

## Labor Must Smash Phelps Dodge Union-Busting!

# Class War in Arizona Copper Mines

### Break With the Democrats— We Need a Workers Party!

CLIFTON, Arizona—There's a war being fought in the copper fields of Arizona. A war between the owners of the mines and "their" wage slaves, a war between capital and labor. It's a class war, and the bosses are fighting it with the same cold-blooded viciousness that led to the Ludlow massacre and the jailings of over 1,000 Bisbee miners in a desert concentration camp 70 years ago. At times, when the sky over Clifton/Morenci fills with helicopters ferrying in National Guard troops, it even looks like Vietnam. It's up to the workers movement throughout the country to bust the Phelps Dodge union-busters. We say: Labor—don't handle scab copper! Union supporters must flood into the area to build and defend mass picket lines that *nobody* crosses. The Phelps Dodge strikers must not stand alone!

Strikers at Morenci, Ajo, Douglas  
*continued on page 6*



Clifton, Arizona, May 5—Striking copper miners and supporters hold off attack by scabherding state police for hours. UPI

## D-Day Was a Sideshow

# The Russians Crushed Nazi Germany

Try as he might, Reagan has not managed to shake off the "Vietnam syndrome" in his efforts to whip up the American people for war against the Soviet Union. So early this month Reagan tried basking in the glory of the U.S. victory in World War II by returning to the Normandy beaches where American troops landed on D-Day, 6 June 1944. This was the *last* popular war for American imperialism, and it was popular because it was advertised as a "war against fascism," against Nazi Germany—a genuinely evil empire which turned Europe into a totalitarian nightmare, exterminated the Jewish people, millions of Slavs and other peoples, strangled

all working-class organizations and threatened to destroy the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. Reagan would dearly like to revive the crusade atmosphere of World War II to mobilize for war against Communism.

So for the 40th anniversary of D-Day the American news media cranked up the old wartime propaganda machine. The *New York Times* hauled out Drew Middleton, who had covered the Allied landings in Normandy, and he churned out a daily memorabilia column glorifying the exploits of Omaha and Utah beaches. On TV they rebroadcast the old wartime film clips, and for the um-

teenth time American reporters bragged unashamedly that D-Day was "the longest day in the history of the modern world."

Once again the American ruling class was trying to claim credit for "defeating fascism." It was a lie then, and it's still a lie. *It was the Russians who crushed Nazi Germany.* In a column entitled "Chernenko Deserves To Be at Normandy," an anti-fascist liberal, Allan A. Ryan, Jr., pointed out: "In July 1943, the battle of Kursk broke Hitler's back in the East—ar estimated 70,000 Nazis died and 5,000 tanks, planes and artillery were destroyed. Had the outcome been different, there almost certainly would have been no Allied landing in June

1944 and the swastika might have flown in Europe until 1950."  
—*New York Times*, 5 June

In fact, during most of the war in Europe there was *no* Western front to speak of—nearly 95 percent of all German troops were engaged against the Russians until the 1944 invasion as Soviet Marshal Ustinov noted bitterly last week.

But even as Reagan paid lip service tribute to the 20 million Soviet citizens who died in the war (the U.S. lost 292,000), he managed to turn the ceremony into an anti-Soviet demonstration. "Some liberated countries were lost," Reagan complained in his

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## Sensational Admission from Britain

# Yes, KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission

JUNE 18—An authoritative British military magazine has finally cracked the wall of silence in the American news media by publishing revealing new evidence exposing Korean Air Lines Flight 007's spy mission last August 31. As CNN News reported yesterday from London, "The article, written under the pseudonym of a 'P.Q. Mann' suggests the [KAL 007] jet traveled into Soviet airspace to trigger Russian radar and electronic signals that could be picked up by the just-launched space shuttle *Challenger* and an orbiting Ferret spy satellite." The editor of *Defence Attaché*, the magazine in which the detailed eight-page article appeared, says the author (who is "well known" to him) used a pseudonym "for professional reasons." The writer was clearly privy to top-level classified information about the U.S. space shuttle and electronic intelligence satellites. In fact, the exposé has all the earmarks of a "witting" leak, and it is being treated with utmost seriousness by such establishment organs as the conservative *Economist*. Is this article the revenge of the British communications technicians for the CIA-ordered union-busting at Cheltenham spy center?

Within days after the 747 aircraft was shot down off the Soviet island of Sakhalin, after passing over the USSR's most sensitive military installations, *Workers Vanguard* exposed Reagan's murderous "mission provocation" in which more than 200 innocent civilians died. Articles from *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* were collected in the Spartacist pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation* (October 1983), which unraveled the imperialists' tissue of lies and vigorously fought the Cold War propaganda barrage. *WV* documented

the close coordination between the doomed jetliner and U.S. Ferret spy satellites in our follow-up article, based entirely on publicly available sources, "Ferretting Out the Truth—Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels" (*WV* No. 350, 16 March). We were able to dig out the truth about this controversial affair because Trotskyists are not blinded by the anti-Soviet ideology of the ruling class—and (unlike much of the left) we're not muzzled by fear of "the Russian question."

According to the *Economist*, the latest article "raised some disturbing new questions." Even Reagan was forced to admit an American RC-135 spy plane was in the vicinity, and the Russians pointed to the spy-in-the-sky satellite in a 20 September 1983 *Pravda* article (ignored by the bourgeois press but carefully analyzed in *WV*). The new piece of evidence concerns the role of the U.S. space shuttle in the KAL 007 spy mission. After the civilian airliner rendezvoused with the U.S. military intelligence plane off Soviet Kamchatka, in what Mann calls a "dummy-selling tactic" designed to alert Soviet defense systems, the resulting Soviet radar signals could be picked up by the orbiting Ferret-D and relayed to the *Challenger*. The *Defence Attaché* article demonstrates by matching the paths of plane, Ferret satellite and shuttle that the shuttle was in position to play a "command, control, and communications" role in the conducting of the extended intelligence operation....

The remarkably detailed information makes it clear that the author is in a position to know what he is writing about. So does the Pentagon's initial refusal to comment, followed by U.S. war minister Weinberger's "non-denial," claiming the plane was not engaged in spying but keeping mum about a provocation aimed at testing Soviet air defenses. In reviewing published reports on Shuttle Mission 8 we find further evidence to corroborate the thesis of "P.Q. Mann." One of the prime missions of STS-8 was an "experiment" with a newly repositioned Tracking and Data Relay Satellite (TDRS), one of whose purposes is to eliminate the need for politically sensitive foreign ground stations (such as the U.S. spy station at Pine Gap, Australia) to pick up data from the Ferrets. According to *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (4 July 1983), known to aficionados as "Aviation Leak," the first TDRS-A was rushed into operational duty on an "accelerated" schedule, with "no system checkout" by the CIA-connected TRW Corporation, in order to coordinate with space shuttle Mission 8. KAL 007, it seems, was the "experiment," and we now know (some of) the results.

Meanwhile the German air controllers' magazine, *Der Flugleiter* (March 1984), notes that KAL 007 had a crew of 27 (compared to a normal complement of 14 for similar Boeing 747-Bs) whose names have never been revealed; and it notes that the Soviets, far from being "trigger-happy," waited until the last

possible moment to shoot down the intruding aircraft. We express extreme bitterness—on behalf of the 200-plus innocent passengers whose "crime" was to buy a cheap airline ticket—and on behalf of the Soviet air force generals and pilots who did their duty and subsequently found out that the U.S. provocation plane was filled with civilians.

As we have said from the beginning, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" P.Q. Mann concludes: "If there has been a failure in the West, it is on the part of investigative journalism which has not pursued the enquiry with anything like the vigour that might be expected.... It is in the U.S. itself that the free press should take up the challenge." In the United States the "free," "responsible" capitalist press has carefully obeyed its class interests. It falls to the revolutionary press to expose the deadly machinations of the U.S. imperialists, part of the pattern of anti-Soviet war provocation and war propaganda. From first-strike MX missiles in the U.S. and Pershings in Europe to Yankee war moves against Central America and the Caribbean, the "free world" madmen drive toward nuclear war vaporizing all of us. Reagan is war-crazy—Defend the legacy of the October Revolution! ■

## Stan Gow Badly Injured

June 12, 1984

Stan Gow has been a longshoreman for twenty-five years. During these years he has been one of the best rank and file unionists in the industry, and is widely respected in the labor movement.

While working on Saturday, June 2, Stan was badly injured in a horrible accident. Although the details cannot be discussed, we can say that his back has been wrecked.

Stan will probably never be able to work again. As a result of this accident, the ILWU has lost one of its best militants.

For many years Stan has had a special interest in biochemistry and

has been one of the people most concerned with industrial safety. Now he has been badly hurt himself.

Stan is now in Alta Bates Hospital, recovering from major surgery. We know he would appreciate receiving cards or letters from the many brothers and sisters he has worked with and fought for in his long years of service in the labor movement.

Write to: Stan Gow, Alta Bates Hospital, 3001 Colby St., Berkeley, CA 94705.

The Militant Caucus  
Stan's friends in  
the Spartacist League  
Other friends



TROTSKY

### Wobblies Played Hardball

The Wobblies, members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), were America's pioneer industrial unionists and working-class revolutionists. Their understanding of the relation between labor and capital as class war attracted the best militants of their generation and was carried into the communist movement by men like James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, who wrote of the Wobbly heritage:



LENIN

Radicals, rebels and revolutionists started the IWW, as they have started every other progressive movement in the history of this country.

In these days when labor leaders try their best to talk like probationary members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, it is refreshing to turn back to the reports of men who spoke a different language. Debs, Haywood and De Leon, and those who stood with them, did not believe in the partnership of capital and labor, as preached by Gompers and Co. at the time. Such talk, they said in the famous "Preamble" to the Constitution of the IWW, "misleads the workers." They spoke out in advance against the idea of the permanent "co-existence" of labor unions and the private ownership of industry, as championed by the CIO leaders of the present time.

The men who founded the IWW were pioneer industrial unionists, and the great industrial unions of today stem directly from them. But they aimed far beyond industrial unionism as a bargaining agency recognizing the private ownership of industry as right and unchangeable. They saw the relations of capital and labor as a state of war.

—James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 357

22 June 1984

## A Notice to Our Readers

Regular readers of *WV* will notice in our editorial box this issue the departure of Charles Burroughs, a long-time member of the *WV* Editorial Board. We print below his letter of resignation from the Spartacist League and also his letter to Jim Robertson, Spartacist League National Chairman.

13 June 1984

To the Political Bureau and New York Local SL/U.S.:

I resign from the Spartacist League; from the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency, the SL/US Central Committee, and *Workers Vanguard* editorial board.

In the ongoing, stormy fight over *Workers Vanguard* editor I have reached the conclusion that I can no longer carry out party responsibilities. A small communist organization is both more and less than its line; you have to be able to live in it. And that, I find, I cannot do.

It is well known that I have been a dissenting voice on a number of questions of policy and personnel. My differences generally shaded to the right within the spectrum of Spartacist politics. I want to make it clear that my

rights were at all times protected scrupulously according to the norms of Leninist democratic centralism.

Although I have become increasingly skeptical about the chances of the SL breaking out of isolation to lead the working class to victory, I believe the SL to be the embodiment of the line of Trotskyism in the U.S.—the revolutionary Marxism of our time. I hope the SL will permit me to be a friend of the party despite these contradictory attitudes. Some sharp, widespread, deep-going class struggle in this country will change everything, including the Spartacist League.

With no regrets for twelve years in the revolutionary Trotskyist movement,  
Charles Burroughs

\* \* \* \* \*

13 June 1984

Jim:

I set a high value on our discussion yesterday, and I appreciate your attitude on the party and its press. But my mind is made up. I cannot at this time foresee a qualitative change in what I regard as a real mess of things.

Charlie

WORKERS VANGUARD

# NYC Transit Union Must Whip "Jefferson" Davis

New York City's racist mayor Edward Koch, who relishes closing down hospitals and schools in black neighborhoods and breaking strikes, shares many of the attitudes and goals of a KKK grand dragon. In his campaign to bust NYC's most powerful union, the 33,000-strong Transport Workers Union (TWU), Koch and his henchmen in the Transit Authority (TA) have adopted another symbol of chattel slavery, the *bullwhip*.

