreaking telegram at the gate. The Continental workers had no leaders who would stand up to the International and went to work in grim silence.

Crisis of Leadership

The shipyard workers have fought hard, but throughout this strike they have been leaderless. Virtually the only time anyone has seen union officials on the picket line is when they are trying to cross it or break it! The United Shipyard Workers (USW), a collection of burned-out ex-"radicals," never challenged the bureaucracy's strikebreaking. Instead, all they served up were



April 20: Militant Pipefitters picket holds the line against union tops' scabberding attempt.

rallies with hot air speeches intended to pressure the labor traitors for "a little bit more." This while the bureaucrats were knifing the strike in the back!

On Monday, April 20, when the bureaucrats and cops tried to break the picket line at Continental, the USW was nowhere to be seen. When the bureaucrats forced the workers back the next day, the USW passed out a pathetic leaflet which only complained that the traitors didn't hold an "adequate democratic discussion." What the strikers need is not cover-your-ass excuses, but class struggle to beat the maritime bosses. And they won't get it from the USW.

All of these in-bureaucrats, out-bureaucrats and would-be-bureaucrats betrayed the militant strikers. The first rule of the class struggle is to tell the truth. Who are our enemies, who are our friends? The union tops are knifing the shipyard workers in the back for the same reason they bow to strikebreaking

injunctions and round up workers like voting cattle for the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party: the bureaucrats are there to police the unions for decaying capitalism.

Throughout the strike, the Spartacist League has put forward a program of militant class struggle. Over 5,000 copies of our 31 March leaflet were distributed and well received all over the waterfront. It said what was needed to win:

"The maritime unions must shut the waterfront down tight to win the IBU strike, back off the maritime bosses who have targeted the ILWU when its contract expires June 30 and win the shipyard workers strike! What is going on in the Bay Area is a real test of strength between labor and the bosses that the workers can win in mass, militant struggle!"

Despite redbaiting orchestrated by the bureaucracy, over 600 copies of *Workers Vanguard* on the strike have been sold to strikers, longshoremen and other maritime workers on the West Coast.

The union bureaucrats on the Metal Trades Council may have dealt the shipyard strike a mortal blow by their treachery, isolating the hundreds of workers at Todd along with several smaller yards. From the beginning of this strike we have insisted that it was urgent to combine the social weight of the IBU, the ILWU and the shipyard workers as well as linking up with related transport workers. Instead all the union tops—from Walter Johnson of the Central Labor Council to Jimmy Herman of the ILWU—have conspired to keep these potential allies separate, threatening all the unions. If the shipyard workers strike is defeated, it will embolden Crowley against the IBU strikers and the Pacific Maritime Association bosses when the ILWU contract expires in June.

Shipyard, maritime and aerospace workers from Vancouver, Canada to

Los Angeles know they have a stake in the Bay Area strikes. On April 10 at Ferndale, Washington, 150 Mobil Oil refinery workers stood fast for eight hours and prevented the unloading of a barge scabbing on the IBU strike. When the ILWU/IBU shut down the ports for one day in March, the bosses' press raised the spectre of the 1934 general strike, which had cracked the open shop in the Bay Area. If labor tears up the bosses' rules and starts playing hardball, workers and minorities can avenge the cutbacks and givebacks. In particular, the strategic "defense" industry workers can strike a blow against the war on blacks and labor and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which fuels the attacks at home. But that means a battle against the labor traitors, their reformist hangers-on and the Democratic Party. Above all it requires forging a racially integrated, revolutionary workers party dedicated to the construction of a workers government. ■

Meese Fails to Keep War Criminal from Soviet Justice

Nazi Butcher Linnas and the White House

There was Ed Meese, head of Reagan's "Justice" Department, caught by the cameras of ABC's *Nightline* skulking around the corridors of Washington trying to strong-arm some U.S. client state into taking Estonian Nazi collaborator and mass murderer Karl Linnas. The Soviet Union had sentenced Linnas to death in 1962 for commanding the concentration camp in Tartu, Estonia where 12,000 were slaughtered, including 2,000 Jews. Even though 12 U.S. courts over eight years of protracted review had found the evidence against this admitted death camp commandant "overwhelming," the anti-Communist fanatics in Washington went all-out

But Soviet witnesses testified that Linnas ordered women and children brought to the edge of a ditch and forced to kneel before their executioners. At times he "personally finished the survivors with a pistol shot." For the White House, such sadistic torturers are "freedom fighters," like the Nicaraguan contras whose techniques are so chillingly similar. But now the "butcher of Tartu" is in the hands of Soviet justice. Soviet authorities now say the Linnas case will be reviewed, and possibly a new trial held. For our part, we wouldn't have been unhappy if a firing squad were waiting for this mass murderer as he stepped off the plane in Tallinn.

East" of Hitler's Abwehr; and the U.S. rocket program was based on Nazi scientists such as Werner von Braun, who designed and built the German V-2 missile with slave labor.

In 1979, due to the efforts of former Congresswoman (now Brooklyn D.A.) Liz Holtzman and to give credence to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, the OSI was set up as a Nazi-hunting unit in the Justice Department. But though it developed some 600-plus dossiers on known war criminals in the U.S., to date the government has proceeded against less than 50, and only a dozen or so have been forced out of the country. Meese has systematically



TASS
Estonian death camp commandant Karl Linnas in Soviet custody at Tallinn airport.

counsel of the World Jewish Congress, replied categorically, "Not once in 40 years has anyone proved a case of Soviet forgery or perjury by a Soviet-supplied witness" (*Time*, 20 April). Linnas himself admitted he was in charge of Tartu camp guards, as quoted in the *New York Times* and *Newsday* as early as 1963. In revoking Linnas' citizenship in 1981, a federal district judge said the evidence "overwhelmingly supported" the government's case. And an appeals court that upheld the deportation order last May noted, "The irony of Karl Linnas objecting to execution without due process is not lost on this court."

The anti-Soviet unholy alliance to "save" Nazi collaborator and death camp butcher Linnas stretches from Buchanan, Meese and ultrarightist William F. Buckley to Linnas' chief counsel Ramsey Clark, who screamed about Linnas becoming the object of a Soviet "show trial." (Today a liberal darling, as LBJ's attorney general Clark authorized the bloody repression at the '68 Chicago Democratic convention and the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign against black radicals.) As over the Waldheim affair, the World Jewish Congress has been notable in trying to bring Nazi scum to justice, while most Zionist groups have turned a blind eye toward fascist war criminals in the interests of the anti-Soviet war drive. And the CIA "captive nations" cesspool won support in Washington with the argument that Linnas should not be handed over to the USSR because he was an Estonian nationalist fighting Communism, and the U.S. has refused to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union.

Estonia was part of the Russian Empire until the Bolshevik Revolution recognized the right of self-determination of all the oppressed nations in the tsarist prison house of peoples. The Estonian bourgeois republic was set up by the German Kaiser's army, and reborn under the protection of British naval guns in the Russian civil war as 14 imperialist armies besieged the Bolshevik Revolution. And "independent Estonia" was no land of liberty: the

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Pat Oliphant
Bitburg, May 1985: Reagan lays wreath at SS graves. Bitburg II: Meese and Buchanan's crusade for Nazi Linnas.

trying to prevent Linnas being turned over to the USSR. As the clock ran out, while World Jewish Congress officials were home celebrating Passover, Meese tried to sneak Linnas into Panama. But even the Panamanian generals wouldn't accept him, and on April 20 the Supreme Court upheld the deportation order. That night Karl Linnas was bundled aboard a Czech airliner.

Most of those executed at Tartu were Estonian Communists, and for the Reaganites that's no crime. In fact, for Reagan's former propaganda chief Pat Buchanan, Linnas and other "accused war criminals" are just "innocent Americans" facing "irreparable injury and death" due to "revenge-obsessed Nazi hunters" (*New York Times*, 7 April).

In many ways the Linnas case was Bitburg II. In May 1985, Reagan "commemorated" World War II by laying a wreath before the graves of members of the Waffen SS "Das Reich" division in the military cemetery at Bitburg, West Germany. This same elite Nazi unit in 1941 carried out the execution of 920 Jews near Minsk, in Soviet Byelorussia. Many denounced the administration's "insensitivity" toward the victims of the Nazi Holocaust, but Bitburg was no accidental blunder. For Reagan & Co., the U.S. was on the wrong side in World War II, and they wanted an act of "reconciliation" with the former enemy as part of preparations for World War III against the Soviet Union. The Reaganites certainly have no qualms about SS methods. Shortly after Reagan returned from Bitburg, *Einsatzgruppen* of the Philadelphia police under the orders of Wilson Goode, local black collaborator of the Führer in the White House, carried out their "final solution" for the black MOVE commune.

For decades, Washington has harbored Nazi war criminals en masse. Some 10,000 of these Hitlerite killers were imported into the United States following the end of World War II, according to Alan Ryan, former chief of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI), who prepared the case against Linnas. Another 40,000 were shipped to Latin America—such as Klaus Barbie, the butcher of Lyon—and over 3,000 reside in Canada to this day. They were brought in through deliberate government policy, for use in the anti-Soviet Cold War. Barbie's "expertise" was invaluable in tracking West European Communists; the West German spy network was built on the Gehlen organization, formerly the directorate for "Foreign Armies

tried to protect Nazis from deportation to Soviet-bloc workers states, and got Israel to reluctantly accept John Demjanjuk, the infamous "Ivan the Terrible" of the Treblinka death camp in Poland where a million Jews were slaughtered. Buchanan, however, considers the deportation of Demjanjuk to Israel an "official lynching." As Menachem Rosensaft, leader of an organization of children of Holocaust survivors, wrote, "Mr. Buchanan... is the ideological heir of those Americans who never forgave President Franklin D. Roosevelt for not allowing the Third Reich to be victorious over the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 21 April).

In one of his final acts before resigning as the Goebbels of the White House, Pat Buchanan launched a last-ditch crusade to keep Karl Linnas from Soviet justice, publishing a diatribe alleging Russian "forged documents" and hurling anti-Semitic slurs against Nazi-hunters. Eli Rosenbaum, general



Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
Hitler's Nazis slaughtered millions. Linnas made women and children kneel before their executioners.

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Sri Lanka

State Terror, Bloody Communalism

LONDON, April 28—In the last two weeks, Sri Lanka has been wracked by communalist bloodletting and government terror on a scale not seen for two years. In a series of indiscriminate terrorist attacks, attributed by the government to Tamil nationalist groups, hundreds of people were killed in the east and the southern capital city of Colombo. These attacks increased the pressure of ultra-chauvinist Sinhalese forces on the right-wing United National Party (UNP) regime of J.R. Jayewardene, which unleashed bombing raids in the northern Jaffna Peninsula aimed at demolishing Tamil guerrilla bases, which are in heavily populated areas. Groups monitoring the north have reported heavy civilian casualties.

The wave of killings began during a holiday week when many people were travelling to visit relatives. On April 17, in the northeastern Trincomalee district, men in military dress stopped three buses and two lorries [trucks]. Reportedly, after freeing the Tamils and Muslims, they simply massacred as many of the remainder as they could, including children. Using machine guns and grenades they killed 127 people, overwhelmingly civilians, though some 30 off-duty servicemen were among them.

Four days later a powerful bomb blew up at the main bus station in the heart of Colombo during the evening rush hour,



Reuters Photos

Rescue workers sift through wreckage of bus station after bomb killed and wounded hundreds in Pettah area, Colombo (left); Sinhalese father with his dead baby daughter after massacre in the northeast.



partition of India, when trains carrying Muslim and Hindu refugees were stopped and trainloads of passengers massacred by opposing communalists, the army boarded a train carrying Tamils back from New Year holidays in the north and gave it a military escort. A curfew was slapped on Colombo for five days while helicopters with searchlights patrolled above the city.

The Jayewardene government re-

A recent statement by Lanka's sinister "National Security" minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, seemed also to signal awareness of the India factor. "Up to now we have had the power, but we did not want to kill civilians. After all, they are our own people," said Athulathmudali (*New York Times*, 23 April). The government's conduct has amply shown that it considers the island to be solely the property of the Sinhalese Buddhist majority; it's the spectre of Lanka's Indian "big brother" that prompts these hypocritical protestations of family feeling.

If the Indian rulers think that the situation is getting out of hand, they could be forced to intervene. They don't like the presence in Lanka of advisers from what Lankan premier Premadasa calls the "loyal ally" Pakistan. (India and Pakistan were again on the brink of war earlier this year.) And the Indian government, which is diplomatically aligned with the Soviet Union and sees the region as its own sphere of influence, opposes U.S. imperialism's appetites toward strategic Trincomalee harbour. Nor does India like the increasingly frequent U.S. Navy visits to Colombo (which earlier this year reportedly led to a hushed-up "incident" between U.S. warships and a Soviet merchant ship in Colombo port). But Gandhi will bring no progressive solution to Lanka as some Tamil nationalists claim. Capitalist India is itself a prison house of peoples from the Sikhs to the untouchables. Last year the Indian government showed what it would do to anyone they consider out of line by detaining Sri

Lankan Tamil guerrilla leaders in Madras and seizing their arms and supplies.

