

Workers: You Produced America's Wealth—Take It!

Crash of '87

Meltdown, panic, hysteria, fear—these are the words used to describe Wall Street these days. And the fright is certainly not limited to Wall Street. People are scared. On Black Monday, October 19, the stock market lost half a trillion dollars, 23 percent of its total value, and stock prices continued to plummet. By comparison, on Black Monday, 28 October 1929, the market fell only 13 percent.

The *New York Times* (26 October) wrote fatuously, "Before last Monday, the possibility of a stock market collapse seemed implausible." No one can believe that any longer. "Blue chip" stocks like IBM, GM, AT&T took the biggest beating. And just as the '29 crash in New York led to financial collapse throughout the capitalist world, so Wall Street's Black Monday quickly spread to the City of London, the Frankfurt Börse and the stock exchanges in Tokyo and Hong Kong.

The crash buried what little authority was left of the Reagan presidency. A man watching the frenzied scene on Wall Street yelled: "The Reagan Revolution is over! Down with yuppies!" But the Democrats have no alternative to Reaganomics except higher taxes.

The people who run this country have run America into the ground. The U.S. has profoundly lost power in the world, economically as well as militarily. The American bourgeoisie invests in speculation rather than production, then finances their war drive by massive borrowing from the Japanese. In the meantime they have desperately immiserated the poor, gone after the unions, brutalized ghetto blacks.

Reagan Fiddles While Wall Street Burns

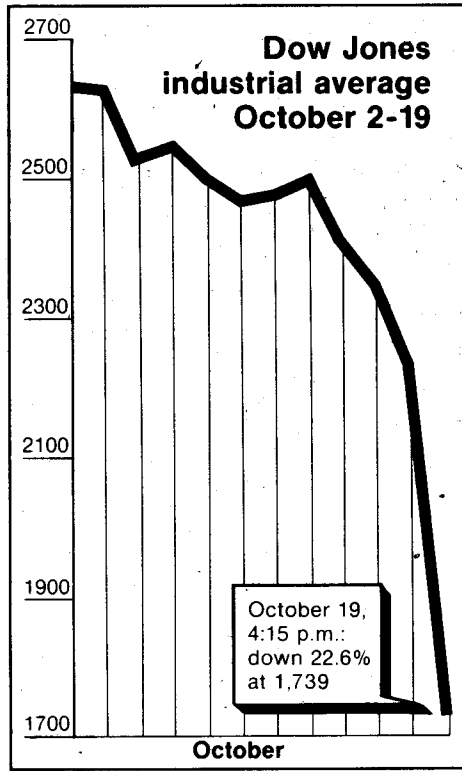
Black Monday is a historic watershed, the American economy will never be the same. Why? And why now? There was fear that Reagan's antics in the Persian Gulf would trigger a U.S. war with Iran. The week before the crash the U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker told the West Germans to go screw themselves. This breakdown in the international agreement on exchange rate stability (the Louvre accord) threatened a further fall in the dollar and flight of foreign capital. Rising interest rates were sucking money from stocks into the bond market.

The *Times* pointed to a clause in the new tax law, under which Wall Street operators could no longer deduct interest on funds borrowed for corporate takeovers, a major swindle fueling the stock market boom. Some analysts blame computerized investment programs for exaggerating (!) movements in the market. But none of this can explain why corporate America lost one-third of its market value in the week ending on Black Monday.

Two and a half years ago, we wrote: "The Reagan gang is living in a fool's



Der Spiegel



WV Graphic

Reaganomics con game goes bust. Panicked stock market (right) plunges record 23 percent on October 19.

paradise on borrowed time and money." ("Reagan's Dollar Boom Going Bust?" *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985). The five-year bull market on Wall Street has seen the *deindustrialization* of America continue apace. Stock prices doubled and even tripled for companies whose actual productive capacity was shrinking. Paper wealth was rising sky-high, the real economy was stagnating. A crash was long overdue, long predicted, and when it came it came with a vengeance. And when the bourgeoisie devalues its wealth by a third, it is usually right.

As noted in the main document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," adopted last month by the Eighth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

"The Reagan years have been marked by a *qualitative deterioration* in the international position of American capitalism, setting the stage for a major fiscal/financial crisis. By 'financing' the military buildup through tax cuts for the wealthy, the Reagan government has run up a budget deficit greater than the accumulated total in the previous almost 200 years of the American republic. This deficit has been heavily covered by foreign borrowing. Within the space of a few years the U.S. has gone from the world's leading creditor nation to the biggest debtor."

Wall Street finally collapsed under the weight of "the twin towers" of historic government budget deficits and international payments deficits.

It was Japanese moneymen, German bankers and Arab oil sheiks who paid for Star Wars and the other Pentagon boondoggles. Wall Street was sold as a "safe haven" for foreign capital. In Reagan's America, the rich would get a lot richer, the poor would be thrown off the welfare rolls and the workers would be kept in their place... down. But Reagan-

omics was a giant con game, and the capitalists' confidence just went up in smoke.

It was all hype. The U.S. economy has no savings, no taxes for the wealthy, no real capital formation, and Reagan was spending like crazy. A few weeks before the crash, Wall Street Brahmin Peter G. Peterson summed it up: "America has let its infrastructure crumble, its foreign markets decline, its productivity dwindle, its savings evaporate, and its budget and borrowing burgeon" (*Atlantic Monthly*, October 1987). This kind of financial/political merry-go-round doesn't go around very long.

The collapse on Wall Street was foreshadowed by the collapse of the Reagan presidency. The Iran/Contra affair crippled the would-be Rambo in the White House. But instead of lying low, Reagan's been running amok. He's playing chicken with Khomeini in the Persian Gulf. "Over my dead body," he challenged the Democrats in Congress to reject his nomination of racist fellow right-wing nut Robert Bork for Supreme Court justice. They did. "The Bork defeat showed markets very clearly that President Reagan is a total lame duck who doesn't have the power to control events," a White House aide admitted (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 October).

Reagan is a political corpse but he's still making sounds. The executive arm of the American ruling class is now both dangerously erratic and paralyzed, a state of affairs nicely captured by liberal columnist James Reston:

"At the time of the crash, the Secretaries of State and the Treasury were out of the country, and the President, as usual, was out to lunch. He didn't take to the television to quell the shouting,



Laffont/Sygma

but merely shouted over the din of a helicopter that all was well with the economy."

—*New York Times*, 21 October

Even the *Times*' resident right-winger, William Safire, was distressed by Reagan's "what me worry?" attitude, like Herbert Hoover in 1929. On the Street they're already calling him Herbert Reagan.

Black Monday for Star Wars

Behind the Wall Street crash is the counterrevolutionary drive of American imperialism, from a *weakened* economic base, to roll back Soviet power and ultimately topple the Soviet workers state. At the end of World War II in 1945, the U.S. had about 50 percent of the "Free World's" total production; now it's down to about half of that. Since the Korean War boom in the '50s, industrial investment stagnated in the U.S. while Japan and West Germany rapidly rebuilt their economies. The Vietnam War marked the end of the short-lived "American century" as Lyndon Johnson tried to have both guns and "Great Society" butter at the same time. Nixon's New Economic Policy of August 1971—combining an end to the dollar standard, trade protectionism and the imposition of state wage controls—signaled the loss of American hegemony in the capitalist world, reducing the U.S. to the strongest of a number of rival imperialist powers.

For the past 15 years the United States' international competitiveness and its solvency have deteriorated, especially vis-à-vis Japan. American capitalists continue to manufacture industrial goods but no longer that much within

continued on page 13

Remember the Haymarket Martyrs!

One hundred years ago, on 11 November 1887, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fisher and George Engel, leaders of the eight-hour movement, were murdered by the capitalist courts. Their fellow militant Louis Lingg was killed or committed suicide in his prison cell. Along with three others they were framed up on conspiracy to kill a cop in the infamous police riot at Chicago's Haymarket Square. As the prosecutor told the jury, these men were selected "because they were leaders... no more guilty than the thousands who follow them... convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society."

Hundreds of thousands of workers had marched through the streets of U.S. cities on 1 May 1886—80,000 in Chicago alone—calling for the eight-hour workday. Two days later Chicago's scabberding cops fired on McCormick Harvester strikers, killing six in cold blood. On May 4, a provocateur threw a bomb into a workers' rally at Haymarket Square, setting off another cop riot. Seven cops died. The bosses and capitalist press screamed for workers' blood: police smashed union offices, wrecked presses of foreign-language newspapers and filled the jails with foreign-born workers. Hanging judge Gary and his hand-selected jury of



TROTSKY

Long Live the October Revolution!

Seventy years ago as Bolshevik-led soldiers and sailors stormed the Winter Palace, the October Revolution was announced at the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on 7 November 1917 (October 25 by the old Russian calendar). After declaring "Long live the world socialist revolution!" Bolshevik leader Lenin presented the following resolution, which became the proclamation of the first victorious proletarian revolution in history.

Today this internationalist policy—directly counterposed to the Stalinist nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"—is more urgent than ever in order to achieve world victory for the proletariat and defend the homeland of the October Revolution. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies hails the victorious revolution of the proletariat and the garrison of Petrograd. The Soviet particularly emphasises the solidarity, organisation, discipline and complete unanimity displayed by the masses in this unusually bloodless and unusually successful uprising.

It is the unshakable conviction of the Soviet that the workers' and peasants' government which will be created by the revolution, as a Soviet government, and which will ensure the urban proletariat the support of the whole mass of the poor peasantry, will firmly advance towards socialism, the only means of saving the country from the untold miseries and horrors of war.

The new workers' and peasants' government will immediately propose a just and democratic peace to all belligerent nations.

It will immediately abolish landed proprietorship and hand over the land to the peasants. It will institute workers' control over the production and distribution of goods and establish national control over the banks, at the same time transforming them into a single state enterprise.

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies calls on all workers and all peasants to support the workers' and peasants' revolution devotedly and with all their energy. The Soviet expresses the conviction that the urban workers, in alliance with the poor peasants, will display strict, comradely discipline and establish the strictest revolutionary order, which is essential for the victory of socialism.

The Soviet is convinced that the proletariat of the West-European countries will help us to achieve a complete and lasting victory for the cause of socialism.

—V.I. Lenin, Resolution of the Petrograd Soviet (7 November 1917)



LENIN

Widow of August Spies beside monument to Haymarket martyrs at Chicago's Waldheim Cemetery in 1929. Workers around the world commemorate their revolutionary tradition every May Day—the international workers holiday.



admittedly biased foremen and superintendents sent the Haymarket martyrs to the gallows. Each year workers from San Salvador to Johannesburg pay their tributes to the Haymarket martyrs by braving state and death squad terror to celebrate May Day.