To smash the TWU, Koch and "friend of labor" Democratic New York governor Cuomo have hired a team of \$100,000-plus professional transit union-busters headed by Vietnam era CIA bigshot Robert Kiley as czar of the Metropolitan Transit Authority (parent of the TA) and David "hired" Gunn as TA president. They unleashed their first fusillade against the TWU at one of its

As we prepare to go to press, another whip-cracking operation against the conductors by state and city officials has been announced. WINS radio news reported June 18 that State Comptroller Regan is going after subway platform conductors, absurdly claiming \$5 million a year in "wasted" wages. Regan has demanded and received assurances of disciplinary measures against the conductors by the TA.

strongholds: the 207th Street subway repair shop which represents the single largest concentration of transit workers and is a traditional center of TWU militancy. Gunn brought with him from Philadelphia, where he was transit boss, Ronald "Jefferson" Davis to be "over-seer" at the 207th Street "plantation."

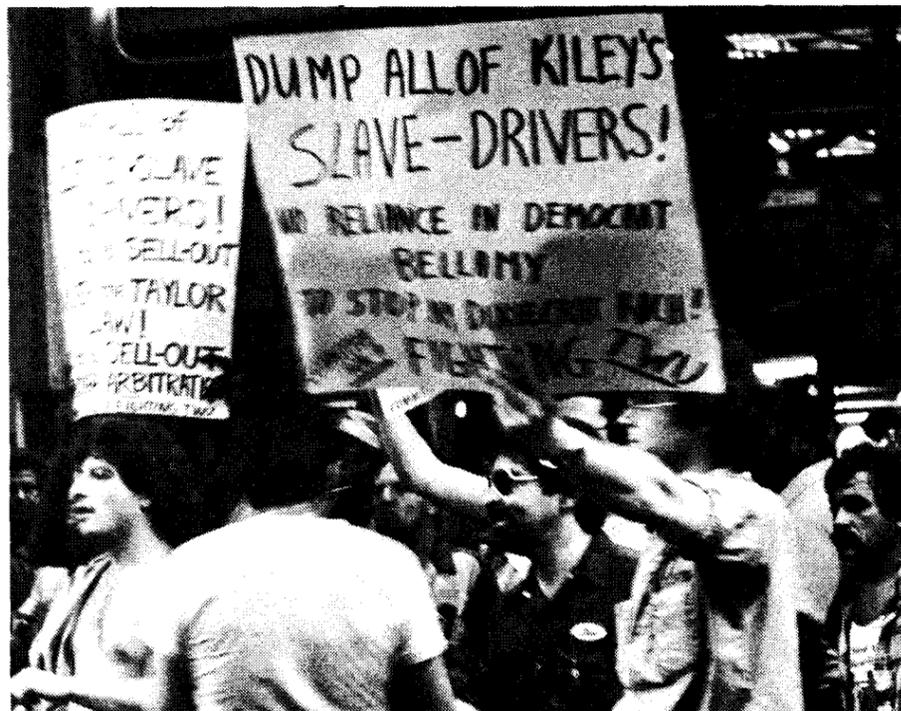
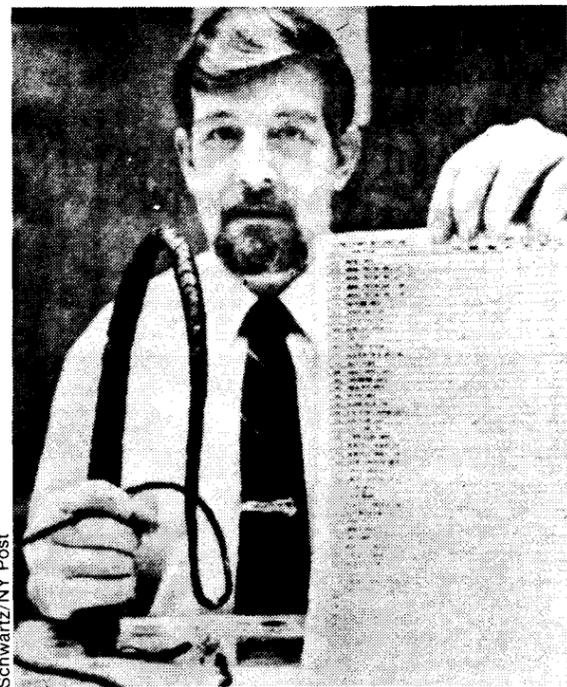
Davis hung a bullwhip around an American flag in his office and in his first six weeks disciplined more than 350 workers, even putting elected union officials—including the shop

chairman—in the street. The TWU Lawe bureaucracy, however, did less than nothing about "Jefferson" Davis' bullwhip or his bullwhip tactics. An overtime ban and slowdown launched by workers at the 207th Street shop, which spread system-wide, was sabotaged and effectively called off by Lawe's pronouncement at an Executive Board meeting upholding the TA's "right" to assign overtime.

But the sensational publication in the labor-hating *New York Post* (5 June) of a huge picture of "Jefferson" Davis brandishing his bullwhip generated such outrage among transit workers and every decent NYC resident that even Democratic politician Carol Bellamy, president of the city council, MTA board member and mayoral aspirant, had to say that if the whip didn't go, Davis had to. Kiley and Gunn think they can rebuild NYC's antiquated and rundown subway system the way the pharaohs built the pyramids. Even the *Post* admitted that under Davis' bullwhip, subway car repairs at the 207th Street shop had fallen 33 percent. But the real motive for the *Post* photo display of a bullwhip-wielding Davis was revealed in a companion editorial in the same edition hailing Gunn's plan to give the 5,000-member transit supervisors' association the "PATCO treatment" as prelude to busting the TWU and turning the entire transit system into an antebellum cotton plantation.

To head off the fury sweeping the TWU ranks, Lawe called token lunchtime rallies for June 14 at two subway repair shops and at the TA's Brooklyn headquarters. At the 207th Street shop less than half the workforce participated as the bureaucrats tried to turn the protest into a Flag Day celebration. But as transit workers poured back into the shop, they angrily surrounded Davis' glass-walled office with Davis inside and chanted "Take the whip!" and "Bust the union-busters!"

Would-be NYC transit slave driver Ronald Davis flaunts bullwhip. In 207th Street shop workers surround Davis' office, chanting "Bust the union-busters!"



The class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU participated in the 207th Street demonstration and one of their placards read "Dump Racist Davis! Smash Slave Labor! Finish the Civil War!" And the TWU ought to see to it that the same thing happens to Davis' bullwhip as happened to Mayor Dianne Feinstein's Confederate flag in San Francisco.

The fact is that "Jefferson" Davis'

flag-adorned bullwhip perfectly symbolizes the oppression of blacks and exploitation of workers in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. Another sign carried by the Committee for a Fighting TWU at the 207th Street shop demonstration was "Vengeance for Michael Stewart!" Last September this black man, 135-pound Michael Stewart, the son of a retired TWU member, was

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## Asylum for Refugees from "Baby Doc's" Terror Island!

# Coast Guard Drowns Haitians



Desperate Haitians flee starvation wages, state terror.

On June 6 a U.S. Coast Guard patrol drowned at least seven Haitian refugees seeking to escape the hellhole of the U.S.-backed Jean-Claude Duvalier dictatorship. According to news reports, 63 survivors were rescued with anywhere from a dozen to three dozen passengers still reported missing. Moreover, this murderous act of piracy reportedly occurred only 20 miles off Haiti's coast! The Coast Guard claims that the cutter *Hamilton* pulled alongside a 30-foot wooden boat which capsized when passengers ran to one side. Other reports, however, talk of the cutter ramming the leaky refugee boat (*Haiti Progrès*, 13 June). And since U.S. ships are provocatively ramming Soviet subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan, what's to stop them from deliberately sinking a boatload of defenseless black refugees?

The Haitian Migration Interdiction Operation, set up under a 1981 agreement, has turned the U.S. Coast Guard into prison guards for Duvalier. Twelve hours after the *Hamilton's* prisoners

were dropped off in Port-au-Prince, to be subjected to the tender mercies of "Baby Doc" Duvalier's Tontons Macoutes murderous thugs, the Coast Guard ship stopped two more boatloads of refugees in the same area, took the passengers into custody and *burned the boats*. Since the "tired, poor, huddled masses yearning to breathe free" continue to flee Duvalier's Haitian hell, it seems that the U.S. has decided to discourage them with a few bloody examples.

While the Coast Guard is drowning Haitians off the coasts, Duvalier's troops are shooting them in the streets. On May 21 riots exploded in the town of Gonaïves when the secret police beat to death a pregnant woman who was trying to prevent them from "disappearing" her husband. In response angry neighbors and residents poured into the streets and marched on the police barracks. The regime sent in seven truckloads of troops to stop the protests which continued for four days. The protests soon spread to the country's

second largest city, Cap-Haïtien, on the north coast. There, angry crowds attacked several CARE foundation trucks transporting pig feed imported from the U.S. While hundreds of thousands of human beings suffer from acute hunger, CARE shipments go to feed farm animals or are sold by corrupt government officials. The crowds chanted, "Down with hunger! Down with poverty! Down with Duvalier!" Uniformed government killers gunned down at least 50 civilians in six towns as the hunger riots spread.

The Haitian protests are not isolated. Next door in the Dominican Republic over 60 were killed in April and thousands arrested in outbursts protesting the starvation policies of that international bankers' cartel, the IMF. And while the U.S. Coast Guard acts as prison guards on behalf of President-for-Life Duvalier, Washington also acts to eliminate political opposition. At the end of May, 13 Haitian dissidents were arrested in New Orleans for plotting to

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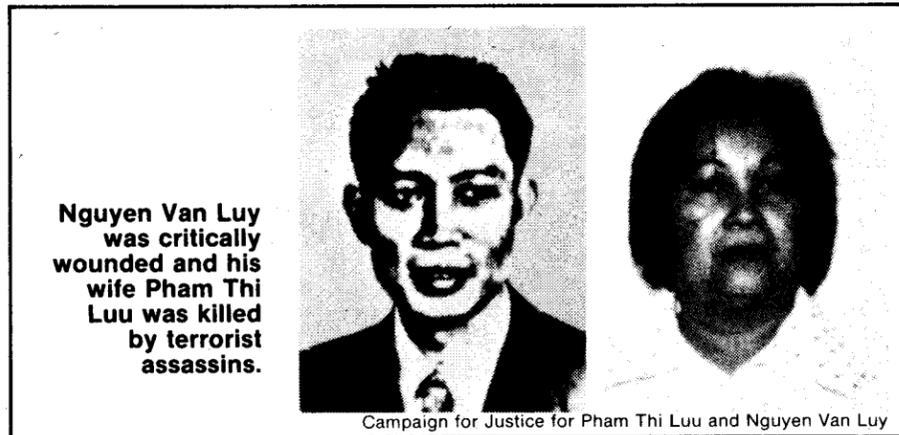
## Avenge the Murder of Pham Thi Luu!

# Death Squad Killers Gun Down Vietnamese Patriots in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—On May 28 an elderly Vietnamese couple, Nguyen Van Luy and his wife Pham Thi Luu, were gunned down outside their San Francisco home. A group of Vietnamese *gusano* scum, the "Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation," claimed responsibility for the cold-blooded murder of Pham Thi Luu and for critically wounding Nguyen Van Luy. At last report Van Luy, 72 years old, is in intensive care at the San Francisco General Hospital under police guard. The couple was well known in the Bay Area for their support to the Vietnamese Revolution and Van Luy's political history as an ardent nationalist and patriot covers some 50 years.

The *Nguoi Viet*, an anti-Communist paper published in Santa Ana, received the communiqué claiming responsibility for the murderous assault, which called it an act of "punishment" and labeled Nguyen Van Luy a "special agent for Vietnamese communism." The paper's editor, while claiming he was "horrified" by the murder, said "Most refugees hear of this and say, 'Oh, one more communist dead.'" While the FBI claims to have no information on the group, it is known in the Vietnamese community—and feared. According to Vietnamese diplomat Tin Luong, second secretary to Vietnam's Permanent Mission to the UN, "They are terrorists. It is made up of refugees in the United States who are reactionaries... and are trying to gather their forces against the government of Vietnam" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 June).