Dual Power and State Terror in the North

The anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983 instigated by elements within Jayewardene's ruling UNP forced hundreds of thousands of Tamils to flee to the Northern and Eastern Provinces and India. The de facto partition of Lanka was reinforced by increased administrative state power in the north by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the concomitant isolation of the government forces. This unstable, dual power situation has led to constant war conditions in the north. Repeated artillery and aerial bombing in Jaffna, where the army has been holed up in a few bases, has killed hundreds. Schools and the main hospital have been targets. Jaffna district under virtual "Tiger" control has been subjected to a brutal blockade—rail, phone and fuel have been cut off for months. Lack of fuel has not just halted transport but stilled the irrigation pumps vital to agriculture. Even firewood supplies have been stopped.

In the Eastern Province, policies of Sinhalese colonisation have aimed at driving out the Tamils, especially from the area of Trincomalee harbour. The Trincomalee district has been the stomping ground of the notorious Special Task Force police commandos, trained by "ex"-SAS mercenaries from Keany Meany Services (KMS—which is also assisting the contras in Nicaragua). A British cabinet minister, David Waddington, who was in Sri Lanka at the time of the attacks, officially admitted the presence of the KMS mercenaries. Waddington, the minister who has spearheaded the British Tory government's drive to deny political refugee status to Tamils, blandly admitted that life was "very unpleasant" in Lanka for Tamils but hastened to deny that they are "conventional refugees." Thatcher stands by her butchers, and J.R.'s other friends, the U.S. imperialists, want the Trincomalee port as a base for their anti-Soviet war drive.

Negotiations and truces have been followed by renewed massacres, with the government using "cease-fires" to build up its armed forces and to try to consolidate its hold in the east. Despite occasional flurries of Indian-brokered negotiating proposals, at the beginning of this year the government hardened its drive toward a military solution in the

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Lanka Spartacist

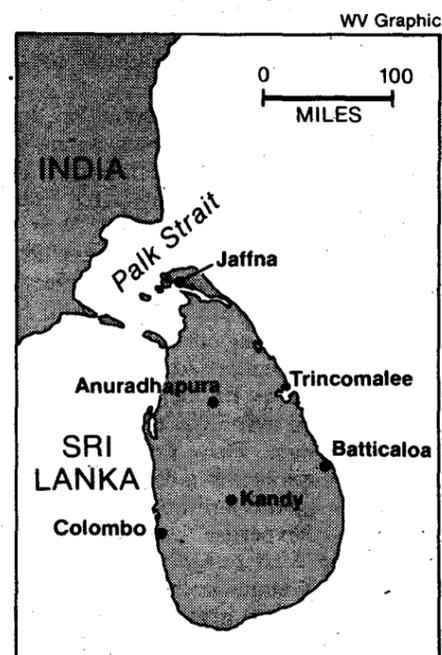
UNP-instigated mobs torched Tamil shops in Colombo, July 1983.

killing over 100 people and wounding hundreds more. The station is adjacent to the Pettah market area, where burned out buildings from some of the worst anti-Tamil attacks of 1983 still stand, and is the central transit point for workers and peasants travelling into the countryside, as well as civil service employees going home to the suburbs.

Colombo teetered on the brink of a mass anti-Tamil pogrom. In the Pettah, crowds of Sinhalese chauvinists attacked Tamils and tried to loot Tamil shops but were stopped by police firing tear gas. In Welikade prison, scene of the notorious massacre of Tamil political prisoners in July 1983, Sinhalese prisoners tried to break into the areas holding Tamil detainees. But the government is terrified of an Indian invasion as well as of the tremendous economic dislocation of uncontrolled communalist bloodletting. Unlike 1983 when the army and police permitted and indeed joined in the killings of hundreds of Tamils, this time the government tried to hold the line against massive pogroms, while promising the enraged Sinhalese chauvinists that the government would keep order in the south and retaliate militarily against Tamil strongholds in the north. Perhaps recalling the

mains uneasily poised atop a seething cauldron of communalist hatreds and fears. While Sinhalese-chauvinist "hardliners" howl for an unrestrained "military solution," the J.R. regime is not unaware of the power politics of the region. Sri Lanka is a tiny island of 16 million people which could be easily swatted by its giant neighbour to the north. India, with a population of 770 million, will risk massive unrest in the state of Tamil Nadu, where 50 million Tamils live, if it does not prevent the destruction of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

According to the *New York Times* (26 April), the Lankan government explains the recent massacres of Sinhalese civilians as a deliberate attempt by Tamil guerrillas "to provoke a violent backlash" by Sinhalese communalists against Tamils which in turn will force the Indian government to act. The Indian High Commissioner in Lanka, J.N. Dixit, was called to the Foreign Ministry to receive a demand that the Rajiv Gandhi government should hand over guerrillas who have taken refuge in India. "But however outspoken Sri Lankan leaders are in condemning India," the *Times* observed, "officials here [in Colombo] say they know the odds are against them."



Spain

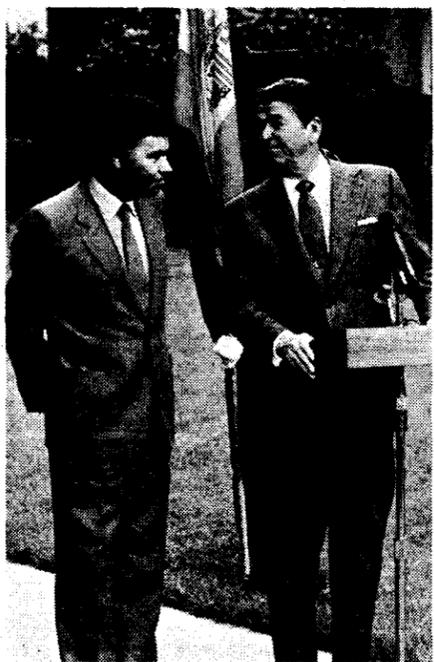
Workers Strike Against "Socialist" González

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

APRIL 20—For the past three months, the Spanish government of "Socialist" premier Felipe González has been rocked by the largest wave of militant social struggle seen in Spain since the mass strikes that followed the death of hated despot Franco in 1975. From January through March, there were more than 250 demonstrations in Madrid; in April there was strike action virtually every day, totaling over a million workers. In 1982 González' Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) came to power on a vague program of "change"; it was returned in 1986 under the smug slogan, Spain is "on the right track." But now it is reaping a whirlwind of popular protest against four years of strikebreaking and job-slashing austerity, brutal repression of the Basque minority, and "integration" of Spain into NATO Europe and the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union.

Inspired by students' and workers' struggles on the other side of the Pyrenees in France, in February schools all over Spain were shut down as a quarter-million high school students boycotted their classes. They took to the streets demanding free secondary education, state-financed stipends and an end to restricted admissions to higher education, with its elitist discrimination against working-class youth. The youthful protests were met by violent police repression, turning into street battles that vividly recalled the last years of *El Caudillo* Franco. Again as in France, the students' example found a wider echo: teachers struck, doctors and health workers protested hospital conditions, agricultural laborers from the impoverished southern regions of Extremadura and Andalucía marched. Newspapers began publishing weekly schedules of planned protests.

Now the big battalions of the Spanish



Spain's "Socialist" premier Felipe González in anti-Soviet NATO alliance with Reagan.



Ricardo Gutiérrez

proletariat have entered the fray, with strikes and occupations in construction, auto, steel, docks, airlines, railways and Madrid subways protesting layoffs and the government-imposed 5 percent wage ceiling. Transport walkouts at the beginning and end of Easter vacation week snarled traffic throughout the peninsula. A general strike was called, and then called off for fear it would be too explosive. Even the slavishly pro-government UGT (General Workers Union) headed by PSOE deputy Nicolás Redondo has rejected González' wage restraints and joined the strikes. In recent union elections the UGT lost out badly to the Communist Party-led Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.) which has adopted a more radical anti-government posture.

Working-class militancy threatens to escape the control of the labor bureaucrats altogether. In the northern Cantabria town of Reinosa, angry steel workers occupied their state-controlled mill in response to planned layoffs, taking the director hostage for good measure. Guardia Civil police attempting to end the occupation ran out of rubber bullets and were disarmed by strikers, who frog-marched them out of town. (A judge is trying to recover a missing submachine gun.) The "Socialist" government responded by bringing in 1,000 of the hated Civil Guards, including an "anti-terrorist" unit from the Basque country, helicopters and a dozen police tanks. In recent days there have been repeated pitched battles with the Guardia as workers try to cut the rail line to Madrid with flaming barricades. The PSOE mayor quit in the face of popular repudiation.

González came to office promising 800,000 new jobs. But joining the Common Market has meant wholesale "reconversion" (destruction) of decrepit Spanish industry so that today unemployment is more than 21 percent of the workforce (over three million jobless), the highest in West Europe. And Span-

ish workers are fed up. The Madrid bourgeoisie had nightmares when thousands of Asturian miners from the state-owned Hunosa pits marched on the industry ministry in Madrid, protesting plans to ax 6,000 jobs. Among their chants were, "We must prepare the general strike," and "This is how the '34 Revolution started" (*Cambio* 16, 23 March). The Asturias miners' insurrection of 1934, with its popular battle cry "U.H.P." (for "proletarian brothers unite"), was smashed by Franco, leading to the jailing of 40,000 workers; it was the precursor of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39.

The PSOE's October 1982 landslide election victory was greeted by West European social democrats as proof that Spain had completed the transition to "democracy" and was ready to play a more assertive role in imperialist Europe. González has been the Second International's point man for "democratic counterrevolution" in Central America. By engineering Spain's entry into NATO, he secured U.S. bases established under the Franco dictatorship which are strategic in the anti-Soviet war drive. But despite "Felipe's" personal popularity and cynical referendum ploys, the Spanish working masses continue their protests. What is grievously lacking is a revolutionary vanguard to lead this opposition to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance and its adjunct the Common Market, and to González' anti-working-class economic policies.

Popular Front Against the People

The international press has concentrated on the campus protests and the violent clashes between student demonstrators and the police. Indeed, the armed thugs of the Policía Nacional were soon dishing out some of the brutal treatment received daily by the Basque people in the north: the color of the uniform may have changed but it's still the same old Francoist Gestapo. Students valiantly defended their demon-



Alegre/Interviu

Madrid: Mass rally of public sector workers protests government austerity and layoffs (left). Hated Guardia Civil called in to break steel workers' plant occupation in Reinosa.

strations from the cop assaults, and in Madrid a group of fascist provocateurs was given a well-deserved lesson by student marshals. When police shot and seriously wounded a 14-year-old schoolgirl, outraged protesters demanded the resignation of PSOE interior minister José Barrionuevo—the loathsome former leader of the Francoist student "union."

Fresh in the minds of demonstrators and government alike were the events in France where student militants, backed by the threat of massive working-class mobilization, faced down the government of rightist premier Chirac and social-democratic president Mitterrand to win major concessions. Fearful of a social explosion, the Spanish government acceded to a number of the student demands—free secondary education and more scholarships—though education minister Maravall is adamant that open admissions to universities is out of the question. The student leaders, some associated with Nueva Claridad (linked to Ted Grant's Militant tendency; a dissident wing of the British Labour Party), called off the boycott. But the government faces a further round of protest as university students begin campus occupations.

Underlying the present round of student unrest in Europe is the desperation and anger of a generation abandoned by the reformist leaderships of the traditional workers parties—social-democratic and Stalinist—and condemned by decaying capitalism to the misery of unemployment. (Half of Spanish youth are without work.) Meanwhile, massive joblessness is used to sell the PSOE's disgusting racist *ley de extranjería* (aliens bill), intended to end immigration from outside the Common Market. Thousands of "undocumented aliens"—mainly black Africans, Arabs and Portuguese Gypsies—were rounded up in police dragnets and held in concentration

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New York City, 30 April 1982: Spartacist League protests vicious racist INS raids.

Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!

(continued from page 1)

represented official sanction for the racist backlash building against the rapidly growing Hispanic population. But they've tried to sell it by purporting to legalize the "illegals," providing the hope of residency and eventually citizenship for some of those who've already made it into the USA. The result is turning out to be a nightmare of bureaucratic arbitrariness, which the government is absolutely unprepared for. Even the Irish are complaining as the hopes for leaving impoverished rural Ireland are cut off. Millions of people are now being subjected to an irrational, Kafkaesque process that is ripping up their lives.