Thirty years later the Russian workers, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Trotsky, threw out their capitalist oppressors, inspiring workers and oppressed the world over. In 1922 the Comintern established the International Red Aid to defend and aid revolutionary opponents of capitalism in every land without regard to party or political belief. Conversations in Moscow in 1925 between exiled Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leader Bill Haywood and James P. Cannon gave birth to the International Labor Defense (ILD)—an independent American defense organization which acted as a section of the International Red Aid. The ILD combined the internationalism of the Russian Revolution with the non-sectarian defense tradition of the IWW. On the eve of its Third Annual Conference on 11 November 1927, ILD secretary and founder James P. Cannon commemorated these great revolutionary traditions:

"A red stream runs through the month of November, marking in its course many struggles of the working class of this country, here with defeat there with victory, always with inspiring record of working class courage, exemplary in its noble devotion to the cause of the oppressed, magnificent incidents of solidarity and self-sacrifice, instructive milestones along the difficult road to liberation. It is a record to sharpen the hatred of labor to jailors and assassins, to increase the respect and pride we have for our fighters.

"On the eleventh day of November 1887, Albert R. Parson[s], August Spies, Adolph Fisher and George Engel were hung on the scaffold of Cook County. Louis Lingg was either murdered or committed suicide in the death cell. Other of their comrades were sent to serve long terms in prison. They were heroes of an early day. They were the pioneers of the eight-hour day movement, and their crime was so heinous in the eyes of the master class that nothing but their blood would satisfy the vampires whose profits and power they menaced....

"November 7, 1917! The rising of tens of millions, the liberation of all the Russias! The opening of a new epoch for all the exploited and oppressed is marked by this day of the seizure of power by the Russian workers and peasants. Who but the working class could maintain its power for ten years in the face of such obstacles and poisonous opposition! The brush of revolution has covered one sixth of the earth with the

red of freedom, and it sweeps on inexorably over the rest of the world.... "Let the working class of America ring with our fighting slogan: Build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system!..."

"Red November is for our heroes and martyrs, for our battles and for our victories! On with the glorious struggle for liberation, for the freedom of the workers from the prisons of capitalism and from the greater prison which is capitalism!"

—"The Red Month of November," *Labor Defender*, November 1927

In the tradition of the ILD's early years, the PDC seeks to build a mass movement of working-class defense. One hundred years after the Haymarket executions the capitalist cops and courts continue their official state terror. For the past 17 years former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt has been kept in California's dungeons for a crime he did not commit. As the sole adult survivor of the 13 May 1985 Philadelphia cop bombing of the Osage Avenue MOVE house, Ramona Africa is confined in Muncy Prison. MOVE members are scattered in prisons throughout Pennsylvania for defending themselves against earlier cop assaults on their homes. And for his outspoken defense of MOVE, black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981. In Israel, nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu faces the death penalty for warning the world of the extent of Israel's deadly nuclear arsenal.

The fight to defend these and all victims of racist capitalist oppression is the fight to defend the working class. We seek to build a defense organization that can wield the powerful fist of a united workers movement and defend those hard-won victories of our class. Remember the Haymarket! As Lucy Parsons said of her murdered husband and comrades:

"Those who so foully murdered you, under the forms of law—lynch law—in a court of supposed justice, are forgotten.

"Rest, comrades, rest. All the tomorrows are yours!"

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

A Very Successful Sub Drive

Congratulations to all participants in the 1987 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. For six weeks this fall, from before Labor Day to mid-October, members and sympathizers of the Spartacist League conducted an intensive drive to broaden the readership of the communist press among students and working people. In addition to selling subs to *WV*, our biweekly newspaper, the drive also brought in 1,400 new and renewal subs to *Women and Revolution* as well as 164 subs to *Spartacist* in Spanish. (All *WV* subscribers receive the English-language edition of *Spartacist* as part of their *WV* subscriptions.)

We welcome our new subscribers, and congratulate you on picking our excellent newspaper. *WV* is not just a commentator on events; we are the voice of an organized revolutionary movement which seeks to provide leadership to the class and social struggles taking place here and throughout the world. Because we are uncompromisingly Marxist and internationalist in our political orientation, we expect that we must sometimes shock the sensibilities of American youth and workers familiar only with those timid and cynical "left" papers which seek under a spurious façade of "objectivity" to slither their views past the unwary reader. *WV* aims to be hard-hitting and controversial, to tell the truth squarely as we see it.

While the "responsible" media, paramount among them the *New York Times*, had to be dragged kicking and screaming to report the truth behind Reagan's KAL 007 spy flight, an anti-Russia provocation which cost the lives of over 200 innocent airline passengers, *WV* readers got the real story from the get-go. The U.S. government's cover-up began unraveling immediately but it has taken years for the "free" press here to admit what just about everybody else in the world knows. But *WV's* enquiring reporters, working from available sources like the *Navy Times* and *Aviation Week*, had the real story for our readers. Even the recent exposés that have appeared—whose sincere liberal authors start out by assuming, as an article of faith, that the threadbare cover-up had nothing worse to cover up than some kind of incomprehensible tragic accident—show unmistakably that their authors have carefully followed *WV's* articles on the subject, without acknowledging our existence or the obvious questions we have raised which they cannot answer.

Two years ago, when WBAI radio in New York did an "awards" show on the American leftist press, giving out a lot of "horrible mention" tongue-in-cheek awards for unreadability to a number of our competitors, *WV* dominated the show, receiving commendations from the host, social-democratic journalist Dennis King, who called *WV* "the craziest, most lively, most humorous, most nasty, most intelligent and most pig-headed of the left sectarian organs." He added: "It is an amazing little publication. I know even people who violently disagree with everything it says, read it with fascination." Just before the beginning of the sub drive, we received a friendly letter from Gore Vidal complimenting us on an article in *Spartacist* which discussed the effort emanating from the Zionist Cold Warriors of the *Commentary/Dissent* crowd to frame Vidal up as an "anti-Semite." Vidal, whose most recent bestseller, *Empire*, has defenders of the "American empire" squirming, wrote us that he is "wary of ideology" but praised our article as "the clearest and most detailed so far—not to mention informative: I learned a good deal."

We are proud of our consistent political history and consider our press as a

Cambridge Common: Selling subscriptions and raising funds for defense of Nicaraguan Revolution.



journal of record available to political activists and students of Marxism; bound volumes of *WV*, from its inception in 1971 through the present are available in many major libraries, and we are also pleased to offer back issues of our paper for sale (to obtain a copy of any back article referred to in our press, please send 25 cents to our mailing address).

WV Meets the Post-Reagan Years

In the past period in Reagan's America, despite the visible predominance of rightist moods taking their cue from the rightward shift of both capitalist political parties, we have not had any trouble meeting the generally modest sub drive quotas we have set. Certainly, the social climate of Reagan's America has not tended to encourage labor and the oppressed to stick their necks out in action against this country's vicious rulers, but we found a real receptivity to our press among those who know they have an enemy in the White House. This year, with the Iran/Contragate scandal intersecting the pervasive suspicion that the funding of the Nicaraguan contras is a direct step toward another dirty, losing military adventure like the Vietnam War, we set our quota at 3,580 points nationally (last year's quota was 3,000 points).

In the sequel, we must admit that we

were insufficiently optimistic: the sub drive ended at 5,515-1/2 points, or 154 percent of the quota. (Last year's drive brought in 4,182-1/2.) Now, the ball is in our court to produce a relevant and readable newspaper for those of you who lurk behind these dry numbers.

An unusually high proportion of subscribers chose our \$7 combination sub—a full year of *WV*, four issues of *W&R* and a free packet of *WV* back issues. The packets chosen provide a rough indication of our readers' interests: 178 people selected our Nicaragua packet, which features reports and speeches from some of the SL comrades who have visited Nicaragua; 187 readers took our packet on "Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?" (some of these articles will also appear in the next issue of *Spartacist*). Our "general" packet, highlighting particularly the struggles for black freedom, from the Civil War to South Africa and the U.S. today, was chosen by 230 subscribers, while 232 took one of our popular pamphlets from the *Black History and the Class Struggle* series. And 84 readers selected "Toward Revolutionary Conjunction," the document prepared for our recent national conference, offered to combination subscribers at half price. (Any of these packets may be ordered for \$1; the conference document is \$5 by mail order.)

Our sub drive took us to campuses,

neighborhoods and union halls all over the country, giving us a sense of what's going on and providing a detailed sampling of what students and working people are concerned about. We'd like to share with you some of the observations of the comrades who did the work. The local sub drive director in Boston noted in his report:

"There is an openness to our politics and our paper that we haven't seen in a while. But if the pendulum is starting to swing, it wasn't particularly clear which direction it's headed. Battered or benumbed by years of Reagan reaction, college students and black workers who were happy to see the wind go out of the administration's sails picked up subscriptions quite readily. Many students thought that it was time to take a look at what genuine Marxists had to say about the world. But a lot of the students we sold subs to were very cautious about doing much more than reading our press.

"At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the College Republicans and Campus Crusade for Christ, formerly ascendant, were nowhere to be seen. At UMass Amherst, the frenzied conservatives whose 'Oliver North Slide Show' was canceled due to lack of interest tried to shut down our forum on 'Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?' which drew over 30 people."

Another comrade's report on our initial trip to Amherst said: "The campus is polarized in the wake of the racist mob attack on black students following last year's baseball World Series. The *Minuteman* (a right-wing newspaper, very professional) came out with an article hailing the death of Ben Linder. Many students were very disgusted with this and were glad to get our paper—a socialist alternative taking the side of the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution."

Comrades noted that at the large state-supported universities as well as the "elite" private campuses, black student enrollment was visibly down. Many black and minority students we spoke to expressed their feelings of isolation and told us about chilling incidents of racist harassment they had experienced or heard about from other students. At UC Santa Barbara, for example, one young woman told us that Confederate flags were rampant in the dorms and that last Halloween some students had dressed up in Klan outfits which, she said, "didn't look store-bought—they seemed like they'd been

continued on page 11



Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%	Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	160	210½	132	Oakland	700	1,048½	150
Boston	300	427½	143	San Francisco	320	554½	173
Chicago	500	633½	127	Washington, D.C.	150	196	131
Cleveland	200	298½	149	At-large	—	263½	—
Los Angeles	150	280	187	National Total	3,580	5,515½	154
New York	1,100	1,603	146				

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San Francisco, Chicago: Protesters Demand: Free Moses Mayekiso!

As the date approached for the trial in Johannesburg of imprisoned black South Africa trade-union leader Moses Mayekiso, demonstrations were held in San Francisco and Chicago in support of the courageous anti-apartheid fighter. Mayekiso, secretary-general of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and four other activists are charged with high treason, subversion and sedition. If convicted, they face execution by the murderous apartheid state. Arrested as Botha decreed a state of emergency last year, they were targeted for leading the Alexandra Action Committee which organized street committees and people's courts in that black township in 1986.