For all the hysteria being manufactured around supposed "violence" at the Democratic convention and the Olympics, this brutal act of political assassination and terror has received little more than perfunctory notice from the media, government officials and police. That's because the killers are the American ruling class' own terrorists: the counterrevolutionary scum of the earth driven from their countries by the just hatred of the victorious workers and peasants. The U.S. imperialists have stood by their butchers, torturers, drug-pushers, pimps and black marketeers, welcoming them by the boatload—although not without a good dose of cynicism and racism—as grist for the



Nguyen Van Luy was critically wounded and his wife Pham Thi Luu was killed by terrorist assassins.

Campaign for Justice for Pham Thi Luu and Nguyen Van Luy

anti-Soviet propaganda mill, and as cadres for counterrevolutionary terror at home and abroad.

These corrupt former U.S. puppets include the likes of Hitler-lover Nguyen Cao Ky, ex-premier of South Vietnam, who fled with millions in gold and is now a "businessman" in Southern California. According to a 1979 memorandum by the organized crime unit supervisor of the Arizona Drug Control District Narcotics Strike Force (reprinted in *Paso del Norte*, September 1983), "Since 1975, Nguyen Cao Ky has reestablished in the United States his South Vietnamese Government... This Mafia-type organization, or what is known in the Vietnamese circles as 'The Association'... is national and international in scope, is involved in extortion, drugs, loansharking, gambling, prostitution, smuggling, welfare fraud, assault and murder." And of course they learned everything they know from the CIA.

Hit men and thugs from Batista's Cuba and Somoza's Nicaragua are given free rein too—former Somoza National Guards and torturers train openly for counterrevolution in Florida and Southern California. And the sinister right-wing cult around Sun Myung Moon of South Korea seeks to broker unity between these terrorist groups. At the same time, black Haitians, refugees from the insanely sadistic "Baby Doc," are tossed into concentration camps here. Salvadoran refugees from death squad terror are hounded and deported, many to their deaths. And everywhere *la migra* Gestapo-style raids spread terror in the Hispanic

neighborhoods.

Several years ago a liberal Vietnamese newspaper publisher was gunned down by Vietnamese reactionaries in Texas. In 1981 27-year-old Lam Trong Duong, a San Francisco social worker also known for his support for the Vietnamese Revolution, was similarly assassinated. Responsibility for his murder was taken by the same group of terrorists. Yet three years later Duong's murder remains unsolved. Charges against the main suspect were dropped after a key prosecution witness claimed he had misidentified the suspect. According to San Francisco homicide inspector Earl Saunders, who is investigating both cases, "we think he changed his story under pressure" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 June). The Duong case underlines the futility of relying on the police, much less the FBI, who are nothing less than the "godfathers" of these anti-Communist vigilantes. In fact, an FBI agent told the *Examiner* (3 June) that Nguyen Van Luy had already been under surveillance for his political activities! What's needed to defend against these scum is massive labor and minority action and self-defense.

Nguyen Van Luy's biography reveals a long and dedicated history of struggle for the liberation of his homeland Vietnam from the chains of imperialism. According to information distributed by the Association of Vietnamese in the U.S., of which Van Luy was a founder and is currently honorary president, he was born in Haiphong on 10 March 1912. From a poor family, he hired on to

a French merchant ship as a "coolie" laborer. In 1930, Nguyen went to France, then colonial master of Indochina. Van Luy joined the Indochinese Union in Marseilles, through which he learned to read and write Vietnamese and French. When the People's Front of Léon Blum came to power in 1936 with a massive wave of workers' strikes many Vietnamese saw hopes for liberation. But the French "Socialists" and "Communists" in the People's Front government undermined workers' struggles at home by tying the proletariat to the bourgeois Radicals, while maintaining "French order" in Indochina. The People's Front collapsed, opening the way to Marshal Pétain, Vichy and Nazi occupation.

Nguyen Van Luy was forced to go to sea again, landing in New York City on 22 April 1940, where in a racist atrocity the police promptly jailed him, taking him for Japanese. He was released when the "mistake" was discovered and went to work for the War Department as a translator, believing Roosevelt's promises to free the colonies after World War II. On 2 September 1945 Vietnam declared its independence after having defeated the occupying Japanese army. But soon after, the U.S. dropped its pretense of support for Vietnamese independence and helped France recolonize Vietnam. Van Luy resigned from the War Department and once again went back to sea as a ship's cook. In 1954 he received his "green card" and in 1960 became a U.S. citizen. He was a member of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2 in San Francisco and was well known as an antiwar activist during the American Vietnam War.

In her will, Pham Thi Luu, 66 at the time of her murder, bequeathed most of her property to Vietnam's Permanent Mission to the United Nations. Her will specifies that their home in San Francisco's Sunset District is to be her husband's until his death, when it will be held in trust until the "normalization" between Vietnam and the United States takes place. But the U.S. imperialists will not soon forgive nor forget the stunning defeat handed to them by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants and seek every opportunity to teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson." Against the liberals and "sadder but wiser" radicals who today say "no more Vietnams," we say "Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" And certainly the future workers government of the U.S. will be honored to carry out Pham Thi Luu's bequest. Avenge the murder of Pham Thi Luu! One of the secondary, but not unimportant, reasons for proletarian revolution in America is to terminate for all time the kind of fascist filth that carried out this hideous crime. ■

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## Thousands of British Miners Battle Cops

JUNE 18—In the biggest clash yet in the biggest labor struggle challenging Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, more than 3,000 cops, some on horseback, today fought a running battle for two and a half hours with 7,000 striking coal miners from all over Britain. The strikers had converged on Orgreave depot in South Yorkshire to block trucks carrying coking coal to the nearby steel mill of Scunthorpe.

Seventy-five miners were arrested and 26 injured, including National Union of Miners president Arthur Scargill, who was hospitalized. Police claimed that Scargill "accidentally" fell and received head injuries. Despite massive police violence, the miners at Orgreave have won this

round. The state-run British Steel Corporation announced today that it was suspending coke shipments to Scunthorpe "in view of the serious disturbances which have occurred at Orgreave."

The miners, on strike now for 15 weeks, must not stand alone! This is a fight for the very existence of effective trade unionism in Britain. Tens of thousands of militant workers from every union should picket steel mills and power stations to prevent the use of scab coal. Spread the strike! Steel, rail, power, docks: Out now! Build massive mobilizations of labor and minorities to crush vicious Tory/cop strikebreaking terror! Bring "Iron Lady" Thatcher to her knees!

# Down with Common Market of NATO Europe!



Two hundred thousand West German auto workers are on strike or locked out in major industrial conflict over 35-hour workweek.

Hill/DPA

## Auto Strikers Shake West Germany

"Arnold Lutsch says he has been pushed past the breaking point.

"For four years his real take-home pay has dwindled. Many of his friends have lost their jobs. He lives in fear that his job will be taken by a robot.

"I'm not going to end up in the garbage can without a fight," he says."

—Wall Street Journal, 30 May

So said a militant German metal worker at a big Mercedes-Benz plant. In mid-May when the metal workers in the region of Baden-Württemberg voted over 80 percent to go out, they broke into cheering and sang the Internationale. Since then the conflict has steadily escalated. Close to half a million workers are on strike or locked out in what are already the longest strikes since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded in 1949. Last week Ford, the only auto manufacturer still operating, shut down. Auto—one of the most important branches of West German industry—is at a virtual standstill, from Bremen in the north to Munich in the south, from Worth in the Rhineland to Wolfsburg in Lower Saxony. West Germany, long regarded as the stable core of NATO Europe, could well be on the verge of the biggest class battle in its 35-year history.

It is already the most violent labor conflict in decades. In several cities including Hamburg, Stuttgart, Cologne and Koblenz, scabs backed up by the cops have attacked striking printers, sending several to the hospital. In Stuttgart a scab delivery truck smashed into the picket line of a struck printing plant, running over a union official. Angry printers and also metal workers from all over the city rushed to this plant to prevent further strikebreaking.

The West German working class understands instinctively that this is a fight not only against the employers but also the right-wing Christian Democratic (CDU) Kohl/Strauss government. On May 28 a reported 200,000 trade unionists marched on Bonn demanding a 35-hour workweek and unemployment compensation for those workers locked out. A week later 30,000 workers from all major unions and plants in the northern part of West Germany responded to a call for a solidarity march with the embattled metal workers and printers. On June 16, 20,000 airline, newspaper and retail workers staged a

**For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours!  
No Illusions in the SPD!  
For a Workers Government!**

one-day warning strike, demanding higher pay and shorter hours. When the employers threatened a lockout of metal workers in Bavaria, the center of the armaments and related electronics industries, the social-democratic (SPD) dominated DGB trade-union federation raised the spectre of a general strike. The bosses backed down, and the Kohl regime, which had earlier encouraged the lockouts, is now publicly appealing to the employers not to extend the lockouts.

This explosive situation threatens to escape the control of the social-democratic tops of the metal workers union, IG Metall, the largest union in the capitalist world. In mid-May they began a selective strike of auto parts plants in the heavily industrial Baden-Württemberg region as a pressure tactic for a shorter workweek. As one IG Metall spokesman explained, "We deliberately began the strike small in order to give the employers the chance to keep the damages small through negotiations" (*Der Spiegel*, 21 May). But the best-laid plans of mice and wily reformist bureaucrats often go awry. During the recent world depression the West German auto industry adopted the Japanese system of maintaining almost no parts inventory. So after a few days auto plants throughout the country ran out of supplies, and soon began closing down.

The CDU government directly supported this mass lockout, and the Federal Labor Office refused to give auto workers the unemployment and short-time compensation to which they are legally entitled. One IG Metall bureaucrat expressed indignation that the government's action is "a clear violation of neutrality at the expense of the union." Only a German social democrat could believe that the capitalist state would finance a major work stoppage. A serious fight with the bosses demands sacrifices. The German workers know this and are prepared for it.

With the mass lockout in auto and the provocation by the Kohl/Strauss gov-

ernment, German bosses ought to be met with a general strike. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) has called for factory occupations to win a 30-hour workweek for 40 hours pay. The entire 2,500,000-strong membership of IG Metall must join the striking auto workers and printers. The strike must be extended to other key sectors hit with mass layoffs: coal, steel, shipyards. Elected strike committees must take the place of the bureaucratic leaders, and union-organized defense guards must protect the picket lines. Seize the plants, lock out the bosses and shut the doors tight! This will hit them in their most sensitive spot, their "sacred" ownership of the means of production, thereby posing pointblank the question: which class shall rule?

German workers must fight for a sliding scale of hours, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to share the available jobs among all those seeking work. But this utterly reasonable and necessary demand to abolish unemployment is no more realizable under capitalism than the abolition of imperialist war. Instead of pressuring to bring back the SPD, which loyally administers capitalist exploitation, what's needed is revolutionary class struggle for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The TLD's demand for "30 for 40" has been met enthusiastically by those workers who constitute the reserve army of the unemployed: foreign workers, women and youth. German capitalism has used these layers as a shock absorber for its cyclical crises. But the present crisis has now driven strategic sectors of the West German proletariat into the ranks of the permanently unemployed. Internationalist working-class unity must be forged by fighting chauvinist attacks against foreign, especially Turkish workers. The TLD demands full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, recognizing that:

"A mass revolutionary party can be

built in West Germany only if it succeeds in organizing the immigrant workers of different nationalities—who constitute about a sixth of the industrial proletariat—and the German workers for common struggle."

### Social-Democratic Sellouts Threaten Struggle

This is not the first time the IG Metall bureaucracy has raised the demand for a 35-hour week. In 1979 when West German workers were seething over mass layoffs, the union tops siphoned off the anger into a pressure campaign for a shorter workweek. That was under an SPD government. No doubt the union tops had something similar in mind this time. But now with the Christian Democrats in power and West German workers facing mass unemployment for the first time in decades, the mood of the working class has changed dramatically. After the SPD was ousted in a parliamentary coup in the fall of 1982, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in the streets against the Kohl/Strauss regime. A year later, in September 1983, militant shipbuilding workers facing mass layoffs occupied dockyards in Bremen and Hamburg. Already the metal workers striking for a shorter workweek have forced the bureaucrats' hand, going beyond the original plans for piecemeal actions. And the employers have repeatedly broken off negotiations.