Reagan has tried to sell his Central America war policies by waving the bogey of brown-skinned hordes surging up from the south, alternately described as a "tidal wave of refugees from Communism" or as the Communist menace itself. And just as the war on ghetto blacks emanating from the White House has sparked lynch mobs from New York City to Georgia, the calls from Washington to "control our borders" have led to murderous attacks on Hispanics. Last July 4, as the U.S. was hypocritically celebrating 100 years of the Statue of Liberty, the domestic "contras" of the Civilian-Material Assistance organized a KKK-style vigilante squad along the Arizona border, kidnapping 16 Mexican workers at machine gun point.

It's not just xenophobia in the boondocks or nativist fascists in their white robes and camouflage gear. The racist coalition trying to slam the "golden door" particularly on Hispanic and black Caribbean immigrants runs from the Reagan administration and their fascist friends to Democratic liberals and the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. In fact, the liberals were key to getting the "reform" bill passed: Simpson is a Reaganite right-winger sensitive to Western growers who are only interested in a steady supply of farm labor; it was only when New Jersey Democrat Rodino went in on the deal, "liberalizing" the limited "amnesty" provisions, that they got the necessary votes. And the job-trusting labor fakery are among the worst of this racist lot. In addition to provoking trade war against Japan with "Buy American" protectionism, and vituperating against "export-

ing American jobs" to Mexico, the AFL-CIO News (18 October 1986) cheered that Simpson-Rodino "includes key labor goals"—like "employer sanctions" on hiring undocumented workers.

All the talk of "illegal aliens" supposedly "stealing American jobs" is hogwash. "Illegals" overwhelmingly work in the lowest-paid, dirtiest, backbreaking work no one else will do: stoop labor in the fields, kitchen work in restaurants, sweatshop industries and household maids. Nor do they "sponge" off social services: on the contrary, they pay income, Social Security and sales taxes like everyone else, while they *underutilize* services for fear of getting nabbed. And the "English only" baloney has nothing to do with teaching immigrants the language of the land; on the contrary, it's a racist ploy to victimize the foreign-born, depriving them of every right. But these nativist appeals are having an effect, including among blacks, who are segregated at the bottom of American society and feel their precarious livelihoods threatened by the latest wave of low-wage immigrant labor.

For the American ruling class, the drive to "control the borders" is a response to the economic crisis of U.S. capitalism and part of *preparations for war*. It was revealed last year that in April 1984 Reagan issued National Security Decision Directive 52, authorizing a nationwide "readiness exercise," REX 84, by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, to test its ability to put 400,000 undocumented Hispanic immigrants in concentration camps in the event of direct U.S. military operations in Central America. The Reaganites' nightmares of a "wetback communist" invasion are the fantasies of anti-Communist crazies—but that's who's running the country. However, the upsurge in Hispanic immigration directly connects the class struggle on both sides of the border. Among the hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees fleeing death squad terror and the several million Mexican workers trying to escape grinding poverty, there are many who are open to a program of international proletarian revolution.

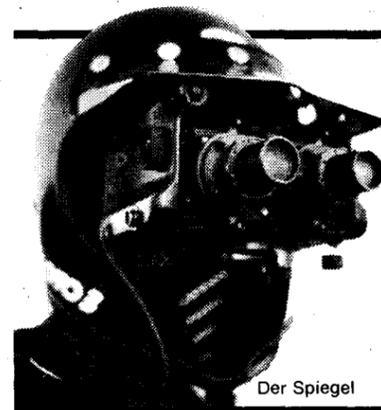
The immigration issue has thrown the U.S. government into contortions reflecting the *failure* of its Central

American policies. As a result of the six-year-old Salvadoran civil war (which was supposed to be an "easy win" in order to rev up the anti-Soviet war drive) more than 500,000 Salvadorans have sought refuge in the U.S.—10 percent of the entire population of that tiny country. The money they send back is more than the total U.S. aid, and with 40 percent unemployment at home if hundreds of thousands start pouring back to Salvador it could spell the end of the shaky U.S.-backed regime. Already the FMLN guerrilla coalition has issued an appeal to returning Salvadorans to join the struggle. Thus Simpson-Rodino has produced the bizarre spectacle of puppet president Duarte writing secretly to Reagan begging his patron *not* to send back Salvadoran

problem and we're going to have a massive wave of immigration." For Reagan, the Caribbean is America's "front yard," and Mexico/Central America is the U.S.' strategic rear which must be controlled at all costs.

What they intend to do is *militarize the border*. In early November, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) announced it will provide its Border Patrol thugs with 1,000 M-14 Army rifles and a couple of armored personnel carriers to patrol the chain link fence derisively known by the racists as the "Tortilla Curtain." INS cops (the hated *migra*) talk of "bagging wets" like gung-ho Green Berets in Vietnam used to brag about "bagging VC." In April 1985, a U.S. Border Patrol cop fired across the international frontier dividing the San Diego suburb of San Ysidro from Tijuana, Mexico, shooting 12-year-old Humberto Carrillo in the back and leaving him bleeding on the ground. This kind of incident will become more and more the norm, for in its starkest terms "immigration control" means *killing Mexicans and Salvadorans*.

In every period of economic and political crisis in the United States during this century the rulers have carried out mass deportations. Following World War I and the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, as the message of Communism was spreading among American workers, it was the Red Scare. The infamous Palmer Raids rounded up 10,000 "reds" and other immigrants, and over 1,000 leftist militants were thrown out of the country. In the Great Depression, more than 500,000 Mexicans were sent back by U.S. authorities, mostly migrant farm workers. During WWII the *bra-*



High-tech repression on the Rio Grande. Racist La Migra polices border with infrared night scopes.

refugees, and even giving tacit support to bills which would provide them temporary asylum—something the administration has fought tooth and nail until now.

The racist immigration "control and reform" act is a threat to everyone. It is not only producing a wave of discrimination against anyone who "looks foreign," the law is already being used against *all* workers, such as the requirement that everyone show proof of citizenship or residency to get a job. This is the first step to a monstrous South African-style pass system. Combined with the existing witchhunting anti-immigrant laws like the McCarran-Walter Act, this "reform" lays the basis for a massive expansion of the police powers of the state for the regimentation of millions. *All defenders of labor, minority and democratic rights must take up the fight to smash the racist Simpson-Rodino Act and other anti-immigrant laws! Asylum for refugees from death squad terror—Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!*

Smash Simpson-Rodino Racist Immigration Law!

In addition to their racist "brown peril" demagoguery and blaming "illegal aliens" for everything from unemployment to drugs, the Reaganites have consistently posed the immigration issue in terms of "national security." Ex-CIA director William Casey in 1984: "If we have another Cuba in Central America, Mexico will have a big

cero program was started to bring in farm hands, but after the Korean War, when unemployment shot up, in 1954 Washington proclaimed "Operation Wetback," and "a veritable militarized dragnet operation...sent 1 million to 2 million Mexicans to the nearest jailhouse, detention center, or border crossing. An atmosphere of nativist hysteria and anti-Mexican terror swept the land" (James Cockcroft, *Outlaws in the Promised Land: Mexican Immigrant Workers and America's Future* [1986]).

Immigration laws have always been used for political control in the U.S., for example excluding Jews escaping the Holocaust and then bringing in Nazi war criminals. Today as during the 1920s Red Scare, anti-Communism and anti-immigrant hysteria go hand in hand. A *New York Times* (27 April) report on the chaos engulfing the amnesty program mandated by Simpson-Rodino a week before it goes into effect noted that in Chicago, Hispanics are critical of the law while the Polish Welfare Association hails it: "In the Polish community, there's a genuinely positive feeling for what the legalization process is going to do," said a spokesman. No wonder. While Salvadorans from Duarte's death squad "democracy" are deported by the hundreds, and black Haitians fleeing "Baby Doc" Duvalier's island hell were left to drown by the Coast Guard, anti-Communist Cuban, Polish and Afghan émigrés are given the red-carpet treatment, by both Reagan and the Demo-

MEASURES SUBMITTED TO VOTE OF VOTERS

OFFICIAL STATE LANGUAGE. Requires Legislature and state officials to ensure English as official state common language. Provides for private enforcement. Fiscal impact: No direct effect on the costs or revenues of the state or local governments. **YES 263 NO 264**

PROPOSICIONES A SER SOMETIDAS AL VOTO DE LOS ELECTORES

263 SI 赞成 IDIOMA OFICIAL DEL ESTADO. Requiere que la Asamblea Legislativa y los funcionarios del Estado aseguren que el inglés es el idioma común oficial del Estado. Permite la acción privada para hacer cumplir la ley. Impacto fiscal: No tiene ningún efecto directo en los costos e ingresos de los gobiernos locales o estatales. **264 NO 反对**

Racist in any language: California's "English only" proposition (printed in English, Spanish and Chinese).

crats. The *New York Times* (7 September 1986) reported the statistics:

"So far, of the asylum requests decided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the 1986 fiscal year, 75 percent of those from the Soviet Union have been granted, as against 70 percent of those from Rumania, 7 percent from El Salvador and 2 percent from Guatemala."

The Salvadorans are sent to desert hellholes like El Centro in California; like the Laredo prison run for the INS, at a handsome profit, by the Corrections Corporation of America; or the brand new \$17 million Oakdale INS facility at a remote site in Louisiana, 200 miles from New Orleans, where last September a newspaper writer was arrested for photographing this immigration prison. And then there's the *Corralón* (big holding pen), the INS "processing center" in Bayview, Texas, where rape is commonplace. The workers movement must demand that these *American concentration camps* be torn down and our fellow workers imprisoned there be set free!

"Use 'em, abuse 'em and send 'em back" has always been the motto of American employers, who have seen Mexico as a vast reservoir of cheap labor to be tapped in order to drive down wages at home. Currently they're sending 'em back at a tremendous pace: 1.8 million in 1986. These are mostly the daily Border Patrol pick-ups, but following passage of the Simpson-Rodino "reform" bill there was a wave of Gestapo-like *migra* raids across the country. And just as in contra gun-running, "private initiative" is encouraged. INS Western regional commissioner Harold Ezell, a "Christian" racist bigot who says hunting undocumented workers is "fun," and "if you catch 'em, you ought to clean 'em and fry 'em," set up an Orange County vigilante mob called "Americans for Border Control" which cheers on INS dawn raids. But this is just preparation for the avalanche of up to *two million* deportations the new law is expected to touch off.

The Simpson-Rodino Act is a viciously anti-immigrant law. It was passed at the last minute after intricate and extensive horsetrading that culminated in a House-Senate conference chaired by Southern racist kingpin Strom Thurmond. The difficulties in getting it passed reflect the myriad of conflicting economic interests affected among the powers that be in American capitalism. Thus while Reagan and Meese pushed for the law, the *Wall Street Journal* opposed any attempt to regulate illegal immigration. (Reagan's support was dependent on providing a *bracero* program to supply farm laborers for California growers.) While job-trusting AFL-CIO tops pushed for employer sanctions, textile unions (ILGWU and ACTWU) among others opposed them because such a large section of their memberships are undocumented workers. The "amnesty" provisions were thrown in to get liberal support, which they did. In the end, five of eleven members of the Hispanic caucus voted for this anti-Hispanic law.

The amnesty provisions of Simpson-Rodino are full of traps. "Illegal"



Watsonville cannery strikers (left), Phelps Dodge copper miners (right): Hispanic workers in front line of hard class battles.

workers are required to prove they entered the U.S. before 1 January 1982 and have been here ever since—in other words, they have to document that they've been undocumented. And this is supposed to be a "self-financing" reform, meaning that applicants are being slapped with heavy fees and by the time they get done paying for processing documents, photos, fingerprinting, police clearance, etc. it will cost them over \$1,000 per individual and almost \$3,000 per family. If they can't pay, then, according to INS commissioner Alan Nelson, "they're not going to be qualified" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 March). Families may be split up, as each member has to apply separately and frequently the father came first, bringing the rest after he found a job. Those who have been laid off or have ever received unemployment benefits may be rejected as a potential "public charge." And naturally many may hesitate to apply, fearing if they're turned down the *migra* will then know where to find them.

This reactionary "reform", is also deeply hypocritical. While purporting to control a "flood tide" of immigration, it seeks to ensure there will be a sufficiently huge flow of low-wage "guest workers" to ensure the profits of agribusiness barons (who depend on "illegals" for 50-70 percent of their workforce), high-tech entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley (where before National Semiconductor and other chip moguls shut their plants 20-25 percent of the workforce was "illegal"), Washington, D.C. hotel and restaurant owners (at least 10 percent of whose workers are Salvadoran), etc. Without these immigrant workers there will be no fresh vegetables for yuppies on Manhattan's Upper East Side, no canned or frozen vegetables for the folks in Kalamazoo. And so that Congressmen in Washington can replace their illegal Haitian maids, the "au pair" program bringing in white Nordic girls is being expanded.