On October 19, the opening day of the trial in South Africa, some 80 protesters gathered in San Francisco outside the Diamond Exchange. The demo was called by a "Committee to Free Moses Mayekiso," initiated by the anti-Spartacist Bolshevik Tendency. Nevertheless, over half the demonstrators who turned up were supporters of the Spartacist League. A Spartacist contingent of 45 including Partisan Defense Committee representatives and Labor Black League members marched in formation behind our banner calling to "Free Moses Mayekiso" and "For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government in South Africa!" Spartacist chants were picked up by the protesters: "Smash apartheid! For workers revolution!" "For labor action now to

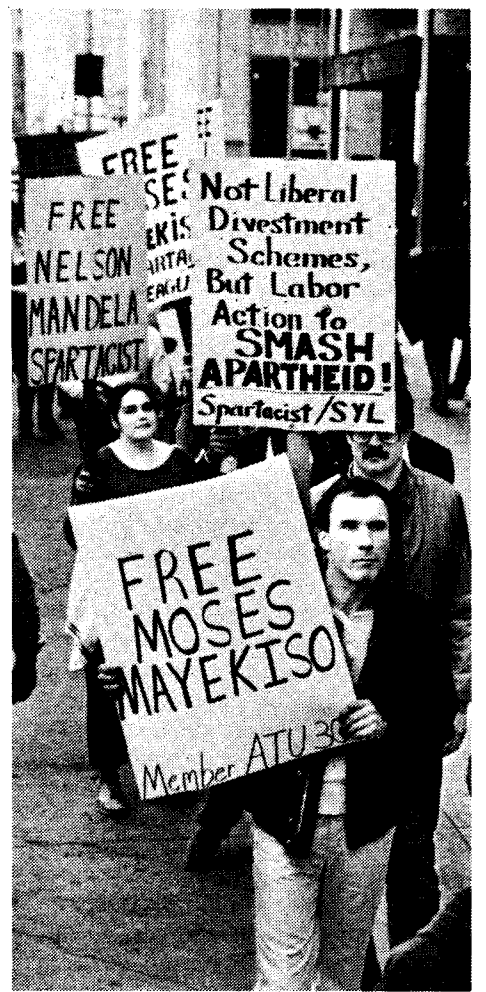


smash apartheid terror!" "Black unions are the key, expropriate the bourgeoisie!" and "Smash Reagan/Botha anti-Soviet axis!"

Four days earlier, in Chicago on October 15, about 75 people participated in a demonstration outside the South African consulate called by both the News and Letters group and a local Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Committee. The SL contingent chanted "Smash racist terror from Chicago to Soweto!" and "Free Mayekiso! Free Mandela! For workers revolution!" One Spartacist placard read, "Hail, Cuban Troops

Defending Black Angola!" Our slogans stood for revolution, versus the anti-Soviet "third campism" of the rally's organizers who seek to pressure the Democrats and the U.S. imperialist state to "check" its junior partners in South Africa. SL spokesman Bernard Vance denounced liberal divestment schemes that appeal to the U.S. to be the "good cop" of the world, and called for "the expropriation of the capitalist class in South Africa by the black proletariat and around the world."

The Mayekiso treason trial has sparked protest campaigns both in



WV Photos
San Francisco (left) and Chicago (above): Spartacists demand freedom for jailed South African workers leader Moses Mayekiso.

South Africa and abroad. Pacifica Radio correspondent Subri Govender noted last week that "if Mayekiso and his colleagues are found guilty and sentenced to long terms in jail, the prospects for the early release of some 4,000 political detainees around the country could be very gloomy." The Partisan Defense Committee has called for an international campaign to free Mayekiso and his fellow prisoners. Messages of support and contributions can be sent to: NUMSA (MAWU), AP Hing Building, 397 Kempston Road, Port Elizabeth 6001, South Africa. ■

Salvadoran Class-War Prisoners

Save the Centeno Brothers!

While Reagan's puppet president of El Salvador José Napoleón Duarte grandstands as a "peacemaker," the Salvadoran masses suffer the brutal terror of his death squad "democracy." In the early morning hours of August 28, units of the kill-crazed National Guard and Army opened fire on defenseless political prisoners at Mariona prison. Three

were wounded: Fermin Rauda, José Antonio Cerrón and most critically José Centeno, son of telephone workers union (ASTTEL) leader Humberto Centeno.

This is the kind of "free world democracy" the Democrats' Central American "peace accords" are supposed to promote. In El Salvador it's known as

"Reaganomics with machine guns." In July, Salvadoran police opened fire on striking hospital workers, wounding 17. Six weeks earlier teachers union leader Julio César Portillo was shot in the back during a workers' demonstration outside Mariona. Since the Guatemala accords were signed August 7, more than a dozen unionists have been kidnapped and jailed, joining the hundreds already imprisoned.

José Centeno and his brother Jaime were kidnapped in their home by plainclothes cops in November 1985, tortured with electric shocks, submerged in excrement and drugged in order to force "confessions" to the FMLN guerrillas' seizure of the military head of civil aviation. The brutal treatment of the Centeno brothers was seen as an attack on the militant ASTTEL, which struck for 19 days demanding their release (see "Free José and Jaime Centeno!" *WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986).

In the August assault, José was seriously wounded by a grenade while attending to a fallen comrade. Criminally, he was denied medical care for 20 hours and taken to a clinic only after the intervention of the Catholic church and the International Red Cross. The Partisan Defense Committee sent an urgent telegram denouncing the murderous attack, holding Duarte "directly respon-

sible for life of José Centeno" and demanding immediate freedom for the Centeno brothers, Rauda and Cerrón.

On September 8, the Christian Democratic regime ordered José returned to prison and refused to release him for urgent follow-up surgical care, in an effort to prevent the press from reporting his case. He requires delicate surgery for more than a dozen shrapnel fragments embedded in his face and is in danger of losing an eye. With no medical facilities in the prison, José must rely on his comrades for care, and infections of his wounds have set back his recovery.

Class-conscious workers and all defenders of democratic rights must demand freedom and safe passage from El Salvador for José and Jaime Centeno, and the unconditional release of the hundreds of jailed unionists and other opponents of the U.S.-backed Duarte regime. ■



Charles Kernaghan

Union leader Humberto Centeno (center) pictured with family before his son José (second from right) was seriously wounded in prison.

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— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Howard Beach Trial Replays Night of Racist Terror

"He ran to a fence by the Belt Parkway and tried to get over it. They pulled him down and started beating him. A crowbar was being used and a tree stump. One of the boys swung a baseball bat. After they hit him, he fell to the floor and they kicked and punched him. I was standing outside on the stoop and he got up and ran toward me. He said 'Please help me. They're trying to kill me'."

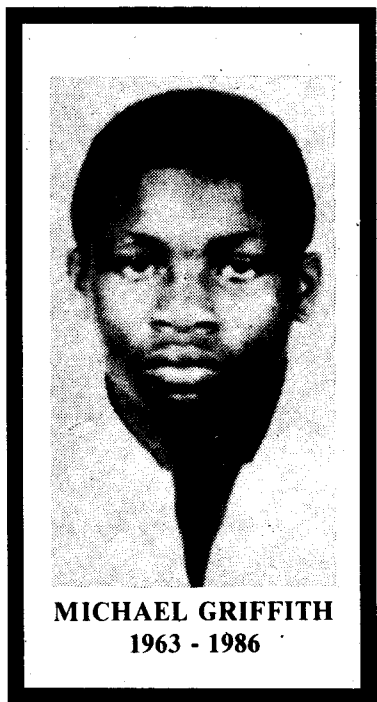
Teresa Fisher, a white woman, was courageously testifying about the attack on Cedric Sandiford, one of three black men set upon by a lynch mob in the Howard Beach section of Queens, New York last December 20. Sandiford survived, as did Timothy Grimes, but not Sandiford's stepson, 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith. Moments earlier, members of the mob hounded Griffith down streets and alleys and over a barricade onto the Belt Parkway where he was struck and killed by a car, hurled 12 feet in the air, his broken body landing in a crumpled heap on the side of the road.

Now four of the killers sit in the dock in Queens Supreme Court. Jon Lester and Scott Kern, both 18, are charged with second degree murder. Michael Pirone, 17, and Jason Ladone, 16, are charged with manslaughter. Seven other whites, facing lesser charges, will be tried later. But it is the victims who have been put on trial here, as day after day the horror of that night of racist terror is played out again.

The defense attorneys, like their clients, are gutter racists. The peremptory challenges of prospective black jurors were so blatant that Supreme Court Justice Thomas Demakos finally had to stop it. Defense lawyer Ronald Rubenstein snarled: "If you were Eichmann, would you want a Jew on the jury?" (*New York Times*, 16 September). After Sandiford and the black lawyers' refusal to cooperate with the city's whitewash "investigation" last winter, liberal governor Mario Cuomo appointed special prosecutor Charles Hynes, elbowing out D.A. John Santucci, a Queens machine pol who's up to his eyeballs in Mob cases. Now Hynes and the judge are letting the killers' lawyers get away with murder in the court as they go on a binge of vile racist character assassination.

They're trying to pass racist murder off as a turf fight, portraying the black victims as criminals and the white killers as innocent "youngsters." When Timothy Grimes was due to testify, one of the racists' lawyers, Stephen Murphy, bragged that he intended to make him crack, "undress him." Murphy grilled Grimes about his arrest record, drug use, did he love his mother: "Are you the type of person who walks down the street, sees a poor victim and commits a robbery?" Objections from the prosecution were repeatedly sustained, but they just let Murphy go on with the attempt to humiliate and degrade the black victim. Grimes finally exploded and stormed off the stand. Michael Griffith's brother was among those who persuaded Grimes to return and finish his testimony. "They were laughing at him," Christopher Griffith said, "and in Timothy's eyes he sees they're going to get away with it" (*Newsday*, 20 October).

The Queens courtroom has become a battleground in the fight against racist terror. When the trial opened, whites supporting the racist punks filled the seats. But after the outrageous treatment of Timothy Grimes on the stand, black radio station WBLS/WLIB put



MICHAEL GRIFFITH
1963 - 1986

22 December 1986



By PETER NOEL

EXCLUSIVE

A TERRIFIED survivor of Friday night's Ku Klux Klan-styled killing of a Black construction worker by a gang of whites in Queens told the *Daily Challenge* the man was beaten before he was crushed to death on a busy highway by a car driven by one of his killers.