A struggle to widen and deepen this strike is necessarily a struggle against the reformist tops of the union and SPD. Metal workers misleader Mayr has promised the bosses, "IG Metall is not planning wider strike authorization votes to solve the problem by broadening the strike front" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 May). Mayr & Co. are in their element not on the picket lines but rather with one hand on the West German constitution and the other under the bargaining table. The IG Metall bureaucrats would quickly settle for a token reduction of the workweek such as the 39-hour week introduced by the Mitterrand social democrats in France. Moreover, Mayr says the IG Metall demand "does not mean equal wage increases along with the shortened working time." So the bureaucrats' plans amount to a swindle involving a wage cut with speedup (not to mention the loss in real wages due to inflation)!

continued on page 8

# Class War in Arizona Copper Mines

Continued from page 1

and a refinery in El Paso, Texas have their backs to the wall after almost a year of determined struggle. PD set off the strike with its demands for sweeping "givebacks," but what the company is really after is to destroy the copper unions and scatter their members to the four winds. And now Phelps Dodge, having run their mines with scab labor for the past ten months, is moving in for the kill, trying to evict strikers from company-owned housing. At the same time PD management withdrew its previous takeaway "offer" while the other copper giants are demanding reopening of their contracts to further gut union gains won through decades of workers' battles. A national copper strike is urgently necessary now, before it's too late!

The PD strikers' fight is a fight for all American labor—a defeat here will embolden Reaganite union-busting throughout the U.S. A thousand-plus predominantly Mexican and Indian strikers and their families are valiantly holding out against one of the top U.S. corporations. Yet the International leadership of the United Steelworkers (USWA), largest in a coalition of 13 striking unions including the Machin-



WV Photo

"After God had finished the rattle-snake, the toad and vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab."

—Jack London

ists, has hardly lifted a finger to aid the copper strikers, looking instead to Fritz Mondale to pressure PD back to the bargaining table. Fat chance. Phony "friend of labor" Democrats as well as the big business Republicans represent the twin parties of capital. It is Democratic Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt who has repeatedly brought in the National Guard as scabherders for Phelps Dodge. We need a workers party!

## Mass Pickets Shut Down Morenci

Late last month a *Workers Vanguard* team spent several days in Clifton and heard firsthand from the Arizona miners about the hell they've been going through. After months on the picket line, betrayed by their own leadership, their town occupied by the Guard and strikers harassed daily by the "Department of Public Safety" (state police), our *WV* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," was a welcome sight. With its fighting class-struggle spirit, our supplement, squarely on their side of the picket line, opened up doors and introduced us to the rank-and-file miners. Here is what we learned:

When the unions walked last July 1, production essentially stopped. Phelps Dodge tried to keep their mine running by using supervisory and office personnel and a handful of scabs, but this

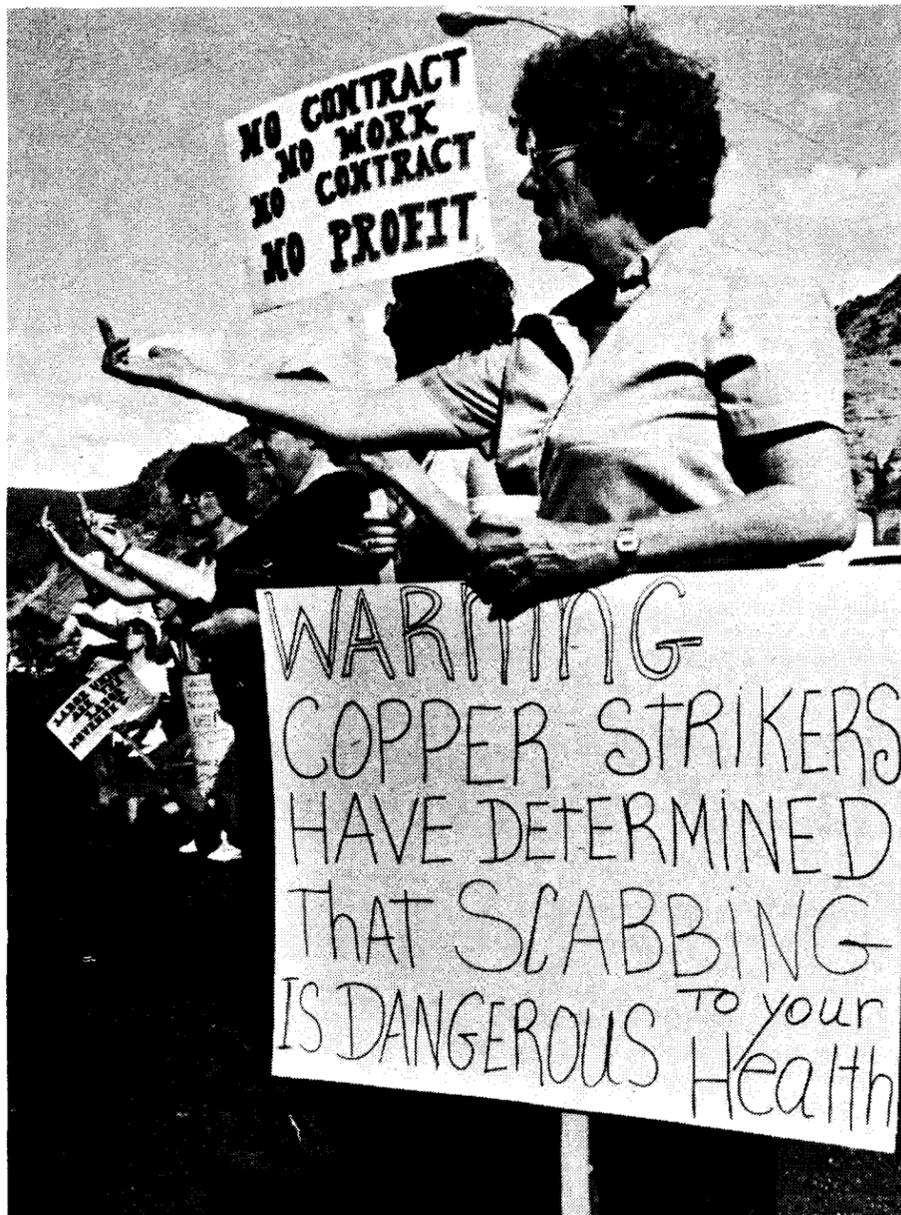
proved fruitless. So in late July, PD announced they would open their employment office to take applications from scabs. An injunction had been obtained limiting pickets to five per gate, but the miners openly defied it. Strikers told us they were getting close to 1,000 pickets on the line every day. And on the day the company tried to hire scabs, estimates are that between 1,000 and 2,000 picketers turned out.

U.S. Highway 666 passes through Clifton and winds its way up the hill to Morenci's main gate. It's the only way into the office. The strikers had their "legal" five pickets at the two main gates, and then with a slight separation there was a demonstration of hundreds of union supporters on each side of 666 to support their pickets. The scabs would have to pass through this demonstration to get to the gate. The Arizona DPS didn't even attempt to break up this picket line—they were powerless. Picketers on the roadbeds were waving baseball bats at the scabs.

This labor mobilization was so powerful that the state police set up a roadblock a few miles away and held scabs back because they couldn't "guarantee their safety." To the union bureaucracy's tired and cowardly refrain that you can't "violate the law," the Morenci miners replied by turning the bosses' injunction into a worthless scrap of paper. The strikers won a stunning victory that day as the scabs were kept out. Local TV reported that only two would-be strikebreakers made it to the employment office, but wisely decided not to fill out applications. Playing hardball with a 1,000-man team, the strikers faced down the company and their cops, courts and scabs.

Staggered by the shock of having their mine shut down, Phelps Dodge called in Governor Babbitt. "Scabbitt," as he is known to the miners, met separately with the company and union and then announced a ten-day "cooling-off" period during which PD's employment office would be closed. This was a joke: the miners had already shut it down. But this "even-handed" Democrat had many people believing he was going to get Phelps Dodge to the bargaining table and a contract would be forthcoming. The company went through the motions of "negotiating." Silver-tongued federal mediators were brought in to announce on TV each night how "promising" the talks were. But what the "cooling-off" period was all about was getting miners off the picket lines and giving the state time to call up and equip the National Guard.

So on August 19, the day the moratorium expired, a huge military convoy pulled out of Safford (about 50 miles away), and rumbled down Highway 666



WV Photo

A slogan from the Kentucky coalfields is taken up in bitter, almost year-long Phelps Dodge strike. Women's Auxiliary has emerged as a militant core of the PD strike.

to occupy Morenci. Because the mines were open at Ajo and Douglas, the state was able to concentrate all its forces to break the Morenci line. Tanks, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, SWAT teams and the combined force of DPS and National Guardsmen were assembled to protect the scabs. Strikers estimate that about 400 sharpshooters were stationed on a high ridge overlooking the main gate. It was at this moment that the gutless USWA bureaucracy pissed away the miners' initial victory. The union pulled the pickets off the line and left ten lonely strikers to face the state's armed might. A mile-long caravan of scabs poured unmolested across the picket line to reopen the mine.

Most strikers at Morenci think that "the governor betrayed us." *WV* interviewed Cliff Hicks, a Machinist picket captain, who told us, "During that ten-day cooling-off period, we should have stayed our ground right where we were and mobilized Eastern New Mexico,

Western California and all of Arizona. Through the numbers we would have closed the plant and started negotiations seriously. But we did trust our governor... and this is our vital mistake." But Babbitt was just doing the job the bosses hired him for. The traitors are the fakers at union headquarters in Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C. who didn't lift a finger to back the Morenci miners when they needed it most. Hicks told us, "They tell me if we get Mondale in, that he's going to run down here and slap PD on the wrist and bring this thing under control.... Mondale didn't get out of a big motel in Phoenix. Why would he come to an end-of-the-road place like Morenci? He's not going to do anything like this." Damn right! Labor's going to have to do the job, or it won't get done.

## War of Attrition

The long, bitter months that followed the occupation by the National Guard have been a war of attrition. In many

Bisbee, Ariz., 1917—1,200 radical copper miners, organized in the IWW, were rounded up, put in cattle cars and left stranded in the desert.

Wayne State Labor Archives



respects the strike has been leaderless. A striker told us there hasn't been an official union meeting since last November. Phelps Dodge has turned every financial screw to either starve the miners out or into submission. Credit was cut off at the company store. Strikers were charged a flat \$26 fee to set foot inside the Morenci hospital (owned by PD). These same services have, of course, been extended to the scabs free of charge. The scab bodyguards of the DPS have been permanently housed in the Morenci Inn, also owned by the company.