American workers who fall for the sucker-bait boss propaganda that their "illegal" class brothers and sisters are "stealing jobs" should try being a migrant farm worker. Hundreds of thousands work grueling hours doing stoop labor under a hot sun, often with a backbreaking short-handled hoe, sleeping in broken-down hulks of abandoned cars at night. The growers even made a

stink when the government recently required them to install outhouses. A Spartacist comrade who grew up working the fields of California's Sacramento Valley and Napa wine country told *Workers Vanguard* some of her recollections of what life was like for Hispanic farm workers during LBJ's "Great Society" of the 1960s:

"My father was born in Sinaloa, Mexico, and first came to the States in the 1930s. He's been back and forth several times. My mother came to California from Texas. I grew up picking grapes, peaches, apples, cherries, working in the tomatoes. My older brothers and sisters did a lot of heavier work, like cotton, bucking hay. My mother used to put me in a wooden box out in the field when I was a baby. You start working as soon as you can—they gave us a box at the age of 3 or so. Kids who worked in the fields would always miss the first few weeks of school. "In school my cousins and older brothers and sisters were told they

uncle Claude Garcia wounded during a knife attack that began with the taunt, "Stupid Mexicans, always speaking Spanish."

The virulent racism of the "English only" referendum led liberal author Norman Cousins, listed as an endorser, to publicly repudiate it. Novelist Gore Vidal, cited by the national "U.S. English" organization as a member of its advisory board, said: "Obviously, this amendment is out to get the Hispanics." Vidal observed that many Mexicans call the southwestern United States the "stolen lands"—territories seized after the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. "Very rightly, they're refilling these lands. They have every right to do that. We stole the land from them and now they're reclaiming it" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 October). But one "English only" sponsor who hasn't backed out is... Arnold Schwarzenegger, of mono-



Hispanic women toil in sweatshop.

couldn't speak Spanish in the classroom or out in the yard—not only by the teachers but by other kids, who'd call them 'dirty beaner, spic, nigger' and everything else. When I was small I thought my father was an illegal alien, and I was always terrified that the police would come and take him away. We used to see the *migra* ride through town. A lot of people were illegal, they lived in the worst shacks, they would hide. Meanwhile, kids in school whose dads were growers would brag that they would call the *migra* on the illegals at the end of the season, before they got their pay."

"English Only" Bigotry in California

Last November 4, by a 3-to-1 margin, California voters approved ballot Proposition 63 declaring English the official language of the state and directing public officials to "take all steps necessary" to ensure that the role of English is "preserved and enhanced." The measure gives private parties the right to sue for enforcement. This racist law is a direct attack on the huge Hispanic and Asian populations in California, a state whose constitution was written in both Spanish and English—that is, on the people who *built* California. And just as "Buy American" ultimately means "kill Asians"—witness the brutal murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin in Detroit by a racist auto foreman and his stepson who thought he "looked Japanese"—so "English only" has translated into "kill Latinos." In Los Angeles last June, Salvadoran immigrant Roberto Figueroa was murdered and his

syllabic *Conan the Barbarian* fame. Arnold may regard himself an all-round Aryan *übermensch* (and a real American now that he's married into the Kennedy clan), but he is not noted for facility in making himself understood in English.

Organizers of Prop 63 blithely claimed they meant no harm to immigrants. This is a bald-faced lie: witness the fact that they started their offensive with a drive against the printing of voters ballots in Spanish and Chinese as well as English! Their clear aim is to *disenfranchise* immigrants. In 1982, U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello launched a secret investigation of voters who requested ballots in Spanish and Chinese, a witchhunt against unnamed groups that "might" have been registering non-citizens to vote. This intimidation campaign was of a piece with the arrest of elderly black ladies in Alabama for registering black voters. In contrast, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, under Lenin and Trotsky, extended citizenship to all who worked in the land of the Soviets, regardless of their country of origin.

In the wake of Prop 63's passage, "California English" proponents are taking aim at bilingual welfare applications, driver's license booklets, etc. The notorious rightist ex-U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa says the "problem of California" is that the state is "making life too easy for people who don't speak English"...and he intends to rectify that. (Hayakawa is infamous for his

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U.S. slams door on desperate Haitian refugees, welcomes Nazi war criminals, Cuban gusanos and contra scum.

Immigration Law...

(continued from page 9)

repression of the 1969 San Francisco State University "Third World" student strike; for declaring about the Panama Canal "we stole it fair and square"; and for opposing compensation to Japanese Americans interned during World War II.) Among the ways they're trying to make life difficult for immigrants is by seeking to eliminate Spanish and Chinese translators in hospitals and campaigning against Chinese and Korean business signs in Monterey Park, a 40 percent Asian L.A. suburb.

The "English only" gang's xenophobic demagoguery is as ludicrous as it is deadly. Hayakawa blusters about the danger of "great-grandchildren of immigrants" speaking another language. As if foreign-born workers need to be beaten over the head to understand that you need to learn English to survive, let alone get ahead, in the U.S.! A study by the right-wing Rand Corporation think tank (*Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California* [May 1986]) found that more than 90 percent of first-generation Mexican Americans born in the U.S. are proficient in English, and that by the second

who need the programs most are mainly segregated in the poorest areas, with the worst schools—little more than daytime prisons. The fact is that capitalist America is increasingly unable to teach its youth—white, black or Hispanic—to read, write or speak English correctly. Functional illiteracy is at an estimated 20 percent among adults, and growing. Of course, the dreams of some nationalists for an all-Spanish curriculum would not only be utopian—this is an overwhelmingly English-speaking country—but grossly reactionary for the Hispanic kids.

During the 1920s, after U.S. imperialism's defeat of Germany in WWI, chauvinists screaming about "the Hun" passed laws forbidding the use of German by German Americans. Today's "America first, English only" bigots are likewise trying to "unite" the country for war. They would agree with Japanese premier Nakasone's racist remark that the intellectual level in the United States is "lower" because "there is a rather large number of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans." (Of course, any number of American bourgeois politicians have said the same when they thought the microphones were off.) And they want to use immigration and language laws to "homogenize" the U.S. like Hitler used the Nuremberg racial laws. Historically, such attempts to force minorities to abandon their language lead straight to pogroms: the Armenians forced to speak Turkish, Basques forced to speak Spanish, Tamils targeted by "Sinhala only" chauvinism in Sri Lanka.

Building the Bolshevik Party in the tsarist "prison house of peoples," Lenin insisted that the revolutionary proletarian vanguard party must be a "tribune of the people" and champion the fight against every form of oppression. Lenin opposed official status for any single language and proclaimed:

"The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language..."

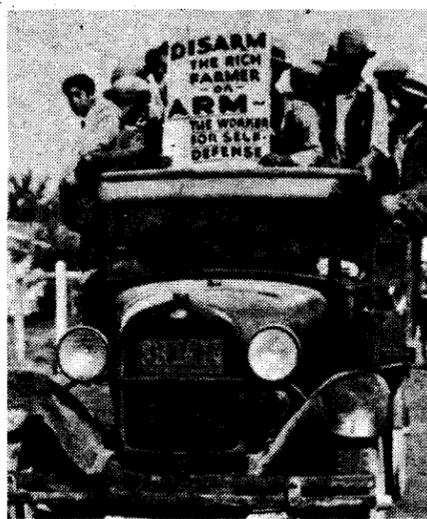
"Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities in all working-class organizations... in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism."

—"Critical Remarks on the National Question" (1913)

The Hispanic Question in North America

The chauvinist frenzy behind the "English only" movement reflects the fact that they are trying to stem an inexorable tide that is determined above all by economics. Millions of Central American and Caribbean immigrants are drawn to the U.S. because they can find work here. And as the numbers of Spanish speakers increase, this reflects itself in everything from official announcements to advertising. Signs on New York subways announce that "*la vía del tren subterráneo es peligrosa*" (subway tracks are dangerous) because this is vital information they want riders to understand. And fast-food chains in Florida put up welcome signs saying "*bienvenidos a McDonald's*" because they want to sell burgers. In California, the first target of the "California, English" crowd after the victory of Prop 63 was plans by Pacific Bell to set up multilingual operator services, which the company expected to earn it \$100 million.

The racists' frustration is taking itself out in mounting assaults on Hispanics around the country. In the Bronx, mob attacks last summer by Italian American youths against Puerto Ricans; and in North Tarrytown, NY a cop riot in June, after which the mayor called in the INS to raid the Hispanic barrio. In the San Diego suburb of Encinitas in November, shortly after passage of the immigration law, a gang of white teenage would-be Rambos in camou-



Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

California, 1933: Communist-led farm workers strike against starvation wages and racist attacks.

flage uniforms was marauding around shooting up anyone they considered an "illegal alien." In some rundown factory towns there have been actual race riots, as in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1984 where French Canadians (many themselves unemployed) torched a poor Puerto Rican area. But often the racist character of attacks has been hidden by the media: in the gruesome slaughter at the McDonalds in San Ysidro, California, where 21 people were killed and 19 wounded by a crazed gunman, it was seldom reported that this Viet vet kept muttering about "damned Vietnamese," and almost all of his victims were Mexican, including many farm workers.

The size of the migration is dramatic. Already the U.S. has the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking population in the world, even by census statistics which place the number of Hispanics at 18 million. This is a little over 7 percent of the total population, but the figure is frequently criticized as much too low. It doesn't include many of the "illegals," who number as many as nine million (an estimated three to six million are eligible for the amnesty). And the numbers are growing rapidly. In California, where they are about one-quarter of the state population, more than 56 percent of public school students are Hispanic. At present growth rates, Hispanics will replace blacks as the largest minority within a very few years. And the influx of low-paid workers has meant that the overall average income of Hispanics is falling sharply: the official poverty rate for Hispanics was 29 percent in 1985, up from 22 percent in 1979, while black poverty stayed at 31 percent.

The Spartacist League has taken note of the growing importance of Hispanics in the United States, and the implications for revolutionaries. In particular, we have emphasized the intersection of the black question and Hispanic question in this country. Thus the SL's 1983 conference document, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction," states:

"... Hispanics are becoming the largest ethnic minority in this country. Tending to stand outside linguistically/culturally the American 'mainstream,' the Hispanic populations in America are widely diverse, encompassing both educated petty-bourgeois layers with the possibility for 'making it' in America and masses of desperate ex-peasants who in many areas of the country live worse than the black masses and see the unions as vehicles for black/white job-trusting and accomplices to the racist deportations..."

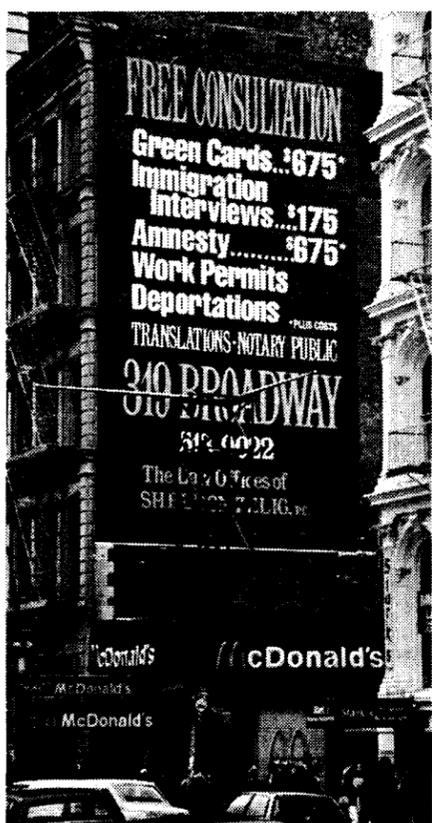
"Contrary to prevailing opinion in Latin nationalist milieus, Hispanics are on the whole not below blacks on a scale of social oppression but above, and can get out while blacks are locked in as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society. Structurally this is a black-white country, making the black question strategic to the American revolution. As they are absorbed Hispanics will tend to become assimilated mainly to whites, while Caribbean blacks and darker skinned will stay back. As with every new wave of immigrants, the first wave often faces brutal conditions—in this case, particularly the superexploitation growing out of undocumented workers' lack of legal rights. Our struggle for citizenship rights for all foreign workers, a key

demand raised by no other tendency, is necessarily part of a struggle to oust the chauvinist labor bureaucracy. North American revolutionaries make clear our opposition to U.S. imperialism by uncompromising support for Puerto Rican independence and for significant restitution for the lands stolen from Mexico in 1848. This also helps us in counterposing proletarian internationalism to the anti-Yankee nationalism which pervades the Latin American left."

There is no single "Hispanic people" in the U.S. Mexican Americans in the Southwest are not a phantasmagorical "Chicano nation" but in a real sense an extension of the Mexican nation. Puerto Ricans in New York and Chicago come from an enslaved colony of Yankee imperialism, and Dominicans from a neocolony, but once on the mainland they form part of the multi-racial U.S. working class. Cubans in Florida—the *gusanos* and their children (many of whom do not share their parents' counterrevolutionary sentiments)—fled a revolution and are now America's Hispanic "success story," averaging almost *twice* the income and less than *half* the unemployment level of Puerto Ricans.