In an exclusive interview Saturday, Cedric Sandiford, 36, refuted police and news media theories that his stepson, Michael Griffith, 23, was hit by an oncoming car as he staggered helplessly onto the Belt Parkway to escape from his attackers.

Sandiford insisted Michael was rammed down by one of the attackers.

Daily News columnist

(Continued Page 2)

MURDER!



THE TRAGEDY OF RACISM: The mangled corpse of Black construction worker Michael Griffith lies on a gurney in Queens general Hospital morgue. Griffith, 23, was chased, beaten and ultimately

rammed down by a car driven by one of several whites who attacked him and two other Black men when they stopped at a pizza parlor in the Howard Beach section of Brooklyn to buy pizza.



Salter/Newsday

Racist capitalist "justice": victim of Howard Beach attack, Timothy Grimes (above) is now persecuted in bosses' courts.

out a call for the black community to turn out in support. The Spartacist League and Labor Black League are mobilizing their supporters to be present in court in solidarity with the black victims.

In the midst of the impacted racist enclave of Howard Beach, there was a woman of human decency and courage. Teresa Fisher watched in horror from the window of her sister's house as the mob surrounded Sandiford, beating him with a crowbar and a tree stump. She called "911" and gave them the address but the cop refused to do anything, telling her that they couldn't find the location in the computer. She was so upset she got in her car and drove around trying to find the black men and rescue them. But in court the judge barred jurors from hearing portions of her phone call to the "911" operator when the defense lawyers said it was too "inflammatory."

On October 22, Robert Riley took the stand. Riley, 18, is as despicable as the rest of the racist punks, but he turned state's evidence to cop a plea. Riley testified he was there at the birthday party when Jon Lester burst in shouting, "There's some niggers on the boulevard. Let's go kill them." Riley and eleven others then swarmed into their cars and raced to the pizzeria where they spotted their prey. The whites stood in a semicircle facing the three blacks, pounding the bat rhythmically on the pavement and yelling "Get the nigger!"

It was then that Timothy Grimes reached into his pocket and pulled out a knife. The white punks froze and Grimes ran for his life.

The mob chased them across the boulevard, through a parking lot and toward the Belt Parkway. Grimes managed to escape, but they chased Griffith to the edge of the parkway, stood there and watched him climb the barrier and run to his death. Then, as prosecutor Hynes described in his opening statement, "Without missing a beat, [they] turned on their heels and raced to join the others in beating and pummeling Cedric Sandiford." After leaving Sandiford for dead, the racists returned to their party, Lester still carrying the bat.

Nobody will be surprised if the racist punks walk. The Howard Beach killers were taking their cue from the top. In 1983, Koch's cops beat black artist Michael Stewart to death in Union Square in the sight of dozens of witnesses. The next year black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs was gunned down in her Bronx apartment by SWAT cops in an "eviction by murder." Last year alone, the NYPD gunned down 24 people, all but three of them black or Hispanic. In the six-month period after Howard Beach, there were 113 reported racist attacks against blacks including assaults, a cross-burning, property damage, burglaries and arson.

As Jimmy Breslin wrote, Howard Beach-style terror

"...is exactly what can be expected, someplace, on any night, in a city with a

mayor who for years now has gone around and with every smirk, shrug, leer and whining phrase told the whites that he would keep the blacks away, that they exaggerated their needs and he wasn't going to stand for it. The more Ed Koch brayed, the louder the whites cheered and the crazier Koch got. At the end Koch becomes Lester Maddox with a larceny problem."

The "larceny problem" is the "Bess mess," the former Miss America and Koch's crony Bess Meyerson having been busted on charges of bribing a judge. As Hizzoner's pals are hauled off to the slammer in the mushrooming corruption scandal, the city just passed a new ruling saying handcuffs were no longer required for "white collar" perpetrators. Meanwhile, it's not just the murderous bat-wielding punks and fascists like David Duke who are trying to preserve "ethnic purity." The all-sided official racist oppression in Reagan's America and Koch's New York breeds the Howard Beach killers. The *Washington Post* (19 October) reported that some 1,500 black students have been refused admission to high schools in southeastern Queens because of "tipping point" racial quotas to keep designated "neighborhood" schools "50 percent white"!

At the Howard Beach pizzeria, Timothy Grimes' life may have been saved because he had a utility knife. Now they're trying to crucify him with it in court and in the media. But as Christopher Griffith said, "I wish he [Grimes] had had a gun, then my brother would be alive today" (*Daily News*, 20 October). We wholeheartedly agree. Gun control kills blacks! The right of armed self-defense in this deeply racist violent society is an urgent necessity. For its part, the capitalist state seeks to preserve its monopoly on armed force. That is why "subway shooter" Bernhard Goetz was sentenced to six months for gun possession—the "crime of crimes" for the ruling class.

As we have insisted, a massive show of power by organized labor at the head of the black and Hispanic population is urgently needed to make the streets of New York City safe for everyone. For labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to stop the racists in their tracks! For the courageous Griffith family and the surviving victims, capitalist "justice" has meant uninterrupted suffering and humiliation. Michael Griffith's murder will be avenged by a socialist revolution that will sweep the racist lynchers off the streets for good. ■



WV Photo

The working class will not forget its martyrs—or their murderers. SL protests outside Eleanor Bumpurs trial, January 1987.

Sri Lanka: Indian Troops Out of Eelam!

Workers to Power!

OCTOBER 27—Less than three months after Sri Lankan president J.R. Jayewardene and Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi signed their much-vaunted "peace accord," the blood-soaked Jaffna Peninsula in northern Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has again become a scene of untold horror. After years of being ravaged and terrorized by Jayewardene's Sinhalese-chauvinist, officially Buddhist regime, the oppressed and long-suffering Tamil people (who are mainly Hindu) are now getting it from those whom they looked to as their saviors. For two weeks upwards of 20,000 Indian troops backed by heavy battle tanks, artillery and helicopter gunships have battled the nationalist guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). An estimated 700 civilians were slaughtered, in addition to Tiger guerrillas; up to a half million of the peninsula's 700,000 people are now refugees in their own land.

One week after the J.R./Gandhi accord was signed, we wrote:

"... we have repeatedly warned that the Tamils' illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie are deadly dangerous.... Now they are getting what they wanted... and they won't like it.

"If the Tamil Tigers refuse to come to terms, they are likely to find the Indian army a far more formidable proposition than the Sri Lankan forces.

"But it is not just the Tigers' blood that will run. The Eastern Province is heavily interpenetrated, more or less evenly among Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims.... This arrangement is a recipe for massive communal bloodletting and forced population transfers as the different communities fight to control the province."

—WV No. 434, 7 August

The "Indian Peacekeeping Force" is now waging war on the entire people of the Northern Province, while in the Eastern Province the accord triggered a spree of indiscriminate communalist atrocities by the Tigers against Sinhalese civilians.

For years Tamil militants have desperately beseeched "Mother India," with 60 million Tamils just across the



Indian troops lay siege to Jaffna, slaughtering hundreds in drive to crush Tamil nationalist "Tiger" guerrillas. Reuters

Palk Strait, to save their people from Sinhalese-chauvinist terror and aid their struggle for an independent state of Tamil Eelam. Now Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran laments that the Tamils are "the victims of India's geopolitical interests." When capitalist India finally moved, it was only to be expected that it would assert its own interests. Capitalist India, that prison house of peoples, can play no progressive role in the region. We demand: Indian Army Out of Eelam!

The government-instigated anti-Tamil pogroms of July 1983 created a *de facto* partition of the island. But what Eelam constitutes may well be determined—tragically, as so often in the past in cases of interpenetrated populations—through a massive communalist bloodletting. The peoples of Lanka may well relive the horrors of the 1947 partition of India. The Tamil nationalists have come to mirror the bloodiest aspects of Sinhala chauvinism with their own murderous logic of racialism. Even in the best of circumstances, an isolated, impoverished Eelam offers a bleak prospect for the Tamil masses,

while leaving untouched the hideous oppression of the Tamil plantation workers of the hill country tea estates. The superexploitation of these low-caste Tamil laborers, many of whom are women, is the material basis on which the island's economy rests. Only workers rule can end the communalist hell on the island and bring the emancipation of all toilers of South Asia. Down with murderous nationalism! For the right to Tamil Eelam! For federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka—For a socialist federation of South Asia!

The "Accord" Unravels

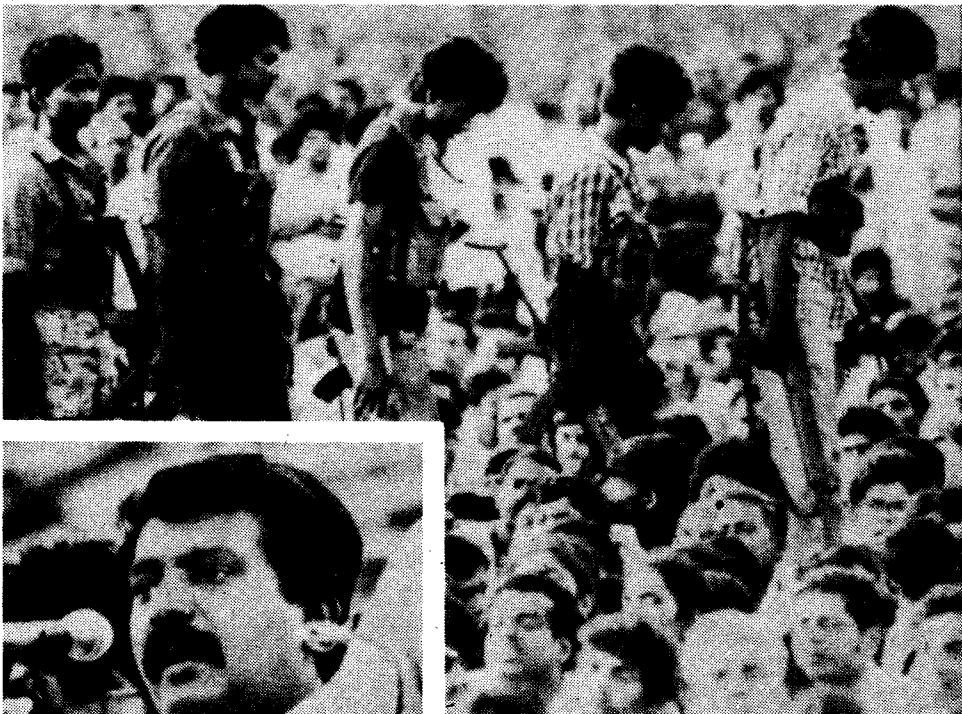
Mindful of anger among Tamils in India at the Sri Lankan slaughter and fearing a United States-brokered encirclement as Pakistan and other U.S. allies aided Jayewardene's UNP regime, India staged a relief airlift operation in the face of a major Sri Lankan offensive against the Tamils in June, signaling Jayewardene that it would not remain passive much longer. The July 29 accord between Gandhi and Jayewardene represented nothing less than

overt Indian overlordship of the island. The U.S. has long had particular designs on the Eastern Province, site of the strategic Trincomalee harbor, and this agreement was thus a setback for American anti-Soviet interests in the region.