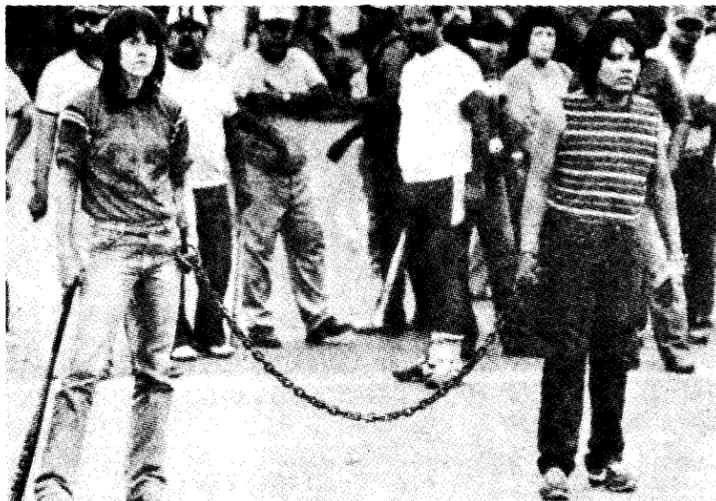
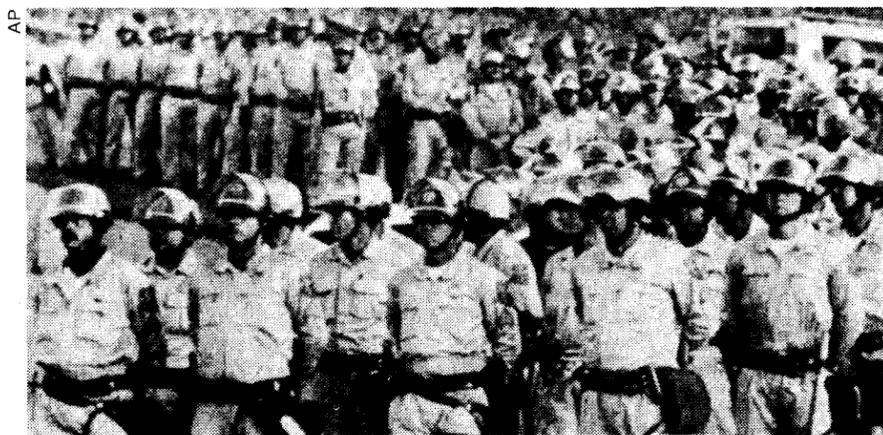
The blood line is so sharp between strikers and scabs that in Morenci fist-fights break out between their kids. Eleven-year-old Jason Knott was expelled from school for using the word "scab"! While in town we learned that the 8th grade graduation would be an "invitation only" affair in order to keep strikers' friends away. Later we heard that following the high school graduation the DPS pulled over 100 or so strikers for alleged drunken driving.

A good example of the vindictive and vicious war against the strikers was the company and state's response to the October flood that ravaged the town of Clifton, where many miners live. Morenci is on high ground, Clifton on low. During our visit we could still see remnants of the damage—seven months later. All the state and PD land-moving equipment was mobilized *not* to dig out the town, but to keep Highway 666 open for scabs to reach the mine. During shift-change time strikers' vehicles were ordered off the streets so the scabs could get through Clifton. Scabs would drive by and jeer and laugh at strikers who had to dig themselves out by hand. That flood and what Phelps Dodge did to them will be remembered by Morenci miners' families for generations to come.

One PD attack, however, gave the strikers a badly needed leader, Dr. Jorge O'Leary. When the company announced that its Morenci hospital would charge strikers fees, Dr. O'Leary brought them in the "back door" to treat them free. When PD put pressure on him, he courageously resisted and came out publicly in support of the strike. And for that Phelps Dodge had him fired. But the company plan backfired. O'Leary got an old store in Clifton and with a lot of volunteer labor they converted it into a clinic so that union families would continue to receive medical care. So the People's Clinic became a symbol of the strikers' resistance, and O'Leary became the public voice of the Morenci strikers.

The other critical element that emerged was the Women's Auxiliary. As time went on, many of the men had to leave town, even leave the state, to find work so they could send money to keep their wives and kids going. So the women have maintained the public presence of the strike. For months now, the Women's Auxiliary has organized daily 3:30 p.m. picket line demonstrations in front of the People's Clinic to harass scabs passing by on 666. These picket lines have attracted the best militants. Phoenix and Tucson press have often described these women as "rowdy" for shouting obscenities at the "workers." The Women's Auxiliary is quite explicit in expressing contempt for scabs, but as one woman told us, after flipping the bird at a strikebreaker, "We're not always like this, just for the past eleven months." These heroic women have manned the picket lines day in and day out.

The anger and determination of the Morenci miners shook up the whole state May 5 when the strikers were met with a cop riot by scabherding state police. Governor Babbitt transported more than 150 National Guardsmen into the vicinity on 17 Huey helicopters. Organized by the Women's Auxiliary, the demonstration had been called for Cinco de Mayo (Mexican Independence



Largely Chicano and Indian strikers know whose side the armed forces of the state are on.

Day), a widely celebrated holiday here. On that day, over 1,000 strikers and supporters assembled in Clifton to deliver a strong message that this strike was still alive. At shift change they lined Highway 666 and scared the hell out of the scabs. The crowd was so big the DPS could not "guarantee the safety" of their beloved scabs. They tried to route some through back roads; many got lost while the rest cowered in the plant all night. The evening shift was canceled as once again a taste of the July picket lines struck a blow for the union.

One scab en route began waving a gun at the strikers. No way was this demonstration, on this day, going to tolerate such provocations. The strikers began throwing debris on the road as make-

shift barricades. Then the cops attacked. Cliff Hicks was on the bullhorn, warning strikers of the imminent tear gas attack and trying to get the children moved to safety. He was the first arrested, as the cops jumped him from behind and wrestled him into a paddy wagon. Cops grabbed strikers right and left while tear gas choked the narrow streets of Clifton. When the smoke cleared, eight strikers were framed up on felony charges. On Cinco de Mayo the International picards once again left the strikers out on a limb. The union misleaders are not even defending these militants now facing the Phelps Dodge kangaroo courts. The local USWA leadership refused to endorse the demonstration, locked up their hall, and

left town. We say: drop *all* charges against the copper strikers and their supporters!

### Stop the Evictions!

Morenci is not a city or a town, it's a mining camp. There is no mayor, no city council or any city government. There's not even a PTA! The land is 100 percent owned by Phelps Dodge and so is the law. Phelps Dodge likes it that way.

The burning issue of the day is evictions. In Morenci there are about 300 striking families in the sprawling company housing project hanging on for dear life. Union militants have been singled out, framed up on "strike misconduct" charges, fired and ordered to vacate their homes. PD is gearing up for a mass eviction raid to deliver the death blow to this strike. The survival of the union is at stake, which even the USWA bureaucracy knows as it has been paying the rent of striking families to preserve this strategic toehold in the mine.

If the union is driven out of the mine, the social conditions of Morenci/Clifton will be rolled back generations. Prior to the organization of the Phelps Dodge mines by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, successor to the old Western Federation of Miners, Morenci was rigidly segregated between Anglos and Mexicans. Indians lived in tents. White merchants in Clifton, mainly Mormons, had signs on their establishments saying "No Mexicans Allowed." These racial divisions are already reappearing. The scabs are mostly white and a high percentage Mormon. As *WV* learned in an interview with Clifton mayor Tom Aguilar who joined Mine, Mill and Smelter in 1947, the struggle to break the color line in Morenci was the union's fight for a bidding system—that is, seniority. Prior to this union gain, Mexicans and Indians were relegated to a life in the labor gangs. If the union is broken—and the plant full of Anglos led by Mormons—these conditions will return.

May 31 was the latest eviction  
*continued on page 8*

## WV: The Paper That Fights for the Working People The State and the Strike: No Neutrals Here!

An on-the-spot account of the Phelps Dodge strike which appeared in the *New York Times* (3 June) reported: "Another echo of the copper union's stormy past has been the appearance here, of representatives from left-wing political groups such as the Spartacist League and the Socialist Workers Party, bringing with them the fiery language of class struggle and workers' democracy."

The fiery language of the class struggle clearly came from the Spartacist League. In our *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" we called for a return to the kind of militant workers' action that built the unions: "Potential strikebreakers should be educated to understand that you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs, and county hospitals are rotten places.... Then we can talk about *winning* some battles for a change." In particular, we pointed out that "labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization: the picket line, solidarity strike, secondary boycott. The capitalists' arsenal is their state: courts, cops, and ultimately the army."

The insipid Socialist Workers Party and its misnamed *Militant* sing a very

different tune. While the *WV* team was in Clifton/Morenci, SWP vice presidential candidate Andrea Gonzalez showed up gladhanding for votes. The *Arizona Republic* (31 May) reported her remarks at a press conference in which she "accused state government of not being 'an objective observer' in the strike." Later, according to the article, "Gonzalez called on government officials to 'protect the strikers, not the 'scabs'.'" This is once again the suicidal reformist notion that the state is neutral, and can be pressured to support the working class against the capitalists. It was this treacherous program that led the unions to demobilize the mass pickets at Morenci during the "cooling-off" period ordered by Democratic governor Babbitt last August.

Every strike, from Harlan County to Phelps Dodge, demonstrates that the state, far from being "above classes," is precisely what Marx called it in the *Communist Manifesto*, the executive committee of the bourgeoisie. The reformists and pseudo-socialists want to seduce the state, sending telegrams to Governor "Scabbitt" or looking to Congressional committees for salvation as the Communist Party does in *Labor Today*. The SWP/CP policy is:

empty "solidarity" in words, but no to class struggle. And the sinister political bandits of the "Workers League" call on the likes of AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, a certified Rockefeller/CIA creature and racist *patrón* of a plantation in the Dominican Republic, to form a "labor party."

But any PD striker who looks beyond the cops' curtain of tear gas can see that the "Department of Public Safety" only serves to make Arizona safe for the Phelps Dodges, that their clubs, guns, tanks and helicopters are not "neutral" but weapons in the hands of the capitalists. As we wrote in "Hardball":

"No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle.... What counts is power."

Union militants who are fighting to *win* must learn the lessons of past battles and link their fight to the class struggle nationally and internationally. They will want to subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*, the paper that fights for the working people, as 14 Phelps Dodge strikers did during our recent tour. You should, too.

# Class War in Arizona...

(continued from page 7)

deadline for 30 strikers' families in Morenci. PD strikers know that as the one year anniversary of their strike approaches on July 1 under the cloud of these eviction threats, they must once again gear up for major battle. As Dr. O'Leary told a rank-and-file meeting May 30, "We will be ready for the evictions...and we will resist them." Calling for a mass rally in defense of the copper strikers O'Leary said, "We are going to have such a big rally that the National Guard is going to call out the Marines." The strikers responded with a rousing ovation and chants of "Union, union."

The PD strikers of today stand in the tradition of generations of Western copper miners who had to continually fight for a decent life. Phelps Dodge amassed its initial capital by extracting barbarous profits from the 19th century slave trade. The early attempts to organize unions were ruthlessly smashed by the blood-soaked copper magnates. The Bisbee 1917 mass eviction was directed against the old "Wobbly" militants of the IWW who dared to strike imperialism's copper mines prior to the entry of the U.S. into World War I. Today, the giant copper corporations maintain overseas operations with the blessings of racist and labor-hating governments like South Africa, Chile and El Salvador. Meanwhile everyone from the copper bosses to Democrat Walter Mondale, the union tops and even steel "dissident" Ron Wiesen calls for protectionist trade barriers, setting worker against worker and laying the basis for imperialist war.

After eleven months of hard class battle, the strikers at Phelps Dodge welcomed the *WV* reporting/sales team with our supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." We said what

had to be done—labor has to build mass picket lines, plant occupations, to mobilize the tremendous power which grows out of its numbers, militancy, organization and discipline, its ability to shut down the wheels of production of this racist capitalist society. But labor's power has not been brought to bear because labor skates like new Steelworkers president Lynn Williams and Frank McKee, in charge of USWA's copper unions, want to play by the bosses' rules. When McKee was interviewed once by a Phoenix TV station and asked about the situation in Morenci he replied, "I wish it wasn't there." That's certainly how he's been acting!

Now Phelps Dodge's union-busting drive against the miners is spreading to other companies. Kennecott, Magma, Inspirational Consolidated and others want to reopen the USWA contract and extort even more concessions from the union ranks. But what is an ominous threat from the copper bosses can be turned into a big opportunity—to bring out the rest of the country's copper



WV Photo  
SL's "Hardball" supplement big hit with Phelps Dodge strikers.

miners in powerful joint action with the Phelps Dodge strikers. The PD strike must be spread to the entire industry now! If 1,000-man picket lines are built at every copper mine in the Southwest, the National Guard won't even know where to land their Huey helicopters! Rail workers and truckers must not move one ingot of copper! Hot cargo scab goods and the bosses' Taft-Hartley laws against "secondary boycotts" be damned! And the next time the National Guard is mobilized against the USWA in Morenci, their union brothers better hit the streets in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland—in the heart of steel union power. That's the kind of militant labor action that can bring PD to its knees, and knock Reagan off his high horse!