Historically, the color bar has been the fundamental barrier to assimilation in the U.S. As Big Bill Broonzy sang, "If you're white, you're all right; if you're brown, stick around; if you're black, get back." The *black question* is key to the economy, history and social institutions of capitalist America, growing out of the legacy of slavery and the struggle which abolished it, the Civil War. While many Hispanics are as poor or poorer than blacks, this by no means determines that "black and Latino unity" is the preordained outcome, as Third World nationalists (such as the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party) imagine. Far from it. Lately, racist-bourgeois politicians have tried to appeal to Hispanics as a swing group *against* blacks, as in the hotly contested Chicago elections. In California, many blacks voted for the racist "English only" referendum, partly out of a feeling that "we've been here 400 years and still haven't gotten ours."

Within the logic of capitalism, the smaller the pie, the more brutal the struggle for a piece of it. And as decaying capitalism's pie shrinks rapidly, the struggle for survival is fiercest among those for whom society makes it hardest to survive. The basis for united struggle by the black and Hispanic masses is not nationalism, which inevitably separates the oppressed, but common *class* struggle. And that struggle requires a conscious Leninist vanguard as a "tribune of the people," fighting for the program of *revolutionary integrationism*, for *black liberation through socialist revolution*. A revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component must necessarily fight to be the party of the Hispanic workers and poor. And Hispanic



WV Photo

Undocumented workers will have to shell out big bucks to buy amnesty in the "land of the free" (provided you can pay).

generation the majority speak English only. The idea that English is "threatened" is laughable, especially since it is the *lingua franca* of international commerce.

In fact, the "English only" bigots are trying to *shut down* English classes for immigrants and make people give up their native language, cold turkey—or else. In the midst of the Prop 63 campaign, L.A. schools *turned away* 40,000 applicants for English classes just this fall! In October California governor George Deukmejian, a staunch Reaganite, vetoed legislation to extend bilingual education programs, due to end this school year. Bigots claim bilingual education, a basic right for language minorities, impedes children from learning English. Nonsense! The California state assembly research office found that more than 80 percent of students in the state's bilingual programs become fluent in English within 2-1/2 years.

There are problems in bilingual education—such as the plight of Puerto Rican children in New York, with an estimated 80 percent high school drop-out rate, many of whom grow up without real proficiency in English or Spanish. But this is because the kids

SPARTACIST

Respuesta a G. Lora, loro del nacionalismo

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immigrant workers must understand this and seek to integrate themselves into the class struggle here. They can be a vital spark for the North American working class, as their "foreign" origin makes many more open to internationalist and revolutionary ideas.

Class-conscious workers must defend the right of their foreign-born brothers and sisters who have made it into the U.S. to stay here with the same rights as everyone else. Some pseudo-leftists such as Jack Barnes' anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and Bob Avakian's Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, however, call for "open borders," and the latter publicized a "Breakdown the Border" conference in El Paso/Ciudad Juárez. This demand, like calls for a "fair" or "non-racist" immigration policy, is utopian under capitalism. And in fact, an open border ultimately threatens the democratic right of self-determination of the weaker power. English is not threatened by the increasing economic integration of the U.S. and Mexico: how many Anglo youth speak "Spanglish"? A truly "open" border under capitalism would enable American moneybags to buy up northern Mexico, not unlike what they did to Texas over a century ago.

Hispanic workers are already integrated into the proletariat of the United States. As far back as 1915 they played a vanguard role, as Mexican miners organized by IWW syndicalists led a powerful copper strike in Morenci, Arizona at the height of World War I. Seven decades later Chicano miners in Morenci again took the lead in fighting Reaganite union-busting by Phelps Dodge, a bitter yearlong strike that ended in defeat. In the 1960s, Hispanic agricultural workers led by Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers sparked a broad sympathy for La Causa. In the 1980s, Latina cannery workers in Watsonville, California fought for 18 months and managed to save their union despite brutal cop and company attacks and treacherous backstabbing by the Teamster union tops.

Increasingly, the unions have had to come to terms with the wave of immigrant workers. The ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union), infamous for its jingoist "Buy American" jingles, has begun to organize undocumented workers on a mass scale in the \$3 billion-a-year California apparel industry. Rad-lib darling Chavez actually called on *la migrá* to go into the fields and arrest "illegal aliens" hired as scabs by the growers. But today the ILG bureaucrats include a standard "INS clause" in their L.A. contracts which requires employers to notify the union when INS agents are sited near the workplace, and to rehire any undocumented worker who is deported and comes back with a new name or Social Security number! A class-struggle leadership of labor would mobilize real union muscle to demand: Stop the deportations! Smash the racist immigration law! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

Despite all the racist barriers, Hispanic immigrants are rapidly integrating into American society. There are hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans who have been driven into the imperialist heartland, escaping from the U.S.-backed death squads who have murdered their loved ones and comrades, and millions of Mexican workers are to be found in the fields and factories of the Sun Belt. Mexican nationalists repeat the lament of conservative dictator Porfirio Díaz: "Poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States." Proletarian internationalists greet the fact that massive infusion of Hispanic workers from south of the border can serve as a human bridge for revolutionary class struggle throughout the Americas. Build a world party of socialist revolution to link up the struggles from the Southern Cone of South America to the belly of the imperialist beast! ■

Black Miners Break Apartheid Chains

Defiant black mine workers in South Africa have struck a significant blow against apartheid slavery, moving their wives and girlfriends into the all-male hostels of the giant Anglo American mining empire. They have directly challenged the migrant labor system in which hundreds of thousands of black men, stripped of every political and human right, are forced to toil as "migrant" laborers in the factories and mines. Cruelly separated for at least eleven months a year from their families, who are made to starve on bantustan wastelands, black workers are imprisoned in the men-only barracks.

The miners' bold action creates an acute dilemma for the mine bosses who pay lip service to dismantling the male-only compounds. The 600,000 black miners, who have produced the golden riches of apartheid, are the Achilles' heel of racist South African capitalism.



Miller/Afrapix

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

black worker was fired for having been one day late in turning over \$20 in fees collected for the state-owned rail agency. The strike spread rapidly to train stations throughout the heavily populated industrial region around Johannesburg, disrupting commuter and cargo traffic. At the strike's sixth week, SATS' losses were estimated at \$100 million. Heavily armed police began patrolling commuter trains and train stations after more than 60 cars were set ablaze at stations in and around Johannesburg on the rail line to Soweto.

The rail service is traditionally a preserve of protected employment of poorer whites, who constitute slightly more than half of SATS' approximately 200,000 employees. This is the last redoubt of the dwindling white working class, and following the mass firing of black strikers, hundreds of unemployed whites lined up for their jobs. White supervisory personnel at SATS are notoriously arbitrary and abusive. The COSATU-affiliated Railway and Harbour Workers Union, which management has refused to recognize and which had only 9,000 members at the beginning of the strike, struck to demand reinstatement of the fired worker with full back pay, elimination of all racist practices within SATS, full pay for the strikers and no reprisals.

Brutal repression against anti-apartheid organizations like the African National Congress (ANC)-backed United Democratic Front has made the black-centered unions, particularly the 500,000-strong COSATU federation,

the principal vehicle for protest. But the ANC and their supporters, including the top leadership of COSATU, seek to shackle the power of black labor to pull the cart of nationalism. The ANC's strategy to "make the country ungovernable and the economy unworkable" seeks only to pressure South Africa's rapacious capitalists and their imperialist allies into "reforming" apartheid and permitting some "form" of "power-sharing" without bringing down the capitalist system that is at the heart of the apartheid superexploitation and slavery.

Internationally, the ANC's strategy centered on imperialist "divestment." But the flight of foreign capital like the GM pullout has been motivated by capitalist profits, not campus protest, and it has been accompanied by busting the independent, black-centered unions. Instead of being pressured into "reform," apartheid police-state terror has grown only more savage. Since the emergency regulations which permit indefinite detention without charge and without access to family and lawyers were introduced last June, it is estimated that 30,000 people have been jailed. The detentions are supplemented by the widespread use of death squads to murder labor and anti-apartheid activists.

Among the detainees are more than 10,000 black children and youth under the age of 18. The jailing of children, in particular, has provoked mass, multi-racial protests. In response, on April 10 South Africa's racist Reich outlawed all forms of protest against detention, even the sending of telegrams, circulating petitions, posting bumper stickers or wearing T-shirts with slogans such as "Free the Children." This draconian

dictate has been challenged by the Natal Supreme Court, yet thousands of men, women and children languish in South Africa's notorious torture chambers while their families fear for their lives.

The rail strike was particularly embarrassing to South Africa's *Führer* P.W. Botha and the Afrikaner-based ruling National Party. With elections to the whites-only parliament only days



Reuters

Black unionists at Johannesburg COSATU headquarters after cop raid.

away, whites are divided over Botha's repressive policies, both on the right, where there is a growing fascist movement, and on the left. To please the right, Botha sent the army into Zambia on April 25, killing four. The raid evoked widespread protest in South Africa, which was suppressed by cops using whips, tear gas and shotguns for the first time against white students. Some liberal whites, especially on college campuses, have joined the victims of apartheid oppression—black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian—in demanding the dismantling of white supremacy, and one-man, one-vote majority rule. But class exploitation is the motor force for the disenfranchisement of apartheid's victims; their emancipation requires a *social revolution*.

What is urgently needed in South Africa is an integrated revolutionary workers party, a Bolshevik party, committed to the expropriation of South Africa's wealth by its producers in a black-centered workers government. Smash apartheid—For workers revolution! ■

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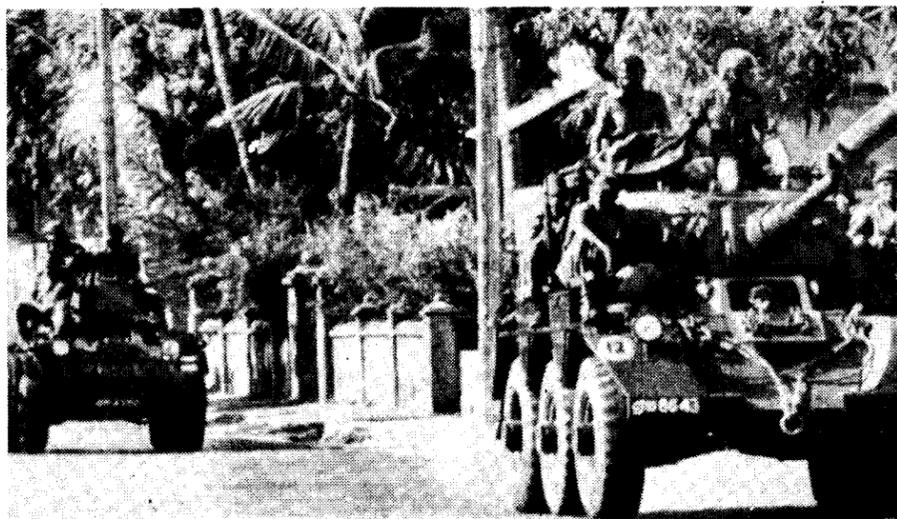
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north though last May an army offensive against Jaffna Peninsula ground to a humiliating halt. Underlining its military control of the Palk Strait separating Lanka from India, the Lankan government on April 24 sank a boat alleged to be carrying munitions from India to the Tamil fighters.

Prodded by the recent terrorism, the government launched the wave of bombing raids on Jaffna, then extended the bombing further into the Northern and Eastern Provinces, reportedly killing hundreds of Tamil civilians. A dragnet of 5,000 troops was deployed and new plans to settle 5,000 armed Sinhalese in the Trincomalee district were announced. And Parliament has again extended the four-year draconian "State of Emergency."

Murderous Nationalism

The Sri Lankan government has blamed the LTTE and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) for the recent attacks, though both organisations have denied responsibility. Provoking an orgy of Sinhala communalism against the Tamils would certainly suit strong forces among the Sinhala-chauvinists, including in the army and UNP, but the Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalist groups are quite capable of carrying out such acts of murderous indiscriminate terrorism in



Military occupation of Jaffna, August 1981.

Central Telegraph Office in May last year.

In a leaflet published on 14 August 1986, the Spartacist League/Lanka, sympathising section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote:

"It is the main responsibility of all Tamil militant groups who are struggling for Eelam to prevent such racist activity and whoever indulges in such activities must be exposed and strongly criticised and should be rooted out. Tamil militants have not reacted because they do not consider it to be important."