Gandhi also promised to disarm the Tamil guerrillas in exchange for Jayewardene's grudging agreement to establish a federated administrative unit in the North and East, effectively under Indian suzerainty. The day after the accord was signed Indian troops disembarked in the north while Indian air force transports ferried Sri Lankan soldiers south. The Tigers and other Tamil groups went along with the accord very reluctantly, turning in a small fraction of their arms. The Sri Lankan government procrastinated on releasing Tamil detainees (by mid-September only about one-quarter of the 5,700 had been released) and on disarming its Sinhala-communist Home Guard rabble. At the end of September, Tiger militia leader Thileepan died after a hunger strike to demand the expulsion of Sinhalese colonists and Lankan army and police installations from the occupied areas.

Wide sections of the Tamil population at first welcomed the false promise of peace that came with the arrival of Indian troops. With the lifting of the siege on Jaffna it could be seen that the damage and destruction wrought by the Sri Lankan army was much more extensive than previously revealed. As one visitor to Jaffna observed, the Tamils liked the peace but not the peace accord. For the first time in years the Colombo/Jaffna train was running again, allowing Tamils in the south to visit their families. Fish and onions from Jaffna soon started turning up in the Colombo market as Tamil and Sinhala merchants re-established trade.

Meanwhile, other Tamil militant groups, who are mostly more favorable to the Indians than the Tigers, tried to re-establish themselves. But in mid-September Tigers carried out attacks in 20 different villages near Batticaloa, killing more than a hundred supporters of rival groups, including people just recently released from the Sri Lankan concentration camps. Then Prabhakaran started quibbling over exactly how much "power" LTTE leaders would get, *continued on page 12*



Jaffna, August 4: At huge rally (left), Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran calls on reluctant Tamil youth to accede to Jayewardene/Gandhi deal. Indian troops (right) collect Tamil arms. AP/Wide World

Young Spartacus

The Freedmen's Fight for Education



New England schoolteachers stand behind their pupils—black troops, shown here with spelling books. Literacy was prized weapon of former slaves in struggle for their freedom. Library of Congress

Breaking the Chains of Slavery

The fight for knowledge and culture has always been a hallmark of struggles by the oppressed for social emancipation, for one must know the world in order to change it. In the pre-Civil War South, black chattel slaves who dared to learn to read met the lash of their masters' whips; those who dared to teach them suffered imprisonment or worse at the hands of lynch mobs. Before the 19th century, only South Carolina and Georgia forbade the teaching of blacks. But when the lessons of the slave uprisings in the Western Hemisphere sank in—particularly the successful Haitian revolution which achieved independence in 1804, the Gabriel Prosser (1800) and Denmark Vesey (1822) insurrectionary conspiracies, and the Nat Turner revolt (1831), all of which were led by literate blacks—the American slaveowners passed laws in all states south of the Mason-Dixon line making it a crime to teach a slave to read or write. For Frederick Douglass, who fought his way out of slavery and became a political leader of the radical left wing of the abolitionist movement, there was no greater motivation to educate himself, no matter what the cost:

"'Very well,' thought I. 'Knowledge unfits a child to be a slave.' I instinctively assented to the proposition, and from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."

—*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1962)

One of the most profound gains resulting from the defeat of the slavocracy in the Civil War was the establishment of a system of public education for all. It's an indictment of this decaying capitalist society that America's rulers have let public education go completely to hell. Particularly for black youth, the reactionary climate of the Reagan years has meant a dramatic rise in racist attacks—including "Up North" at traditionally liberal college campuses—and an enforced *resegregation* of educa-

tion at every level. More than 20 years after the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision overturned *separate and unequal* education, busing for school integration is a dead letter—killed by liberal politicians in Congress abetted by racist mobs in the streets.

In the last decade, federal grants and scholarships have dropped 62 percent, resulting in a huge drop in black enrollment in colleges even while the number of black high school graduates is rising. At so-called integrated colleges, blacks are fast becoming missing persons: the more fortunate enrolling in historically

inferior black colleges, the less fortunate facing a "life" of unemployment on the mean streets or serving as imperialism's cannon fodder in the military. Even the most basic democratic struggle like integrating the schools in this country requires a revolutionary fight—a fight to fulfill the promise of black freedom by *finishing the Civil War*.

The Cartridge Box and the Spelling Book

When the Civil War began in 1861, the federal government was initially uncommitted on the status of blacks

behind Union lines, and hence made no provisions for the education of blacks they degradingly called the "contraband of war." But radical abolitionists and private freedmen's aid societies took up this fight, sending thousands of teachers south to plant schools wherever they could in Union-occupied territory. The freedmen's schools educated an estimated 200,000 blacks *during the war* with a staff of brave New England schoolteachers and freed blacks, who comprised some 20 percent of the teachers in the 1860s. Anywhere blacks could find a place to meet and someone to teach them, they went. In Savannah, the Bryant Slave Mart became a school; the whips and handcuffs found on the premises became museum pieces. A slave pen in New Orleans became the Frederick Douglass school, with the auction block converted to use as a globe stand.

In 1863, the vacillating Lincoln administration finally recognized the need to use black troops and unleash what Douglass called the "Black Phalanx" to win the war against the slaveholders. Freedmen were recruited to the Union Army by the tens of thousands. The commanders of these black regiments, many of them dedicated abolitionists like Robert Shaw and Thomas Higginson, recognized the importance of helping their troops break out of a condition of enforced ignorance. Military necessity also dictated that at least some black soldiers be taught to read and write, facilitating efficient running of the regiments. In some cases, the fight for literacy was put on a par with military training. The commander of a Kentucky black regiment issued the following order:

"Instead of drills, a school will be held in each company: The company commanders will find the men of their companies who are sufficiently instructed to teach their comrades, and will see that lessons are properly taught, and that the men give their attention.... The best

continued on page 8



Black First South Carolina Volunteers fight Confederate dogs of war, the hated bloodhounds sent to search out and attack escaped slaves. NY Public Library

Finish the Civil War!

Freedmen's Fight...

(continued from page 7)

way to win the respect of all, and to render themselves worthy of the right which Freedom confers, is for every man to acquire the best Education he can. Let it be deemed a disgrace for any man, in this Regiment, to leave the service without, at least knowing how to read. Every facility will be given in carrying out this important work."

—Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867 (1982)

The black troops learned their lessons with the same alacrity as they learned to load and fire their weapons. As the chaplain of a Louisiana black regiment wrote to his division commander:

"The attendance of the men has been as regular as was consistent with the performance of their military duties, and they have made rapid progress in learning to read and write.

"I am sure that I never witnessed greater eagerness for study; and all, who have examined the writing books and listened to the recitations in the schools, have expressed their astonishment and admiration. A majority of the men seem to regard their books as an indispensable portion of their equipments, and the cartridge box and spelling book are attached to the same belt."

Blood, Iron and Freedom

The victory of the Union Army in the Civil War opened the road for education—North as well as South. The South had no public school system, not even for whites. The slavocracy itself barely knew the "three R's" and opposed educating white laborers for fear it would make their exploitation more difficult. This is just another indication of the extreme social backwardness of the antebellum South and how the yoke of slavery oppressed all the working masses.

Beginning in 1865, when General Oliver O. Howard (who had marched with Sherman from Atlanta to the sea) took charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, some semblance of order was established out of the fast-growing educational system in the South under joint private and public sponsorship. The Bureau provided funds for the construction of schools, while various other religious and benevolent societies were encouraged to pay the salaries of the teachers. Of the new battle against the



Alexei Radakov

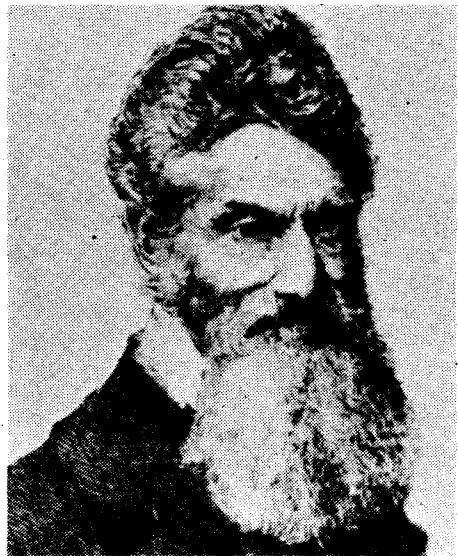
1917 October Revolution brought literacy to Russian masses. Bolshevik poster reads: "He who is illiterate is like a blind man."

defeated slaveholders, General Howard wrote:

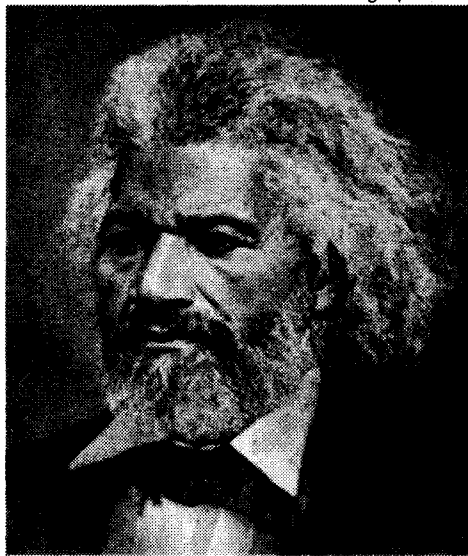
"Yet the ruling classes among the Southern whites were deeply offended. They said at first: 'If the Yankees are allowed to educate the negroes, as they are now doing, the next thing will be to let them vote.' No one can describe the odium that awaited the excellent, self-denying teachers of freedmen in those days. Our first official summary of these schools declared that 'doubtless the treatment to which they, the teachers,



Young Spartacus



Library of Congress



Historical Pictures Service

Top: Spartacists protest attack on black students at Columbia U., spring 1987. Our Civil War heroes: John Brown (left), whose Harpers Ferry raid was opening shot of war against slavery; Frederick Douglass (right), leading black abolitionist.

have been subjected is due in part to the feelings engendered by the war, but it is mostly attributable to prejudice against educating the blacks, and the belief that the teachers are fostering social equality."