For 20 years a strike has been standard in copper at contract time. But the Phelps Dodge strike is more than just one more fight against a hardnosed company. The depressed state of the industry is due to the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. As recently as 1982 unemployment in Greenlee County (Clifton-Morenci) was 67 percent—the highest in the country—when PD shut down its local operations. This is the climate in which the union-busters hope to recruit armies of strikebreakers to work at substandard wages. (The scabs at PD are earning \$2-\$3 less per hour than what union workers were getting before the strike.) And the powerful copper companies, who in 1973 helped overthrow the leftist Allende government in Chile in the bloody Pinochet coup, aren't exactly playing softball. But instead of putting up a solid front of resistance against these ruthless bloodsuckers, the union tops negotiated a wage-freezing contract loaded with concessions to the companies, and left Phelps Dodge workers turning slowly in the wind. Now the companies smell blood and they're coming back for more.

The battle at Phelps Dodge is a political fight. As every miner knows, copper prices only really go up in wartime. Yet the Bisbee miners who

struck in 1917 knew that imperialist war abroad means war on the workers at home. Today, PD's war on the copper miners is a reflection of the American ruling class' drive for war on the Soviet Union. The bosses want to wipe out the heritage and historic achievements of the October Revolution, just as they want to get rid of the unions and anything that stands in the way of their profits. As the IWW said in its founding statement:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."

The reformists and the labor fakers want to turn everything into a fight against "Reaganism"—in other words, to elect a Democrat in November. But the enemy isn't just Reaganism, it's capitalism. Reagan destroyed PATCO, all right, without a peep of protest from the Democratic-controlled Congress. And when they were in the White House, Carter and Mondale tried to break the coal miners strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions. To win the class war, from the Arizona desert to the industrial heartland of the Midwest and the Northern ghettos, we must build a workers party. And this means a fight to oust the union misleaders who want to set up voter registration tables instead of mass picket lines. We need a class-struggle party to mobilize labor at the head of all the oppressed, leading the black and Latino masses in a fight for a workers government, to put an end to the tyrannical rule of the little Pinochets at Phelps Dodge along with the rest of the capitalist predators.

The Spartacist League calls on labor to: Shut down the entire copper industry—take back the "givebacks"! Don't touch scab copper—too hot to handle! Build mass picket lines to drive the scabs out! For mass labor action to stop government strikebreaking—send the National Guard packing! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strike! ■

# West Germany...

(continued from page 5)

But a sellout along these lines may not be so easy to arrange. The campaign for a 35-hour workweek with no loss in pay has tapped the German working class' hatred for the Kohl/Strauss regime and deep-seated fears of mass unemployment. At the same time, the 35-hour workweek, which the reformist bureaucrats present as a cure-all for unemployment, is entirely inadequate for the situation facing the West German working class. According to the most optimistic reformist propaganda, 700,000 future layoffs could be prevented and 700,000 new jobs created. That means in the *best case* there will still be over two million unemployed!

## For a Socialist United States of Europe!

The capitalists can be forced to grant the 35-hour week, not to speak of a sliding scale of hours and wages, only when the working class poses the question of *power*. In Italy, for example, it was the "hot autumn" of 1969—when workers took over factories throughout the industrial belt, creating an explosive pre-revolutionary situation—which won the *scala mobile*, automatically linking wages to the cost of living. Of course, under capitalism such gains won in battle are always reversible. And today the NATO Socialist Craxi regime is trying to dismantle wage indexing.

In West Germany, as well as in the rest of capitalist Europe, the depression of the early 1980s produced conditions

not seen since the terrible hardships of the early postwar years. Today, after a year or so of modest recovery, unemployment in West Germany is still over 9 percent, a level not experienced since the devastation and chaos of 1945-48. Spurred on by fears of another cyclical downturn and determined to get back what they've lost while business is on the upswing, the working class throughout West Europe is in a fighting mood. This has been a "hot spring" of class struggle in *all* the major Common Market countries—the metal workers and printers strikes in West Germany, the explosive resistance of French steel and auto workers to Mitterrand's austerity policies, the militant coal miners strike in Thatcher's Britain and battles to defend the *scala mobile* in Italy. What is needed is international proletarian unity in struggle—especially strike solidarity actions across national borders—against the Common Market of NATO Europe!

The need for international working-class struggle, as well as the destructive irrationality of capitalism, is nowhere clearer than in the steel industry. For years steel has suffered from worldwide overproduction and overcapacity. As a result, entire industrial regions based on coal and steel production—the Saarland and Ruhr in West Germany, Lorraine in France, South Wales in Britain—have been devastated. The lives of countless steel workers and their families have been destroyed. The protectionist Common Market has ordered the wholesale dismantling of the West European steel industry. Yet the only answer of the reformist politicians and union bureaucrats—whether Mayr in West Germany, Chevènement in France or Benn in Britain—is even greater national protectionism, trying to

get the steel workers of West Europe at each other's throats. There can be no progressive solution to the steel crisis, including the retraining and the relocation of workers not needed in the industry, short of a planned socialist economy on a Europe-wide scale.

Nor can there be a progressive solution to the capitalist crisis in West Europe separated from the "other" Europe, the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. The building of Volkswagen motors in East Germany as well as the Soviet gas pipeline deal show the underlying economic unity of Europe, indicating the possibility for a planned socialist economy in *all* Europe. Despite the mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy, for the workers of East Europe the spectre of mass unemployment is a thing of the past. The planned socialized economy of the Soviet bloc arose from the historic victory of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and its extension to East Europe, albeit from above, after the Red Army defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. Today the imperialist bourgeoisies—including Hitler's heirs in the ministries of Bonn, banking houses of Frankfurt and the Bundeswehr—are determined to reconquer East Europe and the USSR for capitalism...and are prepared to destroy the world in the effort. All class-conscious workers must unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against NATO imperialism.

It is here that the counterrevolutionary nature of West European social democracy is most sharply revealed. François Mitterrand, whose program for the French working people is austerity, austerity and more austerity, is also the sergeant major in Europe for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. In the

1970s the Social Democratic regime in Bonn built the Bundeswehr into the second most powerful army in NATO. It was SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt who in 1979 *first* demanded that NATO deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles (the Pershing 2s) in West Germany just eight to ten minutes flying time from major Soviet cities.

There can be no socialist revolution in West Germany—the industrial core of capitalist Europe—without breaking the working class from its traditional ties to social democracy. As the TLD has written in a special supplement for the metal workers and printers strikes:

"The key is a revolutionary leadership in the tradition of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, whose task it is to split the bourgeois workers party, the SPD, along class lines and thus break the reformist hegemony over the working class. The SPD—in German interests—is the deadly enemy of proletarian internationalism."

If today German social democracy is more détente-minded than their counterparts in Mitterrand's Paris, not to speak of their allies in Reagan's Washington, it is *not* because they have given up their counterrevolutionary plans toward the Soviet bloc. As the agent of German imperialism in the workers movement, the SPD aims to economically undermine and politically subvert the deformed workers states of East Europe, first and foremost East Germany and Poland. The Social Democrats aim to take back East Germany for capitalism. Trotskyists work for the revolutionary reunification of Germany as part of the Socialist United States of Europe, through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East. Victory to the West German metal workers strike! ■

# D-Day...

(continued from page 1)

speech near Omaha Beach. Lost for whom? "The great sadness of this loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came," he said. That complaint is really what the D-Day ceremony was all about.

For the U.S. and British imperialists, World War II was not about smashing fascism but about redividing the booty of capitalist profits, and for this "cause" they dearly wish that Hitler had broken the power of the Soviet Union. As Senator (and later President) Harry Truman put it in June 1941, the day after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union: "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way let them kill as many as possible" (quoted in John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* [1982]). Thus D-Day was repeatedly delayed by the U.S. and Britain in the hopes that Nazi Germany would bleed Russia (and vice versa).

However, Russia defeated Germany on its own and carried out an anti-capitalist social revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed and from above, in Eastern and Central Europe. Shortly after World War II ended, Western imperialism launched the Cold War to "roll back" Communism. No imperialist politician is as fanatically committed to that aim as Ronald Reagan.

## Operation Barbarossa Sealed Hitler's Doom

The assertion that D-Day was the "turning point" of the war is a total myth. Although the Normandy landings were the largest amphibious operation ever launched, the guts of the German army had *already* been destroyed on the Eastern Front, especially in the decisive battles of Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943. The Eastern Front, and this front *only*, saw the titanic struggle between fascism, the most barbaric expression of capitalism's death agony, and the Soviet state which originated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

The Russian people paid a terrible price for their victory over Nazism. When Hitler first launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the German army swept across the country on a devastating thousand-mile front. In the first three months alone, Soviet losses (those killed and taken prisoner) were *three million!* By the end of 1941 the German armies stood at the gates of Leningrad, where the Bolshevik Revolution was born, and of Moscow, the Soviet capital.

Hitler's blitzkrieg almost succeeded because the defense of the Soviet Union had been undermined and sabotaged as a result of a political counterrevolution—the rise of Stalin's bureaucracy usurping political power from the working class. Stalin consolidated his bureaucratic regime in the 1930s through bloody purges in which many of the Red Army's best officers were killed, including Marshal Tukhachevsky, the most brilliant general in the civil war of 1917-21. Leon Trotsky, the commander of the Red Army during the civil war, was driven into exile in the late 1920s and finally murdered by a Stalinist agent in Mexico in 1940.

Stalin relied on the paper promises of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact to avoid war. Even when Operation Barbarossa was clearly imminent, he tried to stave off attack by ordering his armed forces not to fire at German planes, not to approach the frontiers, not to provoke the Germans at all costs. Chief Marshal of Artillery N.N. Voronov later recalled: "My heart was very troubled. The war was drawing closer with every hour....



May Day 1945, Soviet Red Army liberates Berlin from Nazi rule as hammer and sickle fly over the Reichstag. Yevgeni Khaldei

But at the People's Commissariat of Defense little attention was paid to the danger signals....

"It was clear that the General Staff did not believe that there would be war in 1941. This point of view emanated from Stalin."

—Seweryn Bialer, ed., *Stalin and His Generals* (1969)

What saved the day was the devotion of the Soviet working people to defending the gains of October 1917 *despite* Stalin. In Leningrad the entire city was mobilized for a determined battle to the death. In one typical heroic episode when the giant Izhorsk factory, which produced such critical items as the T-34 and KV-60 tanks, came under fire from German artillery, the workers formed a battalion and went to the front. After the initial German thrust was halted, the city dug in for a siege of 900 days, a true horror which tested the limits of human endurance when starvation ran rampant in the winter of 1941-42. Over 800,000 died within the city, but the Nazis never succeeded in taking it.

The historic turning point of World War II came at Stalingrad, a fact later admitted by even such an arch anti-Communist as Winston Churchill. Here the Soviet army and the city's population fought block by block, house by house, factory by factory. Soviet Marshal Vasili I. Chuikov, who led the inner city defenses, described the monumental struggle years later:

"The local authorities and thousands of inhabitants in the factory areas were giving the 62nd Army every help they could. For example, at the Tractor factory, right up to the last minute, until October 14 [1942] that is, our tank crews were repairing tanks with the help of the workers, and at the Barrikady works the workers and our artillerymen together were repairing guns."

—Vasili I. Chuikov, *The Battle of Stalingrad* (1963)

Again and again the German army stormed Soviet defenses, and in October 1942 they got within 300 yards of Chuikov's defenses. Finally General Zhukov launched a massive counterattack, and in February 1943 German Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus surrendered his forces. For the first time in the war an entire German army (some 334,000 men) had been destroyed. The myth of Nazi "invincibility" was smashed, setting the stage for the decisive battle of Kursk five months later.

At Kursk in July 1943 the cream of the German army, the tank corps, was smashed to smithereens in the greatest tank battle ever fought (3,600 Soviet tanks versus 2,700 Nazi tanks). Over 1.33 million Soviet soldiers engaged nearly a million German troops for over a week in a titanic battle which decided the course of the war.

After Stalingrad and Kursk the Red Army began sweeping west as the Germans fell into retreat. By June 1944 most of the Soviet Union had been liberated and the Russians were preparing to enter Nazi-occupied countries from the Balkans to Poland. The defeat of Nazi Germany was in sight. For the

Western "democratic" allies, who had let the Soviet Union bear the brunt of the Nazi war machine for three years, the question now arose: "Who gets Berlin?" And therein lies the origins of D-Day—the race for Berlin and Germany, the key to Europe.