The sordid character of the Tamil groups' nationalism is also shown by their murderous internecine conflicts. The Tigers have effectively wiped out the TELO, PLOTE and EPRLF Tamil

plantation workers, imported by the British in the 19th century, and the "Ceylon Tamils," who have shared the island for many centuries with the Sinhalese. The plantation workers historically have not sympathised with the separatist struggle for Eelam, and Jayewardene has co-opted their union leader, the despicable Thondaman, as a UNP minister and even granted citizenship to many of the formerly "stateless" plantation workers.

At the same time, the regime is under attack from the rival Sinhala communalists of the SLFP led by Mrs. Bandaranaike, who say the government is "incompetent" in suppressing the Tamils, while fanatical Buddhist monks demonstrate demanding the president's resignation. In the government and the army, including at the top, there are mutinous elements who think that J.R. is "soft." The government has accused the petty-bourgeois, Sinhala-racist, ex-Guevarist JVP of raiding army camps for arms. It is widely alleged that the JVP was responsible for the murder of Daya Pathirana, president of the Independent Students Union, a grouping espousing a "Nicaraguan road" of joint Sinhala/Tamil struggle, in December last year at Panadura near Colombo. The Sinhala communalist forces whipped up by the UNP may well swamp the regime, leading to unrestrained communal civil war.

In a case which encapsulates the ruling powers' worst fantasies, 23 Sinhalese and Tamil radical intellectuals in Colombo have just been indicted under the Emergency Regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act for an alleged plot to overthrow the government. The utter paucity of proof in this case exposes the fact that the real "crime" is the mere thought of joint Tamil/Sinhalese struggle.

Revolutionary Class Struggle the Only Answer

Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was known for centuries, used to be called the Jewel of Asia. At the time of independence from Britain in 1947, it had the highest standard of living and literacy of any rural country in Asia. Ceylon was a polyglot community—in fact, aboriginals who predated both the Tamils and Sinhalese still existed. Historically in Ceylon there was heavy Arab influx from the 10th century, and European colonisation from the 16th century onward. The Muslim population is presumably derived from both Moghul and Arab antecedents, with Malay immigrant inclusion. There are also Christians among both the Sinhalese and Tamil populations.

From independence on, the Sinhalese Buddhist majority pressure has been relentless against the ethnic minorities. First to be destroyed were the few but very valuable Eurasians, the "Burghers," at the top of the civil service and military cadres. Then came the abandonment of the English language in order to eliminate the hold by the island Tamils on the bulk of the substantial civil service, centrally through the "Sinhala Only" campaign of the mid-

1950s. The bloody anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983 were the extension of this policy in the face of mounting Tamil discontent.

The peoples of southern India and Lanka are part of one interpenetrated gene pool. In Lanka, Sinhalese and Tamils can tell one another apart only by small details of dress and, of course, by their language. And the Buddhist revival, the basis upon which Sinhalese nationalism rests, is purely a 20th century invention.

In Ceylon, once freed from colonialism, but unable to satisfy the expectations of the masses given the failure of struggles for social revolution, the pressure toward a unitary national entity—one language, one religion—has been merciless and bloody. The former Jewel of Asia has come increasingly to resemble Northern Ireland.

For the oppressed Tamils of the north and east, the strategic Tamil plantation workers, the young women textile workers of the Colombo sweatshops and the peasants fighting multinationals' seizure of their land—for all the oppressed, Sinhalese and Tamil alike, ground down by the miserable poverty and bloody warfare—the plight of Sri Lanka, "a tropical paradise in perdition" (*Le Monde*, 23 April), cries out for a revolutionary class answer. Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the "Emergency Regulations"! No to communalist bloodletting! For the right of Tamil Eelam! Trinco must not fall into the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

Linnas...

(continued from page 5)

Communist party and later all political parties were banned under martial law. Unlike Lithuania, Estonia was not part of the traditional Jewish Pale; on the eve of World War II, it had fewer than 5,000 Jews out of a population of one million. But fascism flourished and Jews were run out of the universities. As war approached, in 1940 Stalin annexed the Baltic states to extend the defense perimeter of Leningrad to the west. When Hitler invaded a year later, the Baltic nationalists greeted the Nazi torturers as liberators. The *New York Times* (22 April) noted:

"After the German invasion, some 3,000 Estonian Jews managed to save themselves by leaving with the retreating Red Army. Many of the 1,000 Jews who remained were soon killed.

"By 1943, the Germans had set up several labor and death camps in Estonia, and Jews from other areas were sent there....

"After the war, when Moscow affirmed its control, Soviet Jews settled in Estonia, drawn like others by the relatively high standard of living."

It was the heroic fight by the Soviet people, 20 million of whom perished in the monumental battle against Hitler's armies, that saved what is left of East European Jewry on this planet today. FDR's American "democracy," however, in league with the Zionist establishment, was silent on the Holocaust and refused entry to the U.S. to Jews fleeing Nazi barbarism. On April 22, Karl Linnas was finally returned to the Estonian Soviet Republic. One survivor of the Tartu death camp, Maria Garshnek, whose mother and father were killed there, told the Soviet news agency TASS:

"There is no and there cannot be forgiveness to those who left blood-stained tracks. He was guiding mass executions. He invented tortures which make my blood run cold even now, after 40 years have passed."

However the Soviets dispose of this heinous criminal, it will be too good for him. And it is up to the American workers to drive out the imperialist rulers, the protectors of Nazi war criminals, so that never again will such an imperialist slaughter drown the world in blood. ■



Spartacist comrades joined Tamil demonstrators protesting racist state terror in Lanka, Boston, January 1985.

pursuit of their perspective of looking to India for salvation. After the massacre of 150 Sinhalese in Anuradhapura in May 1985, the Tigers officially denied carrying out the attack while justifying it as a reprisal and demonstration of the ability to strike in the Sinhala areas. EROS claimed responsibility for the bombings of an Air Lanka plane which killed 15 foreign tourists and of the

guerrilla groups in the Jaffna area, though the latter retains strength in the east. On this basis the LTTE are claiming the mantle of undisputed sole representative of the Tamil people.

The bonapartist Jayewardene regime is mindful of Indian reaction and its own basket case economy. J.R. has also attempted to reinforce the division between the economically critical Tamil

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Spain...

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camps awaiting deportation. At one point the number of foreigners held in custody in Barcelona was so great that empty rooms in police barracks were used to house them—provoking an ominous demonstration by the cops!

Muslims in Spain's North African enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla, were subjected to a vicious rampage of racist terror by the Spanish colonial population—mainly military personnel—when they tried to protest this law depriving them of all citizenship rights. Yet the PSOE and the wretched Communist Party (PCE) organized a demonstration supporting this nefarious legislation. These traitors spit on the most heroic traditions of the Spanish proletariat, which insurrected against the Moroccan War in the 1909 *semana trágica* (tragic week) in Barcelona. And now Spain's admission to NATO and the Common Market has been sealed in Basque blood, as the fascistic death squads of the GAL ("Antiterrorist Liberation Groups"), trained and recruited by the Guardia Civil, murder ETA refugees handed over to Spain. All with the approval of "Socialists" González and Mitterrand.

Felipe González' "popular front" grovels before the Franco-appointed king, Juan Carlos II, with his strutting generals and reactionary bishops, subordinating the workers and oppressed to reactionary Spanish capitalism. But as with all class-collaborationist alliances, over time it has managed to alienate just about every section of the population,



Madrid: Thousands of students demonstrate for free education and an end to anti-working-class discrimination at Spain's universities.

steam—has been canceled in the "public interest." As a leader of the PCE's Catalan affiliate, the PSUC, put it:

"On the day after D-Day, the question in the workplaces will be, 'Now what?' And since one doesn't have the answer, it was better not to give rise to the question."

—El País [Madrid], 7 April

The Spanish proletariat has again demonstrated its capacity for struggle and sacrifice. As thousands of productive workers are thrown on the scrap heap by decomposing capitalism, it is necessary to defend the very existence of our class. That means a determined struggle to oust the reformists who betray the workers' struggle, and to replace them with an authentically communist leadership. In 1977 Spain was in the throes of a prerevolutionary situation as a massive strike wave threatened the rickety bonapartist state inherited from the blood-drenched Franco regime. Yet Spanish capitalism

together with the "Euros" and liberal "progressives."

The key to victory is the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard which as tribune of all the oppressed is alone capable of linking the disparate social struggles wracking Spain to the organized might of the proletariat in fighting for a workers government. But the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR), Spanish section of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, also participated in the historic betrayal of 1975-77, refusing to break with the reformist bureaucracies and offering up the treacherous Menshevik formula of two-stage revolution in the shape of the *ruptura democrática* (democratic breakthrough). Since that time, the LCR has been in total disarray, suffering a hemorrhage of cadre and engaging in a quest for its own Lilliput version of the popular front.

In 1982, the LCR hailed González' "great victory" and proclaimed that Spain now had a workers government. The rest of the Trotskyoid left was equally ecstatic—the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), Spanish operation of the late Nahuel Moreno, proclaimed the PSOE's triumph at the polls a "workers victory." In last May's elections, the LCR abstained only because it didn't see in the "United Left" a feminist/ecology/gay liberation equivalent of the northern European Green parties that could attract "new vanguards." (In the 1984 U.S. elections, the LCR favored yuppie Democrat Gary Hart!) And lest there be any doubt as to its popular-front loyalties, the LCR made a special point on the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War to rehabilitate the centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) of Andrés Nin and Joaquín Maurín, and to alibi its joining the People's Front!

A special "Dossier" published in the LCR's *Combate* (1 February 1986) notes that the POUM's action in the 1936 elections "produced a well-known polemic within Trotskyism" marked by "insults" and a lack of understanding for this "revolutionary party." It was at best a "tactical problem," holds LCR honcho Miguel Romero; the POUM could have voted for the popular-front candidates without joining, as the Mandelites regularly do. But, he adds, "no sensible person" could today consider that what's involved was "betraying the revolution." Who might make such a "senseless" accusation? They don't mention Leon Trotsky's bitter attack on "The Treachery of the POUM" (January 1936) accusing it of "betrayal of the proletariat for the sake of an alliance with the bourgeoisie." Trotsky repeatedly emphasized that this centrist party bore a special responsibility for the bloody defeat of the Spanish proletariat for failing to present a revolutionary answer to the betrayals of the Stalinists, social democrats and anarchists.

Not only does the Spanish LCR repudiate Trotsky on Spain, they even come out to the right of *Nin*. (This former "Left Communist" had renounced Trotskyism to join with former Right Oppositionist Maurín in forming the POUM.) In the months before the destruction of the POUM and murder of Nin by the Stalinists, there was a

division of labor in which Maurín would represent the POUM in the Republican parliament while Nin would make verbal criticisms of the People's Front. The same issue of the LCR's *Combate* has an article by Nin, "After the Elections of February 16," in which "two short paragraphs" were omitted "for reasons of space." Yet these paragraphs are where Nin calls for "the most complete independence of the workers revolutionary movement from the bourgeois parties," and proclaims:

"...the policy of the People's Front does not correspond to the vital interests of the proletariat and of the revolution in the present moment."

—from Victor Alba, ed., *La Nueva Era* (1976)

In fact, this "Dossier" mentions *none* of Trotsky's writings on Spain, and not just for "reasons of space," since he repeatedly emphasized that "the Popular Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch" and "the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism" (1936), and that "there can be no greater crime than coalition with the bourgeoisie in a period of socialist revolution" (1939). Today the Mandel USec rejects everything Trotsky's Fourth International stood for over the crucial battle leading up to World War II. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has uniquely fought for proletarian opposition to class collaboration (see "No 'Critical Support' to Popular Frontism" and "Toward the International Trotskyist League!" in *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80). From our inception, the iSt has sought to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized.

Today in Spain, after a decade of demoralization on the left, the winds of the class struggle are again blowing strong. The perennial coup threats of the post-Franco period (used by the reformists to claim that militant struggle was inopportune) have receded, but not disappeared: a rightist officer was just absolved by a military court despite evidence he was plotting a coup financed by Libya. And although the repression in Euskadi (the Basque country) is as brutal under the Socialists as under the Francoists, now that every region has its empty "autonomy" statute, the wave of "autonomist" struggles is being displaced by general social protest throughout Spain. It is therefore doubly urgent for Spanish workers to defend the right of self-determination for the Basque country, Catalonia and the Canary Islands, and demand that imperialist Spain get out of its North African colonial outposts.

A Trotskyist party in Spain will defend all the democratic rights trampled underfoot by a "democratic" state whose armed forces still yearn for the days of the stiff-armed salute and pounding jackboots. This is integral to the fight for socialist revolution in the Iberian Peninsula, as part of the socialist reconstruction of Europe, against the cycle of popular fronts which pave the way for reaction and the anti-Soviet war drive that threatens global holocaust. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Spain, Spanish section of a reformed Fourth International! ■



Robert Capa

Spanish Republican soldiers on the way to the front, vowing "U.H.P.—Unite, Proletarian Brothers." Sign says, "Better to die than consent to tyranny."

eroding its working-class support while driving the petty bourgeoisie into a frenzy. While thousands of Spanish women demand the elementary right to free abortion on demand, the Catholic church was mobilizing mass demonstrations gooned by fascist hoodlums against the government's timid liberalization of anti-abortion laws. As González uses up his credit with the Spanish masses and the military waits in the wings, the crisis of proletarian leadership sharpens.