The New England schoolmarm's who came south faced deadly terror from the terrorist Ku Klux Klan. The Klan operated as the armed auxiliary of the Democratic Party, the so-called "Redeemers" who sought unchallenged white-supremacist rule and viewed black schools as a particular threat to their aims. Scores of schoolhouses were burned to the ground, teachers were ostracized, maimed and even murdered. A New Orleans newspaper summed up the trials of these courageous teachers saying, "The record of the teachers of the first colored schools in Louisiana will be one of honor and blood."

The passage of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 by Congress mandated the military occupation of the ex-Confederate states and provided for universal common-school education. Blacks who served in the Union Army were among the principal leaders of Reconstruction governments and fought tenaciously against segregation. Robert Smalls, who earned fame for seizing the *Planter*, the Confederate flagship he delivered to the Union Navy, was elected to South Carolina's new government and won legislation mandating desegregated schools in the state. But when the first black student entered the University of South Carolina, the teachers resigned and the entire student body left the school! When the collection of a general tax for schools was suspended in Louisiana, blacks responded with a 30-foot-long petition representing 10,000 signatures, yet received no redress. The widespread and violent opposition to "race-mixing" ensured that the majority of Southern schools were segregated, and without exception the black schools were inferior.

Though abolitionists opposed the heinous institution of slavery, securing full equality for blacks was seen by many as

another matter entirely. William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* denounced those radical egalitarians who would "inflamm the minds of our working classes against the more opulent." Already prior to the Civil War systematic segregation of blacks had evolved in the North, where the fight against the color line was waged as well. Radical abolitionist Charles Sumner fought in every Congressional session from 1870 until his death against Jim Crow, what he termed "the last tinge of slavery." Civil War hero Colonel Higginson was unceremoniously ejected from a local school board in 1869 for demanding an end to segregated schools in Rhode Island.

In 1872, Frederick Douglass argued the case for integration powerfully, citing the basis for unity of poor whites and blacks against their common enemy, the white ruling class:

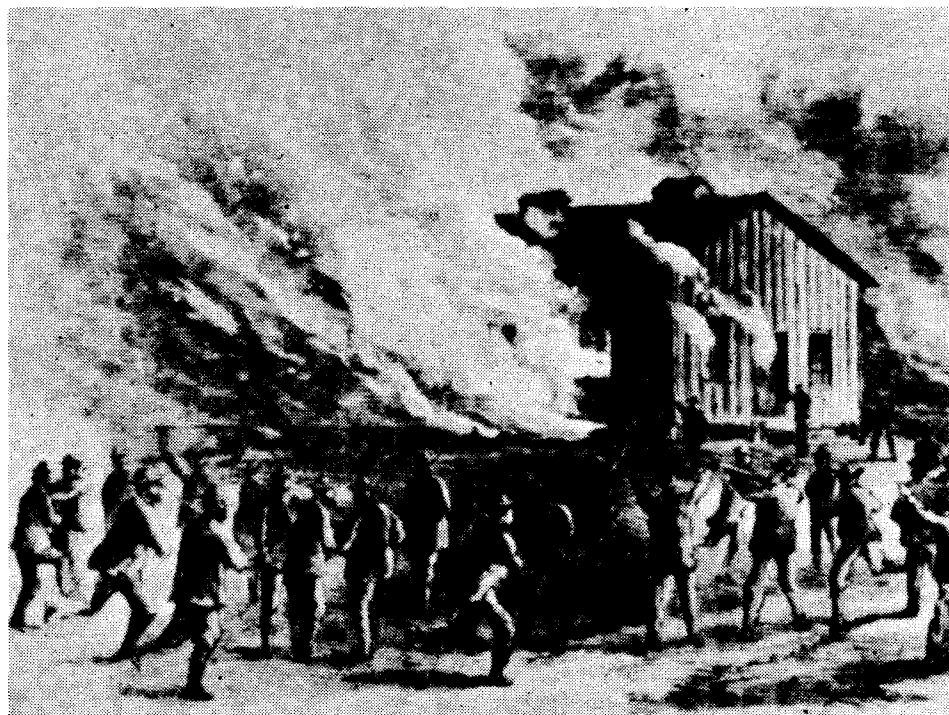
"Throughout the South all the schools should be mixed. From our observations during a trip to the South we are convinced that the interests of the poor whites and the colored people are iden-

tical. Both are ignorant, and both are the tools of designing educated white men; and the poor whites are more particularly used to further schemes opposed to their own best interests. In that section everything that will bring the poor white man and the colored man closer together should be done; they should be taught to make common cause against the rich land-holders of the South who never regarded a poor white man of as much importance as they did slaves... Now in the South the poor white man is taught that he is better than the black man, and got as good as the 250,000 slaveholders of former days; the result is that the slaveholders command the poor white man to murder the black man, to burn down his school-houses, and to in every conceivable manner maltreat him, and the command is obeyed. This tends to make the ex-slaveholder more powerful, and is of no good to the poor white who is really as much despised as the Negro. The cunning ex-slaveholder sets those who should be his enemies to fighting each other and thus diverts attention from himself. Educate the colored children and white children together in your day and night schools throughout the South, and they will learn to know each other better, and be better able to cooperate for mutual benefit."

Betrayal of Black Freedom Struggle

The withdrawal of Union troops with the Compromise of 1877 made clear that Northern capital was interested in consolidating the economic advantages of their victory over the Confederacy, not in black rights. Left defenseless before their former owners, blacks were driven out of government and off their land as Reconstruction regimes were smashed by racist terror. In this period of dark reaction, Booker T. Washington emerged as the voice of accommodation and acceptance of the rising tide of racist violence and Jim Crow institutions. The ideological granddaddy of today's peddlers of bogus "black capitalism" and "self-help" schemes like Jesse Jackson (and Louis Farrakhan), Washington decried Reconstruction, blaming black people for their own oppression—and the Redeemers loved him for it.

Booker T. Washington's influence ascended in direct proportion to segregation and disfranchisement of blacks and the decline in Northern philanthropy for education. Deeming his own people "unfit" for "high-minded" professions, Washington founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881 to teach blacks only manual and domestic trades. His program for menial "schooling" for a "subordinate" race coincided exactly with the period in which black workers were forced out of the skilled trades. Many graduates of Tuskegee Institute could find employment only as teachers in Washington's school. Embracing racist segregation, Washington believed that "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers." He groveled that the "wisest among my race



NY Public Library

Democratic Party/Klan terror: ex-Confederate soldiers burn down black school in Memphis, 1866.



WV Photo

Norfolk 1983: Union power marched in defense of busing. Jesse Jackson, black shill for Dixiecrats, told marchers: "I'm not marching for busing, I'm marching for voter registration." Racist Supreme Court axed Norfolk busing in 1986.

understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly." However, Washington made damn sure that *he* moved with ease in white circles and that *his* children got a decent liberal arts education!

Finish the Civil War!

Booker T. Washington's political heirs are the product of the *defeat* of

Reconstruction—and the defeat of the liberal-led civil rights movement which attempted to fulfill the promise of black equality a century after the Civil War. With the dead-end strategy of appealing to the capitalist courts and troops to strike down formal, *de jure* inequality in the Jim Crow South, the civil rights movement of the 1960s was defeated when it came north, unable to address

the *de facto* segregation of blacks trapped in the ghettos. Here there were no laws forbidding blacks to eat at the same lunch counters with whites—except the laws of capitalist exploitation which keep blacks as a "last hired, first fired" doubly oppressed race-color caste.

The grinding poverty, mass unemployment and rampant cop terror endemic to Northern ghettos could not be solved with a new "civil rights" bill but required an integrated, labor-centered struggle against the capitalist system. In the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, the Spartacist League fights for working-class rule, to *finish the Civil War* and achieve black emancipation through *revolutionary integration* into a socialist society. November 27, 1982 provided a taste of this power, when black and red came together in a 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League and stopped the KKK terrorists from marching through the nation's capital. As we wrote then (WV No. 319, 10 December 1982):

"Today, unlike the period of Reconstruction, the material conditions for posing the question of political power in class terms have fully matured. Blacks are still segregated at the bottom of American society, but are integrated into its economy, especially in the strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat. The key to social revolution in this country is the united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. And there is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than through the working-class conquest of power." ■

John Reed...

(continued from page 10)

language federations out of touch with the pulse and immediate felt needs of the American working class.

As one of the foremost American Communists, Reed was a delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, where he was elected to the Comintern's Executive Committee. He spoke powerfully to the congress on the condition of American blacks, their importance for the labor movement and the need for proletarian revolution to liberate them from capitalist slavery:

"The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."

—quoted in "Blacks and Reds," WV No. 348, 17 February 1984

Today, the Spartacus Youth Clubs are looking for a few good communists like John Reed. His break with the bourgeoisie and fight for the cause of the working masses of the world should inspire today's youth, facing the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, racism and repression, to take the side of the workers and to fight for a socialist future. Join us! ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Noontime Forums

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Wednesday, November 4

**From Protest to Power:
Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement**

Wednesday, November 11

**Extend the Gains of the Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples!
Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!**

Wednesday, November 18

BERKELEY Chinquapin Room, ASUC Building, UC Berkeley
For more information: (415) 839-0851

Spartacist Forums

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

CHICAGO

Saturday, Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Kent 107
University of Chicago

For more information: (312) 663-0715

*Eyewitness Report—
Slides of Leningrad and Moscow*

Speaker:

Martha Phillips
Member, Spartacist League
Just returned from the Soviet Union

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

BINGHAMTON

Wednesday, Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m.

Lecture Hall 10
SUNY Binghamton

Speaker:

Alison Spencer
SL Central Committee

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

BERKELEY

Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.

November 3, 10, 17, 24

179 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley

For more information: (415) 839-0851

- Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!
- Trotsky's Struggle Against Stalinism
- Unconditional Military Defense of the Soviet Union!

Principles of Communism

MADISON

Alternate Saturdays, 1:30 p.m.

October 31, November 14

See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison

For more information: (608) 251-6431

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

ITHACA

Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.

October 31, November 14

Goldwin Smith Hall, Room 124
Cornell University

For more information: (607) 277-1834

Spartacus Youth Club EXCO Class Series

Marxism and World Revolution

OBERLIN

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.

November 4, 18, December 2

Wilder, Room 110
Oberlin College

For more information: (216) 881-3700

Spartacist Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

NEW YORK

Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.