## The Second Front and the Popular Front

For three long years Stalin pleaded with his Western allies to open up a second front to take the pressure off the Soviet Union. This was part of the "popular front" strategy of relying on the good will of the "democratic" imperialists in Washington and London. In the name of the "war against fascism" the Stalinists of the American Communist Party supported Roosevelt's sending Japanese Americans to concentration camps, opposed *all* strikes (CP leader William Z. Foster tried to lead a back-to-work movement in the 1943 coal miners strike) and denounced efforts to eliminate racism in the armed forces.

But the Stalinists' slavish support to U.S. imperialist militarism did not prevent their hero Franklin D. Roosevelt from seeking to bleed Russia white while preserving American military/industrial power intact. This treacherous policy has been publicly admitted by Averell Harriman, who was U.S. ambassador to Moscow during the war: "I believe he [Roosevelt] had in mind that if the great armies of Russia could stand up to the Germans, this might well make it possible for us to limit our participation largely to naval and air power" (quoted in Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*). The U.S. ruling class intended to enter the European theater at the very end, as it had in World War I, and dictate its terms to *all* the war-ravaged European powers, its allies no less than the defeated Axis.

It was the Red Army's unexpectedly rapid advance toward Eastern and Central Europe, not any desire to finish Hitler off, which determined the timing of D-Day. The second front was launched not to save the Soviet Union

but to save imperialist interests from the Soviet Union. In a scholarly work, *Second Front NOW—1943* (1980), Walter Scott Dunn, Jr. extensively analyzes all the resources available to the Allies and Germans—tanks, submarines, landing craft, aircraft, combat soldiers, intelligence, etc.—and concludes that the "timing of the second front was influenced by both political and military considerations." The military requirement for the invasion of France "was met by April 1943." Retired U.S. General A.C. Wedemeyer endorses this view in a foreword to Dunn's book and now laments that the Americans did not get to Berlin before the Russians:

"They, instead of the Soviets, could have seized and occupied much of Central Europe. Postwar history could then have unfolded under political and economic conditions much more favorable to the interests of the Free World."

U.S. imperialism wanted to dominate *all* of Europe; the Soviet victory prevented that.

While the Stalinists were agitating for an American/British invasion of continental Europe, the Trotskyists recognized that a victory for Roosevelt's America in World War II would enormously strengthen the most powerful imperialist country on earth. In early 1942, shortly after the U.S. entered the war, James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), stated the revolutionary position on World War II just as Roosevelt was moving to throw him and the other SWP leaders into prison under the Smith Act:

"The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation. "We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist war*."

"This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist—oppressing other nations or peoples—or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan changed nothing in this basic analysis....

"This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its 'democratic' allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a *progressive war*." [emphasis in original]

—"A Statement on the War," *Fourth International*, January 1942

Today, when Reagan's America is planning a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union, we Trotskyists again stand firmly on the barricades in defense of the gains of October. ■

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## NYC Transit Union...

(continued from page 3)

beaten to death by transit police for allegedly scrawling graffiti in a 14th Street subway station. Whipped up by Reagan/Koch, transit cops rampage the subway system with drawn guns and attack dogs, harassing, beating up and shooting wildly at anything that moves. Stewart lay comatose on his deathbed during Congressional hearings on police brutality in NYC where in 1983 alone there were more than 40 murders, mainly of blacks, by the killers in blue.

In a grotesque cover-up of this cop murder, the appropriately-named Dr. Elliot Gross, the Koch-appointed chief medical examiner, ruled that 25-year-old Stewart died of cardiac arrest although when he was admitted comatose to Bellevue Hospital, bound with shackles, surgical tape and handcuffs, there were more than 60 wounds on his body. These wounds were noted by a family doctor who also observed that Stewart's eyes showed massive hemorrhaging such as is caused by strangulation. Subsequently, in a ghoulish addendum to the cover-up, Dr. Gross secretly stole Stewart's eyes from his body (*Amsterdam News*, 12 May)

Now, more than seven months later, in an action reminiscent of the slap on the wrist given to the murderers of transit worker Willie Turks, three cops have been charged with second-degree manslaughter and released without bail despite the fact that eyewitnesses testified before a grand jury they saw eleven TA cops pummeling Stewart.

Put the racist killers of Michael Stewart and Willie Turks in Attica and throw away the key! But real vengeance for Michael Stewart and for all the victims of racist/cop murder is going to take the integrated revolutionary mobilization of American working people for power. Finish the Civil War! ■

## Haitians...

(continued from page 3)

overthrow "Baby Doc's" bloody tyranny. As for those who have managed to escape, a Supreme Court decision last week threatens to send many back. It now explicitly restricts the criteria for granting asylum to those who can prove they would be in special personal danger. Cleverly using a case involving an anti-Communist Yugoslav, the decision is really aimed at the hundreds of thousands escaping U.S.-supported dictatorships in Latin America and the Caribbean, notably El Salvador and Haiti.

In New York on June 15 a demonstration of some 70 people protested the Coast Guard killings and Duvalier's repression in front of the UN and marched to the Haitian consulate. Spartacist League demonstrators carried signs saying, "Stop Racist Deportation of Haitian Refugees! Protest Coast Guard Murders!" and "Down with Duvalier! For a Workers and Peasants Government!" Another placard emphasized the connection with the anti-Communist campaign at the core of Washington's foreign policy: "Reagan Welcomes Gusano Scum, Departs Haitian Blacks." While the U.S. Congress debates immigration "reform"—the racist Simpson-Mazzoli bill which offers a limited amnesty as cover for mass deportation and the introduction of a South Africa-style pass card system—the SL demanded, "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers! Jobs for All!"

The award winning film *Canne Amère (Bitter Cane)* powerfully demonstrates that the Haiti of today is not just the impoverished backwater occupied

## South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

"democratic" imperialism to keep its hands clean and impose sanctions against South Africa.

A militant 50-strong Spartacist League contingent marched behind a banner reading: "Black Workers Are Revolutionary Powerhouse—Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution! Smash Reagan/Thatcher/Botha Racist Anti-Soviet War Axis!" Other SL placards linked the police terror against workers and minorities in Britain with Thatcher's welcome to Botha. A Spartacist banner proclaimed, "Smash the Tory Assault—Miners Must Not Stand Alone!" Another called for "Union/Minority Mobilisations to Smash the Fascist/Cop Terror!" This was particularly urgent given the cop rampage against striking coal miners at Orgreave.

Unlike the liberals and reformists, communists say that the main enemy is at home. Thus the SL contingent chanted against Britain's racist immigration laws, "Labour prepared it, Tories enact it—Smash the Nationality Act!" When we chanted "Solidarność loves apartheid—Smash apartheid, defend the Soviet Union!" and "Defend the ANC against the butcher Botha! Hail Cuban troops defending black Angola!" it drove the anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party contingent marching behind us into a veritable frenzy. The Cliffites responded with the CIA's call for "Free trade unions, East and West!"

Among those who joined our class-struggle contingent were a number of workers from the heavily minority London Transport workforce and a black miner from South Yorkshire. Our comrades sold 480 pieces of literature, including 64 copies of the SL pamphlet "Black History and the Class Struggle." Our slogans put forward the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution throughout southern Africa, summed up in the chant: "Smash apartheid, this is the hour, black workers have got the power!" ■

by the Marines during 1915-34, and hardly "semifeudal" as various Haitian Stalinists pretend. It is still the poorest country in the Americas with 80 percent unemployment in the countryside and 80 percent illiteracy everywhere. But in the free trade zone of the capital, Port-au-Prince, some 60,000 workers, many of them women, are employed in light manufacture of everything from brassieres to baseballs at a starvation wage of \$2.90 per day. Haiti also supplies the bulk of sugar cane cutters in the neighboring Dominican Republic. Just as important, several hundred thousand Haitians have emigrated to the imperialist center of New York along with tens of thousands to Montreal. They constitute a living link between the North American workers revolution and the liberation of the Caribbean.

Dominican workers who "enjoy" a few democratic rights (any form of communism, trade unionism or political opposition is vigorously repressed in Haiti) must struggle to defend their class brothers next door and struggle for revolution throughout the island of Hispaniola. As Spartacist signs proclaimed at the June 15 NYC protest, "Haitian and Dominican Workers: For Workers Revolution!" In the U.S. it is the urgent duty of the labor movement to demand a halt to the deportations and to fight for freedom for Haitian refugees locked up in Miami's Krome Avenue concentration camps, the federal holding pen at Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the Lake Placid gulag. For internationalist class struggle, from the Caribbean semicolonies to the imperialist metropolis! For a socialist federation of the Caribbean! "A bas Duvalier, pouvoir ouvrier!" ("Down with Duvalier, For workers power!") ■

## Richard Bradley...

(continued from page 12)

under the sign of the Confederate flag.

It was in the same SF Civic Center where the Confederate flag lately flew that in April 1979 the SL and hundreds of Bay Area trade unionists mobilized to stop the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. We stopped the Nazis that day, and they haven't been back since. Now the Confederate flag, the flag of Greensboro, the native American equivalent of the swastika, is down—and it's going to stay down.

Mayor Feinstein's attempts to prosecute Bradley turned into a debacle from



SF Examiner  
**Notorious Richmond, California "cowboy" cops practice racist terror under banner of Confederate flag.**

the District Attorney and Democratic administration's point of view, as we noted last issue: "In taking up the lost cause of the Confederate flag against the Union flag they had made an enemy of the whole course of American history." Despite an earlier vow to retry Bradley after the judge declared a mistrial on June 4, the next week the D.A.'s office moved to dismiss *all* charges stemming from Bradley's actions. Indeed, this battle was already won when the city was forced to state that the Confederate flag would no longer fly.

The prospect of going to trial again, this time on charges against Bradley for putting up the flag of the Union, the 33-star Fort Sumter flag, was obviously too much for the evasive city officials, who under Feinstein's orders had themselves maliciously and viciously shredded and destroyed that Union flag. No doubt she was nervously looking to the upcoming Democratic Party convention in San Francisco, now barely a month away. Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie C. West, who defended Bradley, called the D.A.'s motion to dismiss "cowardly," stating in court:

"Richard Bradley has a right to a trial and a verdict by a jury of his peers. Failure to proceed with this trial constitutes an admission that there was an attempt to frame up Richard Bradley and that he has been the victim of false arrests and malicious prosecution.... The first trial of Richard Bradley showed that who ought to be on trial here are those city officials who flew the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and race-terror, in violation of city policy and who took down and destroyed the Fort Sumter garrison flag."

The entire theme of Bradley's first trial was to raise the unfinished business of the Civil War, the fight for black emancipation through workers revolution. West's opening remarks laid out these vital issues:

"The District Attorney has said that this will be...an open and shut case of vandalism. Now we all know what vandalism is and it does not have to do with what has happened in this case.... The evidence will show that through-

out his life, he [Bradley] has struggled for integration and against racist terror. That he became a socialist because he believes that racism—born of slavery, maintained by capitalism—can and will only be ended by socialism.

"He had to speak in the same way that Rosa Parks had to speak when she sat in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama. And he is no more guilty of the crime of vandalism...than Rosa Parks was guilty of a crime when she sat down in the front of the bus. I believe the evidence will show that San Francisco is a better place for Richard Bradley's act."

The defense repeatedly caught out the D.A.'s only two witnesses in evasive "don't recall," "don't know" and outright lying. Recreation and Parks general manager Tom Malloy had to admit finally that the city flew the Dixie battle flag in violation of its own stated policy not to fly that flag, established in 1964. He also "didn't recall" that that policy was established because there was a civil rights demonstration of some 50,000 protesters in July 1964, during the Republican convention, where the Confederate flag was torn down.

One of the key questions brought out by defense attorney West was the vindictive racist destruction of the Fort Sumter flag Bradley put up. She asked Deputy Mayor Rotea Gilford who ordered the flag down, and he testified: "It was on the mayor's authority." "On her personal authority?" West asked. "Yes," he replied.