Crisis of Proletarian Leadership

Simple trade-union struggle is utterly inadequate to defeat the concerted offensive of the Spanish capitalists and their "Socialist" government. What's clearly posed is a general strike to smash González' anti-working-class austerity program. Such a strike would need to be defended against the scabs and cops by armed workers defense squads. It must produce organs of struggle that mobilize broader layers of the workers and oppressed—strike and factory committees, leading to soviets. In short, linking up the workers' struggles in a test of strength with the bourgeoisie inevitably poses the question of which class will rule. And the reformists fear this. So the CC.OO.'s call for a one-day "general strike"—to allow workers to blow off

was saved by the treachery of the PCE and PSOE tops and the union misleaders who signed the Moncloa pacts with Franco's king and former Falangist politician Adolfo Suárez. Juan Carlos reigns today not by the grace of god but of the "leftist" misleaders Santiago Carrillo and Felipe González.

Having sabotaged that key opportunity, the once-hegemonic Communist Party is now split into Gerardo Iglesias' PCE, Ignacio Gallego's PCPE (Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain) and a rump group around the former herald of "Eurocommunism," Carrillo. When the Catalan PSUC lost a majority of its working-class base in a left split (known as the "Afghans" for their support to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan); we noted that a sizable section of the Spanish proletariat was groping in a confused manner toward a more militant class-struggle perspective—rejecting the gross betrayals of Eurocommunism and affirming their pro-Moscow loyalties in the face of a new Cold War (see "Spanish CP Rips Apart," *WW* No. 295, 18 December 1981). But old-line Stalinists grabbed the helm, forming the PCPE, whose support to González' 1982 electoral victory demonstrated that it is no alternative to Carrillo/Iglesias-style reformism. And now Gallego has returned to the fold in the "United Left" popular-front coalition

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New Haven Strikers Fight for Their Lives

Uretek Poisons Workers

NEW HAVEN—Workers at the Uretek textile plant here are fighting to keep the boss from literally killing them with toxic chemicals. They have struck the sleazy Connecticut polyurethane manufacturer since February 20 demanding that he clean up the operation which has left more than half of them with liver disease. Notoriously indifferent to the effect of the chemicals it uses on its workforce or the surrounding community, Uretek has already been convicted of felony charges for illegally storing and dumping hazardous wastes in 1984. Company president Harold Hoder refuses to talk with the workers or the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) which is trying to organize them. The arrogant Hoder claims the capitalist "right" to sacrifice the lives of workers to squeeze out "his" blood money.

Conditions at Uretek are hideous, even by sweatshop standards. The 66-man, largely Hispanic workforce worked seven days a week, 66 hours or more, for minimum wages of \$3.35-\$6.25 an hour and no medical benefits. The plant produces polyurethane-coated fabrics used to make tarpaulins, sleeping bag mattresses, etc.—for the military among others—and uses a host of highly toxic chemicals, including benzene, toluene, organio peroxide, methyl chloride and dimethylformamide (DMF). (A recent study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* shows that people exposed to legal limits of benzene over a lifetime face a 154 times greater risk of contracting leukemia.)

Immersed in this poisonous atmosphere, workers toiled in the basement of an aging, poorly ventilated plant, unaware of and unprepared for the dangers they faced.

Uretek workers were not provided with respirators or gloves nor were they trained in working with the chemicals. They ate lunches at their work stations because they couldn't get break time, sometimes warming their meals in the drying ovens. Workers complained of nosebleeds, heavy vomiting and general dizziness. Their horrendous situation came to light last fall when local hospitals noted an abnormally high incidence of noninfectious hepatitis in the area. Investigations by the Yale-New Haven Occupational Medicine Program discovered that all of the victims were from Uretek. Subsequent tests showed that 36 of the 58 workers tested had significant liver abnormalities, linking the ailments to the use of DMF.

ILGWU organizers contacted the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration about the Uretek situation, but OSHA refuses to touch it during a strike, claiming it can't do anything until the plant is at full production! A 1979 OSHA study indicated that a toxic situation existed at Uretek and the bureaucrats in Washington sat on it and did nothing. Two weeks ago a superior court judge fined the company and a company vice president \$255,000, a fraction of the \$10 million fine that could have been levied on these wanton criminals. As ILGWU organiz-

Members of largely Hispanic workforce picket Uretek, fighting for union recognition.



Miller/NY Times

er Bob Cornick told *WV*, "I guess the workers have to fall dead before the government will shut it down." Meanwhile, production is limping along with a few scabs and management personnel, while another plant at the site also owned by Hoder, Chem-Tech, is going full blast.

The superexploitation and horrendous bodily destruction of the Uretek workers is symptomatic of the conditions facing immigrant and Puerto Rican workers who have moved into the aging factory towns of southern Connecticut. Capitalism kills: in the Stamford-Bridgeport-New Haven area you've also had turnpike bridges collapse and high-rise buildings fall on construction workers, burying them alive. And as decaying U.S. capitalism attempts to raise declining profit rates by slashing wages, undocumented workers are hired for the worst jobs at starvation wages. One Hispanic Uretek worker told *WV*, "They offer \$4 or \$5 an hour, and it sounds good to us, but it is for the lowest work. It's for work no American would do." And as the bosses squeeze the most vulnerable, all workers

are threatened. The labor movement must mobilize its strength to organize such sweatshops, demanding full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

"We will never go back in there again—not until everything is safe, and with a union too," says Luis López (*Guardian*, 22 April). The kind of solidarity the Uretek strikers urgently need is for Connecticut labor to mobilize mass pickets to shut down Uretek and Chem-Tech. Simple enough, but it requires a class-struggle leadership committed to fighting bosses down the line. There are thousands of plants like Uretek poisoning workers across the country which the labor fakers are doing nothing about. The fight for decent working conditions, a living wage, health care, jobs for all, full rights for immigrant workers, are all part of a political struggle against the racist capitalist system, which devours workers' lives, literally killing thousands and spitting the rest onto the scrap heap when they're used up. To wage that class struggle through to victory requires a workers party fighting for all the oppressed. ■

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 16)

criminal justice system" and the most sacred "principle" of all is "the validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society." So what if blacks are many times more likely to receive the death penalty, argues the court, "discretion is essential" and "disparities" are "inevitable" in "our criminal justice system." Why is this so? Because racism is another unstated "principle" of this criminal ruling class which, foreseeing troubled times ahead, increasingly views the death penalty as key to keeping itself in power.

It is indicative of the reactionary character of the death penalty that its leading practitioners are in the Dixiecrat Deep South. Three states—Florida, Texas and Georgia—account for more than two-thirds of all executions carried out in the U.S. since 1977. Between 1900 and 1967 more than half of all executions were carried out in the South. Many of these were rape cases and nearly all those executed were blacks. Most of these, like the Scottsboro Boys, were frame-ups designed to whip up racial hysteria. On death row today is Johnny "Imani" Harris, a black man on Alabama's death row since 1974 for allegedly killing a guard. Harris was originally jailed for life on a rape charge, shortly after his family moved into a white neighborhood and received racist threats. He insists he is innocent but was forced to plead guilty by his court-appointed lawyer, who refused to call any witnesses on his behalf. Harris became an activist in Inmates for Action, resulting in his being targeted by prison guards. Also on death row is former Black Panther and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu Jamal, framed on a cop-killing charge in Pennsylvania.

This legal terror is part and parcel of the extra-legal terror of the Ku Klux

Klan to keep black people "in their place." Indeed, the Supreme Court's present-day approval of a double standard for blacks is a familiar echo of pre-Civil War standards in the South—in Georgia, for instance, killing a black slave was not considered a serious crime (a significant historical point made by Justice Brennan in his dissenting opinion). The passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 was an attempt to give blacks "equal protection of the laws," but today the Supreme Court openly joins the Old Confederacy.

The bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries and the Enlightenment doctrine that all men are created with certain inalienable rights challenged the barbaric death penalty. Capital punishment has been, in the last two hundred years, abolished in every major advanced capitalist country except for the U.S. and South Africa. In both countries, the death penalty is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master. In the racist apartheid police state which has never known a bourgeois-democratic revolution, there is no need to pay even lip service to formal equality; the forcible subjugation and denial of rights to non-whites is institutionalized and legalized.

The recent Supreme Court decision was particularly heinous. Made in light of the massive empirical evidence that capital punishment is overtly racially discriminatory, it means that racist murder is legalized and institutionalized. The brutal cop murders of Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart in New York City, the hideous MOVE massacre in Philadelphia and the Ku Klux Klan lynch rope are proclaimed the "law of the land" in racist America.

Democrats Back Reagan/Meese Reaction

In every way the Reagan administration has been seeking to expand the

death penalty, lately in the realm of civilian "spies." They have the fulsome support of Democrats like Senate majority leader Robert Byrd, a "former" Klansman, who recently ranted that the two Marines charged with spying in the Moscow embassy affair are "not fit to live." In 1972, in the wake of a decade of civil rights protest and faced with a rising tide of antiwar protests, the Supreme Court in a 5-to-4 decision ruled the death penalty an unconstitutional "cruel and unusual punishment," because of its arbitrary and capricious application.

But the respite was shortlived; by 1976 the court reinstated the death penalty under a policy of so-called "guided discretion." On the very eve of Jimmy Carter's inauguration, the executions began. And with the election of Ronald Reagan, the push for legal lynching was on, especially from Democratic state governments.

The spearhead of the present reactionary legal tide is Reagan's attorney general Edwin Meese, who is assiduously trying to codify the legal framework for a police state. Meese has set himself the task of dismantling the Bill of Rights and Reconstruction Amendments, whose efficacy is directly related to social struggle. Thus Meese targets two landmark Supreme Court decisions, by-products of the civil rights movement—the famous Miranda decision requiring the police to inform arrested suspects of their rights and another prohibiting evidence obtained without a valid search warrant—because, in his words, "they only help guilty people" (*New York Times Magazine*, 12 October 1986).

Meanwhile, a Justice Department brief argues that the government should have the power to carry out "warrantless electronic surveillance...warrantless entries...infiltration of organizations [and] disruption of organizations," and no court should be able to challenge such activity if it is for so-called national security ("The New Imperial Presiden-

cy" by Anthony Lewis, *Center for National Security Studies*, July/August 1985). "Preventive detention" is to be massively applied, and in case you have hope of eventually defending yourself in court, the already-in-place RICO laws will confiscate all your "criminal" assets beforehand. They already have concentration camps for aliens, and long-deceased Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey has bequeathed us the "emergency" detention camp provisions of the McCarran Act.

Topping the list in this program of preventive counterrevolution is the death penalty. From Sacco/Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs to the anonymous thousands who have died at the hands of the state, the American bourgeoisie has sought to maintain itself by repeated exemplary executions for the sheer purpose of instilling terror. It is an index of the grisly quality of "life" in the USA in 1987 that a Jim Crow death penalty is certified by the Supreme Court. The bourgeois Enlightenment of the 18th century phased out such barbaric methods as the rack and stonings, and proclaimed equal rights for all. But now, in capitalism's death agony, the most advanced "scientific" methods are being applied in a revival of state-sponsored butchery with an openly racist edge.

Humanity is being pushed backward to barbarism by a decadent class that refuses to leave the stage of history. As we wrote a decade ago (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977), after the execution of Gary Gilmore:

"The reinstatement of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life... Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism." ■

Philly MOVE...

(continued from page 16)

Wicker, Merle Austin and Janet Holloway. Among the Africa brothers, at separate men's facilities, are William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Delbert Orr, Charles Sims, Carlos Perez and Michael Davis. Mumia Abu Jamal, a MOVE sympathizer and former prominent black journalist in Philadelphia, is on death row, on lying charges of killing a cop. *Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!*

Goode & Rizzo: Murder, Inc.

Despite Wilson Goode's hopes, the MOVE massacre will not disappear. Even Goode's hand-picked commissions condemned his "grossly negligent" act of ordering the "unconscionable" bombing, and the "unjustified homicide" of five children. Two grand juries are continuing to investigate the massacre. Recent testimony by a cop involved in the assault revealed that top Philly police officials ordered fragmentation material (designed to kill and maim) included in the bomb dropped on the roof. Another grand jury is digging into the corruption scandal over rebuilding the 61 houses on Osage Avenue destroyed in the firestorm.