Nov. 7, 21, Dec. 5, 12

41 Warren Street
(one block below Chambers St. near Church Street)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Behind the Stock Market Crash: A Marxist Analysis

SAN FRANCISCO

Monday, Nov. 2, 5:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
San Francisco State University

Speaker:

Joseph Seymour
SL Central Committee

For more information: (415) 863-6963

Madison: 200 Protest CIA Recruiters

MADISON—About 200 students rallied at the University of Wisconsin September 29 against CIA recruitment. The Spartacus Youth Club built a sizable and spirited revolutionary contingent for the demonstration, with help from friends and new subscribers who made placards and collected donations for our "Nicabucks" campaign for the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Attempts by the demonstration's sponsors, the liberal Progressive Student Network and the reformist International Socialist Organization, to exclude the SYC from the protest and deny us a speaker, backfired. In contrast to the PSN's reformist appeals to the university administration to ban the CIA as an "illegitimate employer," a Spartacist spokesman addressed the rally, stating, "The CIA is an integral component of racist capitalist imperialism. Workers, blacks and students must break from the racist, union-busting Democratic Party and build a workers party to fight for a workers government and socialism." One student militant, questioned by fretting ISOers as to why he joined our contingent, responded in writing. He noted that "the I.S.O.'s reformist politics left me little choice but to march in the Spartacist League contingent":

"During the largest war drive in history and resulting anti-Soviet hysteria it's easier for reformist parties to label the Soviet Union 'state-capitalist' instead of defending it. The Soviet 'state-capitalist' argument is both a capitulation to, and a result of, the anti-Soviet war drive.

"There may, or may not be, several parties that can unite on a Marxist-Leninist program. If there are, the I.S.O. is certainly not one of them. The I.S.O. has compromised Marxist politics to recruit more members during these conservative years. The international working class needs a socialist revolution in the



Madison Spartacus Youth Club contingent in anti-CIA protest, September 29.

Young Spartacus

United States to stab internal capital in its heart, and the I.S.O. does not have the political program to bring such a revolution."

The ISO holds that the work of *brigadistas* in Nicaragua—like that of the courageous Ben Linder, shot by Reagan's contras while working to bring electricity to rural villages—is a waste of time. They spat in the faces of all the "internacionalistas" when they stated in their press that "the best way to support the Nicaraguan revolution against American imperialism is not... by trav-

eling to Nicaragua to help with the harvests" (*Socialist Worker*, June 1985). While Trotskyists call on the Soviet Union to give *more* aid to Nicaragua in the interests of smashing the U.S.-backed contras, the ISO counsels the Sandinistas to forswear Soviet aid and instead to seek help from Cold Warrior Mitterrand's France "to undercut the 'Soviet menace' argument" (*Socialist Worker*, December 1984). Like Reagan, the ISO fears that Nicaragua will become an outpost of the "Evil Empire!"

Consistent opposition to the CIA means opposition to U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, whose front line today is drawn in Nicaragua. While pro-imperialist "third camp" socialists duck the Russian question over Nicaragua, our Nicabucks campaign has won students to take a side in defense of the revolution. Donate dollars to crush the contras! Make your check or money order payable/send to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. ■



Tamiment Institute

John Reed. His account of Russian Revolution was unreservedly recommended by Lenin to workers of the world.

October 20 is the 100th anniversary of the birth of John Reed, who took part in and chronicled the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and was a founding American Communist, part of our own revolutionary tradition. Reed broke decisively from his bourgeois background to dedicate his life to the struggle for world socialist revolution. After graduating from Harvard in 1910, he became a partisan of the struggles of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), participating in Western miners strikes and

American Bolshevik Honor John Reed!

the militant Paterson silk workers strike in 1913. His eyewitness account *Insurgent Mexico* captured the pathos and heroism of the Mexican Revolution.

In 1917 Reed traveled to Russia, where in February a workers uprising had overthrown the hated tsarist autocracy. Reed saw that Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks were the only party that could lead a successful revolution to establish working-class rule. Alongside the Bolsheviks, Reed participated in most of the major events leading up to the November 7 insurrection including the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets where Lenin announced the tri-

umph of the first proletarian revolution in history. Reed recounted this moment vividly in his stirring book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*:

"It was just 8:40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of the presidium with Lenin—great Lenin—among them.... Unimpressive, to be the idol of a mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been....

"Now Lenin, gripping the edge of the reading stand, letting his little winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there waiting, apparently oblivious to the long-rolling ovation, which lasted several minutes. When it finished, he said simply, 'We shall now proceed to



Young Spartacus

Protesting 350 years of filthy Harvard, Spartacists uphold Reed, a traitor to his class who fought for the oppressed.

construct the Socialist order!' Again that overwhelming human roar."

After the Bolshevik Revolution Reed returned to the United States, where he did more than perhaps anyone else to popularize the revolution among American workers. He played a leading part in the vital task of forging a Leninist, Communist vanguard party of the American working class, fighting for the "Americanization" of a faction-ridden party dominated by insular foreign-

continued on page 9

Sub Drive...

(continued from page 3)

handed down for generations." Aware of the risks of being black and red in racist America, some students and black workers who said they were interested refused to buy subs for fear of "getting my name on a list." At the same time, at one New York-area community college where the black student group got a sub to our press during last year's drive, *WV* has been used as the basis of study by the group's members, who share the paper and then discuss some of the articles.

The Boston comrades sold 30 points door-to-door in black neighborhoods:

"Several of these subs were sold to Haitians, many of whom were as interested in our coverage of the black question in the U.S. as in our internationalist perspective on Haiti and South Africa. We sold eleven points at two Haiti demonstrations, one of which was a very moving funeral for Antoine Thurel, a Haitian man who immolated himself to protest repression by the 'CIA junta.' 'A lot of people at the various Central America demonstrations wanted to know why we were opposed to the Arias 'peace' plan. Several subs were sold to people who had had some misgivings about the plan and were glad to see them articulated in *WV*. At these demonstrations and elsewhere, we got the sense that people weren't too 'fired up' about Jesse Jackson and the dwarfs of the Democratic Party. Members of the school bus drivers union, USWA Local 8751, were aware that Superintendent of Schools Laval Wilson, a black Democrat, was hell-bent on busting their union."

Fruitful Regional Trips

The sub drive was a chance for us to see friends of the party and *WV* readers in areas where we don't have a regular party presence. Comrades from the Cleveland and Chicago branches sold 71-1/2 points in Detroit and 154 in Ann Arbor. On the Texas trip, 168 points were sold, including 68-1/2 at the U of Houston and 73 points at U of T in Austin.

Southern regional trips enabled us to revisit some of the East Coast (ILA) port cities and talk with people whom we'd last seen a year ago during the brief ILA strike, when we were distributing our special supplement, "Let's Win This One!", to longshoremen and other working people throughout the country. Workers in this important industry respect us for our solidarity with their strike, and there is also a continuing recognition of our role in organizing the labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. It was the endorsement of that action by several ILA branches throughout the South, as well as the support of Washington-area unions with a high proportion of black members, posing the implicit threat of labor action in defense of the civil rights of anti-Klan demonstrators, which allowed the will of the militant protesters to prevail, dealing a blow to the KKK and the Reagan government.

A comrade who visited Southern ILA ports during the sub drive summarized that "Our appeal seems to be that we offer a broader and socialist worldview; we defend black rights and link that fight to union power; and our paper is an ally in the Jim Crow anti-labor South, an environment these guys are acutely aware of being in and alien to." The comrade reported that our backpage article in defense of the rights of homosexuals and AIDS victims sparked some thoughtful conversations with workers who recognized the "mob mentality" of the anti-gay hysteria.

A regional trip to North Carolina campuses sold 195 points, nearly double our total from last year. At Chapel Hill:

"A lot of students who are active in the two divestment groups on campus bought papers and subscriptions. I found that many people weren't too eager to defend divestment as a central strategy.

"There was a lot of interest in the article

a Workers Vanguard Packet

Nicaragua, Unfinished Revolution

Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!

a Workers Vanguard Packet

Japan Inc. vs. We Part I: Workers Struggle Part II: Workers Vanguard

USA vs. the World: Sex, Religion, Reagan Reaction

a Workers Vanguard Packet

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going? Workers Vanguard No. 422, 10 July 1987

On Proletarian Political Revolution Kamchatka Proclamation: U.S. Missile Ship in Soviet Waters Workers Vanguard No. 435, 4 September 1987

Pamlat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads Workers Vanguard No. 434, 7 August 1987

Soviet Play Explores Stalin's Moscow Trials—Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia Workers Vanguard No. 430, 17 June 1987

Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism Workers Vanguard No. 424, 20 March 1987

Amerika: A Reaganite Soap Opera Hitler Would Love Workers Vanguard No. 427, 20 February 1987

Afghanistan: Extend Gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples! Workers Vanguard No. 420, 23 January 1987

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution! Workers Vanguard No. 415, 7 November 1986

Soviet Bureaucracy at Iceland Summit: Limits to Betrayal? Workers Vanguard No. 414, 24 October 1986

CP Sabotages Defense of Soviet Union, Again Workers Vanguard No. 410, 21 November 1986

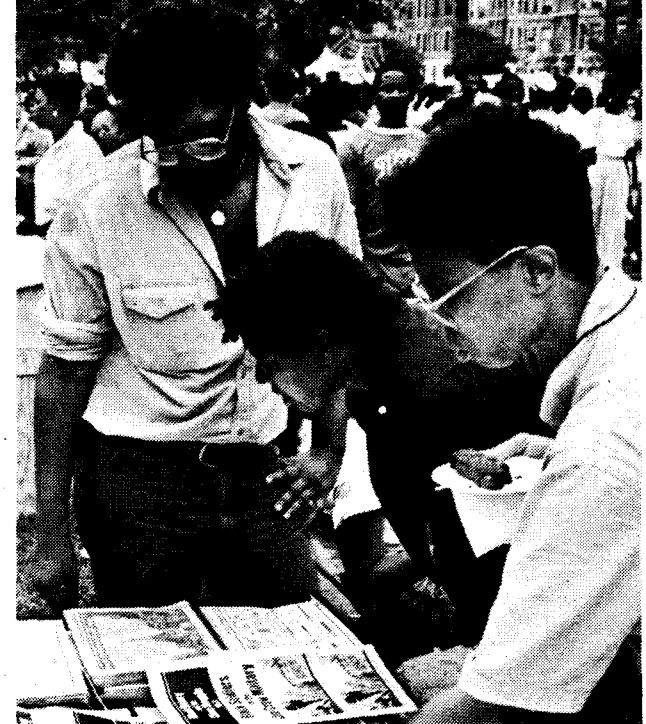
Gorbachev and the Soviet Economy Workers Vanguard No. 386, 6 September 1985

The Russians Crushed Nazi Germany Workers Vanguard No. 357, 22 June 1984

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

\$1.00

Special Workers Vanguard packets were popular items in this year's subscription drive.



WV Photo

on the Chapel Hill anti-Klan action. Almost all of the black students I talked with had heard about it and were happy somebody thought it was a good thing that the Klan had been forced to hightail it out of town."