Gilford further testified he was informed by police on duty in the mayor's office that the Fort Sumter flag was in the mayor's office and a representative of the Spartacist League could pick it up. But by the time of the trial, the story had changed: the Fort Sumter flag was "in shreds and thrown away." We had ordered this flag, made to the exact specifications of the other flags in the Civic Center, at a cost of \$150 and donated it to the city, after the mayor announced the Confederate flag would no longer be flown. So what vandals shredded it and threw it away? "Dixie Dianne's" revenge, obviously. Indeed, after the trial many jurors said it was the destruction of the Fort Sumter flag that led them to conclude that the city, not Richard Bradley, was guilty of malice.

## The Confederate Flag Means the Greensboro Massacre

Bradley stated in court that on the very same day he first tore down the Confederate flag, an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina was acquitting, for the second time, the Nazi/Klan killers who murdered five civil rights and labor organizers in broad daylight:

"What I didn't want to see happen is what happened in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979.... The Klan and Nazis got out of their car and walked back to the car trunk, and pulled out their guns and passed them out to the other Klansmen and Nazis that were present. And started shooting these civil rights activists down in cold blood—that's what happened. In fact, when they were on the ground they continued to pump shots into their bodies. And I did not want to see San Francisco become another Greensboro."

West sought to introduce as evidence

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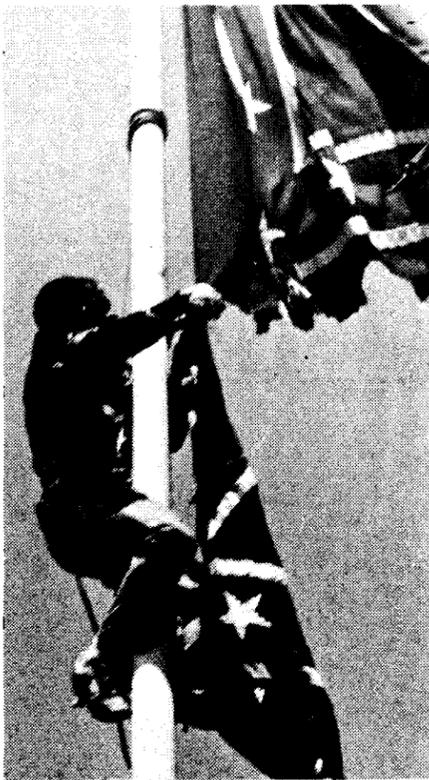
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the 88-second videotape of the Greensboro massacre, including the segment showing a Confederate flag license plate on the lead car in the Klan/Nazi caravan. But Judge Timothy A. Reardon viewed the tape out of the presence of the jury and refused to allow it, on the grounds it was "too good" for the defense. "I don't want to see him acquitted on that basis," he said, claiming the tape would unduly influence the jury. The judge also refused to allow as evidence a magazine put out by the anti-fascist organization Klanwatch, in which there are grisly photos of the Klan at work: lynchings, bombings, tar and featherings, cross-burnings.

But that's what the Confederate flag means: race-terror, murder, bloody attacks on union organizers. In response to the D.A.'s initial threat of a retrial, West subpoenaed KKK terrorist and virulent racist Tom Metzger to come into court to demonstrate what the Confederate flag means, a living symbol of bloody terrorist suppression of blacks. As well, the attorney had reissued a subpoena for Mayor Dianne Feinstein to get her to explain why she defended this hateful symbol of slavery and clawed to shreds the flag of the Union. Of course Feinstein has already got her reward for proving her loyalty to the Dixiecrats: she's just been tapped by Mondale as an official contender for the vice presidency, along with Southern Dixiecrat Lloyd Bentsen! So much for Jesse Jackson's donkey work in bringing in the black vote: the deal will be Northern liberal Mondale and one of the Dixiecrats, of which Feinstein is now a more than honorary member.

#### The Richmond "Cowboys" and the Confederacy

One photo the defense did get into evidence at the trial is the one Bradley saw on the wall of the SF cops' Northern Station, where he was first booked. It is a photo of the notorious Richmond, California "cowboys," the brutal racist cops that have beaten and killed blacks in that Bay Area town for years. In the picture, the cops are decked out in Western garb, holding various weapons and sporting a Confederate flag. It is this that the Northern Station cops post up as their model.

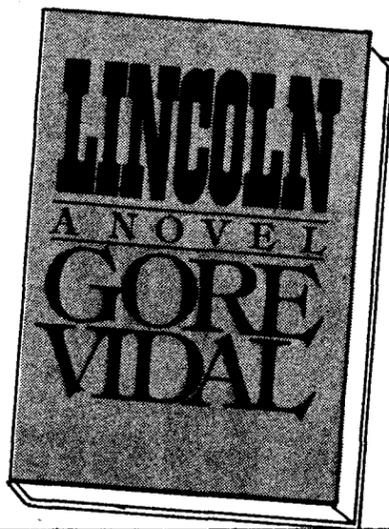
Bradley testified that Officer Roche, who arrested him, introduced him to the all-white officers in the station: "This is officer so-and-so from Alabama, this is so-and-so from Mississippi, this is so-and-so from Arkansas," etc. The cops know what the Confederate flag means: license to terrorize and kill blacks.

#### We Did It!

One of the exhibits introduced by the defense was a giant 20 by 24-inch blow-up photo of Bradley, clad in the uniform of a Union soldier, atop the 50-foot flag-

LINCOLN  
 would also have  
 wanted the flag's  
 symbolic removal  
 Gore Vidal

Richard Bradley tears down Confederate flag (left). Gore Vidal, America's greatest living writer, autographed for us the title page of his new novel, *Lincoln*: "Lincoln would also have wanted the flag's symbolic removal."



pole in the act of tearing down the Confederate flag. Yes, Bradley and West emphasized, we did it, we're proud of it and it's no crime. The D.A. tried to get Bradley to admit what he was doing was "unlawful," asking, "Did you have permission to tear that flag into shreds?" Bradley responded:

"I thought it was illegal for that flag to be flying in Civic Center. It's an insult and it's the flag of the Ku Klux Klans that terrorize blacks and other minorities in this country. I don't think the flag should be flying anywhere."

The judge refused to allow into evidence an 1863 law making it a crime to fly the Confederate flag.

The cops and Klan know what the Confederate flag means. So do Bradley and the Spartacist League, so do blacks throughout America, and so does the labor movement. Another witness for the defense was Peter Woolston, member of the General Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, who burned the Confederate flag on April 15 after Bradley threw its pieces to the ground. Woolston stated that the city's flying of the Confederate flag became an issue in his union in 1982, when Bradley together with Diana Coleman ran as Spartacist candidates for San Francisco Board of Supervisors and said the first thing they'd do if elected would be to see to it that the Confederate flag was hauled down.

Woolston also stated his union passed a motion demanding that the racist banner come down, and that the city did

in fact take it down for a mass labor march and rally in Civic Center to get out the Democratic vote, held on 24 October 1982—but that the flag was back up within a week. Numerous other witnesses testified that the flag was taken down for that day, in an obviously calculated decision—though no city officials at the trial could "recall" anything about it.

West summed up the case for Bradley and against the Confederate flag and its defenders:

"The change in public policy is a vindication of Richard Bradley's acts. The Confederate flag will no longer fly in San Francisco. In the wake of that decision, a guilty verdict here would be a gross miscarriage of justice."

The jury obviously agreed. As the twelve jurors, only one of whom was black, retired to consider their verdict, they took with them to study the large photo of Bradley cutting down the Confederate flag. It was eight for acquittal. Later, one juror shook Bradley's hand, saying "I would have done it if I had the guts." He donated \$20 to the defense and bought a *Workers Vanguard* subscription.

#### Finish the Civil War!

Our action in tearing down the Confederate flag and the trial raised the great unfinished business of the Civil War. The jury was visibly moved by testimony from retired black educator Joseph Hann, who developed the curriculum for the first black studies course taught in the U.S. at San

Francisco State University. Hann explained the Civil War's origins in the inevitable clash of the system of Northern industrial capitalism versus the slave system of the South, and described how the Emancipation Proclamation opened the door to the recruitment of 200,000 black soldiers to the Union, who turned the tide of battle against the Confederacy. He recalled the historic battle of Fort Pillow, where hundreds of black troops were slaughtered after they surrendered, at the command of Confederate general Nathaniel Bedford Forrest, who went on to be the first president of the Ku Klux Klan. He concluded by comparing the Confederate flag to the Nazi swastika.

Our battle to get the flag of slavery and racist terror down, and keep it down, was a big victory for all decent citizens of San Francisco. It is a telling verdict on the capitalist system and the anti-progressive role of the bourgeoisie today that it falls squarely to the communists to uphold the verdict of American history against slavery, while Democrats like "Dixie Dianne" uphold the banner of black oppression. At the trial, the defense introduced the Marxists' historic support to the Union in the Civil War, in the form of a letter from Karl Marx to President Lincoln on his re-election in 1864. The issues raised by Marx in his address are still burning today:

"If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war cry of your reelection is, Death to Slavery...."

"While the workingmen, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation, but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of Civil War."

Just as the Civil War and Emancipation Proclamation thrust blacks into the forefront of social revolution, so today the black proletariat, integrated into American industry albeit at the bottom, will be thrust into the forefront of struggle for the third American revolution. It is the task of the American working class to finish what the Civil War started. As Diana Coleman stated in her trial testimony:

"We said that it took the first American revolution to kick out the British. It took the second American revolution, that is the Civil War, to get rid of slavery. And it will take a third American revolution to finish the Civil War and to bring real liberation for black people and for all working people." ■

## Confederate Flag Is Not "Historical Relic" But Deadly Incitement to Racist Terror



From left: Klan march in Alabama, 1979; Nazi nest in black proletarian stronghold of Detroit; KKK terrorists parade through French Quarter in New Orleans, 1978.

# WORKERS VANGUARD

**Hail Richard Bradley! Finish the Civil War!**

## Black Militant Puts Dixie Flag On Trial

### Curse Mayor Feinstein!

SAN FRANCISCO—We put the Confederate flag on trial, the banner of slavery and race-terror. After Spartacist Richard Bradley's first trial for tearing down the Confederate flag in San Francisco's Civic Center ended June 4 in a hung jury (8 to 4 for acquittal), the squirming Democratic city administration and "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein's District Attorney moved on June 11 to dismiss *all* charges against Bradley, over vigorous objections by Bradley's defense.

Behind Bradley's trial and the "battle of the flags" in San Francisco are great questions of social policy, drenched in blood, that go to the very heart of what the United States has been, is now and will become. At the core of Bradley's defense was the Civil War's still unfulfilled promise of black equality—a promise that will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to make good on.

Twice Bradley ripped down the provocative banner of slavery, and he scaled the 50-foot high flagpole a third time to replace it with the historic Union Fort Sumter garrison flag. These actions expressed the determination of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense that the KKK and Nazis, paramilitary shock troops of



Richard Bradley in Union Army uniform after tearing down the flag of slavery in front of San Francisco's city hall.

race-terror and union-busting, must not and *will not* spread their murderous tentacles into San Francisco! Bradley's action was also a counterattack on the

acquittal, that same day, of the fascists who slaughtered five civil rights activists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979  
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## Thousands Protest Racist South Africa Butcher Botha

LONDON—Twenty thousand people marched through London June 2 in an angry protest against the visit of South African prime minister and apartheid butcher P.W. Botha. Margaret Thatcher's invitation to Botha is a declaration of racist "free world" solidarity with the white supremacist regime and the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war axis in southern Africa. Having succeeded in forcing the black African "front line" states to stab the African National Congress in the back, Botha now wants Thatcher to ban the ANC here as "terrorists." As a Spartacist League/Britain placard at the march said, "British Army in Belfast, Terror Raids in Lesotho—Who Are the Real Terrorists?"

The demonstration reflected the outrage felt in almost all sectors of society at Botha's visit, including not only numerous trade-union and left contingents and a significant representation of minorities, but even Young Liberals and Tory "wets" (moderates). The dominant theme of the march, initiated by the liberal/Stalinist Anti-Apartheid Movement, was a popular-frontist appeal to

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### Smash Apartheid—Black Workers Have the Power!



London, June 2—Spartacist League/Britain says black unions key to smashing apartheid.

Spartacist Britain