A public television *Frontline* documentary is scheduled for nationwide broadcast May 5, and a detailed account of the bombing, *Attention, MOVE! This Is America!*, by Margot Harry, a staff writer for *Revolutionary Worker*, has just been published. However, the grand juries originally scheduled to finish in April now say they will not complete their work until after the



WV Photo

Philly city workers strike, July 1986. Goode, Rizzo, both strikebreakers.

primary. And the *Frontline* program is being blacked out in Philadelphia until after May 19!

Both candidates in the Democratic Party primary were behind the May 13 bombing. Wilson Goode, who declared "I'd do it again," is opposed by Edward G. Rendell, his former district attorney, who supplied the arrest warrants giving Goode the excuse he needed to go in. The white liberal Rendell now laments that "this city has suffered enormously because of MOVE." Rendell complained that the Soviet ambassador to the United States, on a CBS *Face the Nation* show, "when asked about the treatment of dissidents, responded by

Mayors of murder: Rizzo led vicious 1970 raid on Black Panther headquarters (left). Incinerated bodies pulled from rubble of Osage Avenue in aftermath of Goode's 1985 MOVE massacre.

Viola/Philadelphia Inquirer



UPI



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bringing up the MOVE deaths."

The only way Goode can resurrect his political career is by opposing an open racist in November—and his name is Frank Rizzo. The former police chief and mayor is expected to win the Republican primary, setting up a choice between two "mayors of murder." As police commissioner in the '60s, Rizzo was notorious for his stormtrooper attacks on the black ghetto of North Philadelphia and against SNCC and Black Panther Party militants. In August 1970 Rizzo raided the offices of the BPP, dragging Panthers onto the streets, stripping them naked in a "weapons check." A Democrat at the time, he went on to be elected mayor for two terms, from 1972 to 1980.

Rizzo is the architect of the city's vendetta against MOVE. He targeted the largely black radical organization for five years; MOVE members and supporters suffered over 400 arrests. In the fall of 1977, cops barricaded the Powelton Village neighborhood where MOVE had its house, laying siege to the commune for a full year culminating on 8 August 1978, when 600 cops moved in for the kill. In full view of TV cameras, Delbert Africa, a former Panther, was brutally stomped and beaten by three SWAT cops (one of whom would later appear in the Osage Avenue massacre). Twelve MOVE members were framed up because a cop died (likely killed in the police crossfire), and were slammed into prison for terms from 31 to 99 years. It is a sad testimony to the bankruptcy of the reformists' "black empowerment" schemes that today Philadelphia workers and blacks are given a "choice" between the butchers of 1978 and 1985.

The civil rights movement died "Up North" when it collided with the bedrock of racist American capitalism, where blacks are ghettoized, lumpenized and terrorized even without Jim Crow laws. In the wake of the ghetto explosions of the mid-'60s, the bourgeoisie installed black Democratic Party mayors like Detroit's Coleman

Young to keep the lid on the inner cities. Not one of these front men even condemned the murder of MOVE. Racist pig Rizzo's remark regarding dropping the bomb on MOVE noted the role of these black overseers on the capitalist plantation: "Just imagine if it would have been another mayor, a white mayor. This city would still be having problems" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 March).

In 1984 Wilson Goode was brought in by the Philadelphia insurance companies and banks and installed as mayor. This former insurance adjuster and parole officer rose to prominence after his appointment as head of the Public Utilities Commission. There he got "hands on" experience in "crisis management" when the nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island nearly melted down in 1979! The PUC's stonewalling after TMI matched Goode's performance in the wake of the MOVE massacre.

After the MOVE bombing, Goode's stock with the capitalists plummeted. Trying to refurbish his image among blacks, this March he had the gall to host a "summit" on homelessness in Philadelphia! How about starting with the 250 people burned out on Osage Avenue! Goode promised they'd be back in their houses by Christmas of '85; but a year after the bombing, the houses still weren't ready, and even now the roofs leak! Compare this telling indictment of the profit-driven capitalist system to the Soviet experience with the Chernobyl disaster. Twelve months after the nuclear accident last year, the planned economy provided new homes for over 90,000 people displaced by the disaster.

City Unions in Goode's Sights

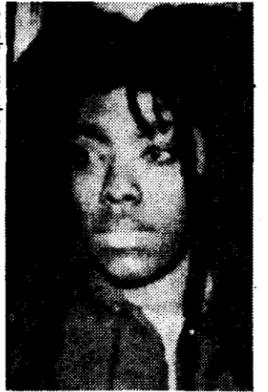
Goode regained much of the support of the capitalists who run Philadelphia when he took on city unions in 1986. In the past decade, transit workers and teachers have repeatedly struck when their two-year contracts expired. When SEPTA rail workers went out in a 108-

day strike in 1983, they really struck, using their strategic industrial knowledge to short-circuit the trains while inspiring transit workers up and down the coast with hard class struggle! But in the '86 transit strike, TWU Local 234 president Roger Tauss praised the mayor of murder's negotiating skills: he is "extremely good at this kind of thing"!

Last July, when 13,000 AFSCME sanitation workers struck, the Murderer of Osage Avenue responded with a back-to-work court order, claiming the union was jeopardizing the "health and safety" of the city! AFSCME leaders caved in to Goode, and the strike was broken under the threat of mass firings and fines. The bourgeoisie voiced its approval: "Mayor Goode's Handling of Strike in Philadelphia Partly Restores Confidence in His Ability to Lead," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* (23 July 1986).

In January, Goode again took aim at the sanitationmen through District 33 president Earl Stout, whom Goode claimed was blackmailing the city over snow removal. Goode had nine union men arrested for "theft," charging they were lounging around on the street corners when they were supposed to be working! Stout vowed to "make Goode pay," saying the mayor had broken his promise to stop hiring non-union contractors. But Stout, one of the first to support Goode for mayor in '83, is a

Philadelphia Inquirer



Free Ramona Africa!

kingmaker in the Philly Democratic machine. His capitulation during the AFSCME strike followed his damning silence after the MOVE massacre.

Free Ramona and All MOVE Prisoners!

The Philadelphia city unions have real power and have shown they're not afraid to use it. From the combative city unions to the heavy battalions of the ILA, they should have shut the city down over the MOVE massacre and driven Goode out of town! The continued silence of the labor tops over the imprisonment of the MOVE members is a crime. In Chicago, transit workers in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 passed a motion demanding Ramona be freed. This should inspire Philly unionists to do their duty and come to the aid of the MOVE prisoners, victims of a massacre aimed at all blacks and workers.

In the wanton, hideous murder of eleven black men, women and children on 13 May 1985 we see the hand of Meese. Carried out with the advice and consent of the FBI, the bombing of black America bore the signature of the Reagan years. Not only Wilson Goode wants it forgotten. With the Reagan administration in tatters, the labor bureaucrats are working overtime to keep workers and blacks chained to the Democratic Party. The reformist tails on the Democratic donkey campaigned for Goode in '84, and no doubt will support him again in November, either openly or backhandedly, professing the "lesser evil."

We communists of the Spartacist League want to sear into the memory of the working class the racist crimes of the capitalist class enemy. We are fighting to forge a multiracial workers party to lead a working-class socialist revolution that will achieve black liberation. Among the first tasks of the future workers government will be to avenge the MOVE martyrs of 13 May 1985. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Goode, Rizzo: Mayors of Murder

Avenge Philly MOVE!

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

Mother's Day 1985, the 13th of May, a cop bullhorn delivered the ultimatum: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Then the hideous siege and mass murder began. Hundreds of Philadelphia police, armed with Uzi machine guns, sniper rifles, M-60 and 50 calibre machine guns and armor-piercing antitank guns launched an assault on the Osage Avenue home of the MOVE commune. A satchel charge with the powerful military explosive C-4, dropped from a police helicopter, turned it into a fiery inferno. Eleven black people, including five children, were deliberately incinerated. Laughing during the assault, cops fired on MOVE members trying to escape the flames, driving them back to their death.

It was a willful, racist massacre of people who called themselves Africa, people who had committed no crime. Philly's black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode gave the go-ahead for the calculated cold-blooded murder, a threat aimed at all who dared "step out



Eleven members of MOVE family, including children, were massacred by Wilson Goode's firebombing in the service of Reagan reaction.

of line" in Reagan's America. In the wake of the bombing, the "mayor of murder" has gone after the combative city unions—teachers, transit and sanitation workers. And the full force of state repression continues to bear down on the sole adult survivor of the MOVE massacre, Ramona Africa. Serving a 7-year term for "criminal conspiracy" (i.e., she has lived to bear witness to the

massacre), Ramona has been denied parole because above all she refuses the obscene condition that she not associate with her MOVE family upon release.

The Philadelphia mayoral primary election takes place on May 19, yet none of the candidates in either capitalist party can touch the MOVE massacre. "MOVE Appears a Taboo Issue in Mayoral Race," headlined the *Philadel-*

phia Inquirer (31 March). As imprisoned MOVE member Sue Africa cried out at the trial of Ramona, "The whole city of Philadelphia is trying to wash the blood of MOVE people off their hands." Most of the left won't touch it either. The courageous MOVE prisoners have been ignored by the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World, who at the time rushed to alibi the black mayor and blame the victims for the massacre.

The Spartacist League has from the beginning raised international protest against this racist obscenity, holding forums to honor the memory of the MOVE martyrs, offering a platform to MOVE family members to speak of their outrage and their pain. The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the SL, has taken up the cause of the MOVE prisoners. Support for these class-war prisoners is not an act of charity but the class duty of those on the outside toward those inside the walls of the capitalist prisons.

Ramona Africa is today in the women's prison at Muncy, Pennsylvania, along with seven of her sisters, including the mothers of all the children murdered in the firebombing. The seven are Consuewella Dotson, Susan Leon, Janine Phillips, Debbie Sims, Alberta
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Down with Racist Death Penalty!

The Reagan/Rehnquist Supreme Court has spoken, and its message is: death, especially for blacks. Striking down the last sweeping legal challenge to the death penalty, the highest court in the land outrageously approved by 5-to-4 Georgia's capital punishment system despite overwhelming evidence that blacks who kill whites are given the death penalty far more frequently than those who kill blacks—22 times more frequently, according to a study cited in the case. The court admitted that the study "indicates a discrepancy that appears to correlate with race" but arrogantly concluded that this was a "potentially irrelevant factor" and not "constitutionally significant." Thus they wound the legal clock back to the 1857 Dred Scott decision, when the court decreed that blacks had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Now even blatantly racist legal lynching gets the Supreme Court stamp of approval, and the spectre of mass executions hovers over the nation.

The legal challenge to the death penalty was made by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund on behalf of Warren McCleskey, a black man convicted in 1978 by a jury of eleven whites and one black of killing a white cop during an armed robbery in Atlanta. Fund attorneys cited an au-

thoritative statistical study of over 2,400 murder cases in Georgia by Professor David Baldus of the University of Iowa Law School. The Baldus study "showed that 11 percent of all those charged with killing white victims in Georgia and 22 percent of the blacks accused of killing whites were sentenced to death, as against 1 percent of those charged with killing blacks" (*New York Times*, 23 April).

Yet the court incredibly ruled that this did not violate the Eighth Amendment prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishment" or the Fourteenth Amendment's supposed guarantees of "equal protection of the laws." Anyone claiming racial bias, the court ruled, "must prove that the decision makers in his case acted with a discriminatory purpose"—a virtually impossible legal task. The court dismissed the "apparent disparities" as "inevitable"—racism is for them a natural and unchangeable part of the "judicial process." Adding insult to injury, a *New York Times* (24 April) editorial noted that the majority opinion by Justice Lewis Powell even threw in the facetious-sounding oral argument of Justice Scalia that "the next thing you know, ugly people will charge discrimination too."

The executioners are already salivating at the thought of all those bodies



Austin, Texas: protesters demand freedom for death-row prisoner Clarence Bradley.

lined up for the gas chamber, the electric chair, the lethal injection, the noose or the firing squad. In a separate deadly ruling in the same week, the court ruled that you don't even have to kill anybody to get the death penalty—they just have

to show you were in some way an "accomplice" in a crime such as a robbery where someone got killed. Last year the Supreme Court ruled that anyone who is against the death penalty can be excluded from juries, thereby ensuring that you'll get a hanging jury, often one with no blacks on it. Earlier, the "high court" ruled that death row inmates could be executed before their legal appeals had been exhausted. In racist America, the death penalty is above all for black people. (As of March 1, there were 1,874 inmates on death row, 41.5 percent of whom were black.) And needless to say, we are speaking only of those who are lucky enough to make it to court—these days, many blacks are simply executed on the spot by the cops, who know they can get away with it.

Death Penalty in Racist America

Liberal opponents of the death penalty see it as an aberration in a "civilized democracy." They can't explain why capital punishment survives and even thrives in late 20th century America. The answer, disguised in legal gobbledygook, is in the court's majority opinion: McCleskey's claim, wrote Justice Powell, "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire
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