On the "Northern Tour," a team of California comrades who hit the campuses of the Pacific Northwest, 317 points were sold. "Interest in a communist paper and skepticism in the bourgeois press ran high." A total of 105 points was sold at the U of Oregon in Eugene, 93 at Evergreen in Olympia, Washington and 41 at the University of Washington in Seattle. A man whose son is in the Workers League resubscribed, saying that the only way he can find out what's happening in his son's organization is through our press. One young woman we talked to in Seattle told us: "You guys are really interesting, the rest of the left are like potatoes."

Local Highlights

At Cal Berkeley, 166-1/2 points were sold; at Santa Barbara, 152; at Stanford, 138. At Santa Cruz, where 223 points were sold, our forum and slide show in commemoration of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was invaded by over a dozen right-wing Vietnamese students. Their spokesman ludicrously claimed to be against U.S. imperialism, while spewing out anti-Communist horror stories including that his father was in a "concentration camp" for five years. It turned out that the father was an ex-officer of the ARVN (the U.S. puppet army in South Vietnam). At S.F. State, where 92-1/2 points were sold this year, one resubscriber had written a rap song about the massacre of Philly MOVE using *WV* articles for material for the lyrics. L.A.'s best campus was UCLA, where 104 points were sold.

Comrades from the Bay Area made trips to Salinas, where we participated in a march supporting striking cannery workers, and Watsonville, where a long, hard-fought strike beat back a vicious union-busting drive; 64 points were sold, many of them being subs to *Spanish Spartacist*.

New York comrades should be congratulated for selling 1,603 points in addition to hosting the party's Eighth National Conference here during September. Despite a heavy publishing schedule this fall, members of the *WV* composition crew sold 244 points. Transit workers purchased 149 points, most of which were resubscriptions. Door-to-

door sub-selling in an integrated neighborhood in Queens brought in 120 points. Campus sales included 86-1/2 points at Princeton, 110-1/2 at Rutgers, 122 at Cornell where a new Spartacus Youth Club is active. At Binghamton, where 98 points were sold:

"We set up our table in the main lobby of the Student Union and had a steady stream of students around our table, selling 35 points. One student even wanted to buy the red flag off our table. The administration didn't get around to kicking us out until we were essentially done for the day (the Zionists most likely brought us to their attention). "The Vanunu case sparked a lot of interest at our lit table. We had a poster of Vanunu prominently displayed as well as the petition. This drove the Zionists crazy, who from time to time verbally harassed us but didn't go further. There was a small number of pro-Vanunu students, though, and some that wanted to know more about the case. One student marched up to the table to sign the petition, saying that Vanunu is a real hero of Israel.

"The day before we arrived on campus there was an anti-contra aid demo sponsored by the Latin American Student Coalition. We spoke to a couple of LASC members—they are a hodge-podge group. One new subscriber had been around the DSA and hopes we will debate them on campus. Another person said he was sick of the DSA after their telling him that he should vote for Gary Hart if he ran for president!"

Washington, D.C. comrades sold 76 points on the Howard University campus. An unanticipated highlight of the local's work was selling our literature at a militant rally of thousands of unionists in support of the football strike. In addition to distributing thousands of our *WV* supplements headlined "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!", comrades sold 126 copies of *WV*. Many of the supplements and papers will be carefully saved—people were having the literature autographed by striking football players.

Another special event was the massive gay rights demonstration in Washington on October 11. Spartacist comrades from all over the East Coast participated, selling 71-1/2 points in subs as well as 1,809 copies of *WV* and 661 copies of *W&R*. Nearly \$300 was collected for "Nicabucks," the Spartacus Youth Clubs' campaign to raise hard currency for the defense of Nicaragua. During the sub drive, we collected "Nicabucks" at numerous SL public events and through appeals in our press, raising a total of \$2,847 for Nicaragua during the course of the six-week sub drive.

In Atlanta, where the comrades report that "South Africa, not Nicaragua, continues to be the burning issue" on campus, 74 points were sold at Atlanta University, as well as 30 points in Savannah. Chicago's most productive campus was the U of Wisconsin at Madison (117-1/2 points), where the Spartacus Youth Club is active. At the U of Indiana at Bloomington, 78 points were sold although the campus was plastered with posters for a pro-contra forum and we had a run-in with a self-proclaimed Nazi ten minutes after we set up our first lit table.

The Chicago comrades had spectacular success in securing resubscriptions. Renewals accounted for 44 out of the 69 points sold to transit workers, and 61 points in renewals came in from following up subs sold through door-to-door work in previous years. In addition, 40 points in new subscriptions were sold by comrades going door-to-door building for our forum on labor/black defense against racist terror. Chicago comrades also sold 20 subs to *Spanish Spartacist*.

The comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada participated in the SL/U.S. sub drive, selling 232-1/2 points in subscriptions to SL/U.S. publications (as well as 72 subs to their own paper, *Spartacist Canada*). Highlights for the Canadian comrades were working the Cornell campus along with New York comrades early this fall and the regional trip made in October by three comrades to Sudbury, Ontario, a historic center of the metal mining industry, where 18-1/2 sub points and 149 pieces of literature were sold.

The comradely competition for most points sold was won (again) by comrade Paula from San Francisco, who racked up 177 points. Emma (New York) was second with 145-1/2. Honorable mentions to Cathie (SF) with 121, Stefan (Oakland) with 102, Xandra (Oakland) with 96-1/2, Steve M. (New York) with 91-1/2, Tim (L.A.) with 91 and Tom D. (Boston) with 90-1/2. We extend our thanks as well to sympathizers of the organization who worked alongside us during the sub campaign. In Cleveland, 107 points were sold by non-members, including the highest point-scorer in the branch; in Oakland, 84-1/2 points were sold by sympathizers, and 80 in New York. Everyone who participated can take pride in having made this our best sub drive ever.

We welcome our new readers! ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 6)

demanding domination of the new interim administration. The Indians granted them seven out of twelve seats on the ruling body of this paper "Eelam," which in any case was to be an impoverished capitalist puppet regime totally subordinate to India. But the nationalist militants remained unreconciled, and continued to bury their weapons.

On October 5, the lid completely blew off this uneasy truce. Seventeen Tigers intercepted in the Palk Strait swallowed cyanide suicide capsules after J.R.'s National Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali, a hardliner unhappy with the accord, ordered that they be shipped to Colombo for interrogation. Most of them died immediately. The next day the Tigers shot dead eight Sri Lankan soldiers whom they had been holding prisoner for months, dumping their bodies at Jaffna central bus station.

That night Tamil nationalists went on a rampage of indiscriminate slaughter, murdering more than 200 Sinhalese, mostly civilians—men, women and children—in the Eastern Province. The Colombo/Batticaloa train was stopped, Sinhalese and Muslims were separated out and 40 shot. In the southeast 20 bus passengers were massacred and near Trincomalee 27 others killed in two fishing villages. In one fishing village an old Sinhalese woman described how laughing Tamils blew her husband's head off with machine guns. These widespread and calculated acts of indefensible terrorism sent thousands of Sinhalese fleeing their homes in the heavily interpenetrated Eastern and North Central Provinces. At this point, Indian High Commissioner J.N. Dixit announced that India would turn its guns on the Tamils; shoot-to-kill orders were issued and Tiger strongholds would be wiped out. The drive on Jaffna began.

But if the Indians thought they would get a quick victory they were mistaken. The Tigers have waged a fierce and fanatical resistance, at times halting the Indian advance completely. The original schedule to take control of Jaffna in five days was revised to ten, and fresh troops and weapons have been rushed in to bolster the Indian forces. At Jaffna University, the Tigers caught an elite helicopter force in the open and machine-gunned 30 soldiers.

India insists that it will stop at nothing short of unconditional surrender by the Tigers. But the Tigers are a guerrilla army. There are now reports of attacks on the advancing Indian troops from behind, and the fighting may well continue "behind the lines" long after the Indians capture the area. On October 13, an American State Department spokesman commended this "firm and effective action against these militant groups" (*India Abroad*, 23 October). On October 26, Jaffna was taken.

Echoing Reagan's State Department, the president of the Eelam Tamil Association of America whitewashed the Indian campaign as "a disciplinary action" justifiably aimed at bringing the Tamil militants "into line in getting the peace accord going" (*India Abroad*, 23 October). It is notable that as soon as Rajiv Gandhi moved against them, the Tigers lost much of their traditional support among bourgeois politicians of south India's Tamil Nadu state. In fact one of the largest contingents of the Indian force in Jaffna is drawn from the Madras regiment from Tamil Nadu.

The Indian onslaught has wreaked unparalleled destruction and devastation in the Jaffna area. A doctor at the Jaffna Teachers Hospital reported that "the situation in Jaffna town is worse than anyone can imagine." Seventy-six bodies had been brought to the hospital just in the first four days of the fighting and he was certain of at least another 100 civilian dead. The desperation of

Jaffna Tamils in the face of this is expressed in an appeal by 14 Jaffna civil servants, pointing to "indescribable bombing and shelling and aerial strafing" in which "almost 700 innocent civilians have died" and pathetically pleading that the butcher Jayewardene intervene with India in behalf of the Tamils (*New York Times*, 20 October)!

For Workers Internationalism!

The international Spartacist tendency discussed the looming crisis in Lanka last month at a meeting of the International Secretariat held in conjunction with the Spartacist League/U.S. National Conference. The discussion was prompted by a thoughtful written contribution submitted by an SL/U.S. comrade to our pre-conference discussion and resulted in a decision to propose to our tendency the slogan "Indian troops out of Eelam!" The slogan was to address the likelihood of a bloodbath by the Indian army and to reassert the right of Tamil Eelam, for which the Spartacist League/Lanka (sympathizing section of the iSt) has fought, against the vicious backlash of Sinhalese racism.

From July 1983 and before, in our press and in demonstrations and marches around the globe we put forward slogans advising against illusions in the Gandhis. We warned, "Remember the fate of the Mukti Bahini"—the Bangladeshi liberation fighters who were put down by Mrs. Gandhi—and pointed to the Golden Temple massacre of Sikhs in Amritsar in 1984. Our warnings were met with hostility by the various Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalists, whose "armed struggle strategy" was fundamentally aimed at provoking a bloody



Lanka Spartacist

Rubble of buildings in Thondamanaru: Sri Lankan army offensive in June devastated Jaffna Peninsula.

couldn't see something that should have been obvious to a little child."

With their perspective of carving out Eelam, they were profoundly unconcerned with the plight of the island's "Indian Tamils" (so called because they were imported from India by the British over the last century and more to work the tea estates) in the highlands of Sri Lanka. Yet an alliance with the strategic Indian Tamil estate workers could have been a critical component in uniting all sectors of the oppressed in Lanka as well as the toilers of India in a struggle for social emancipation.

While the Tamil guerrillas in the early '80s rigorously limited their attacks to

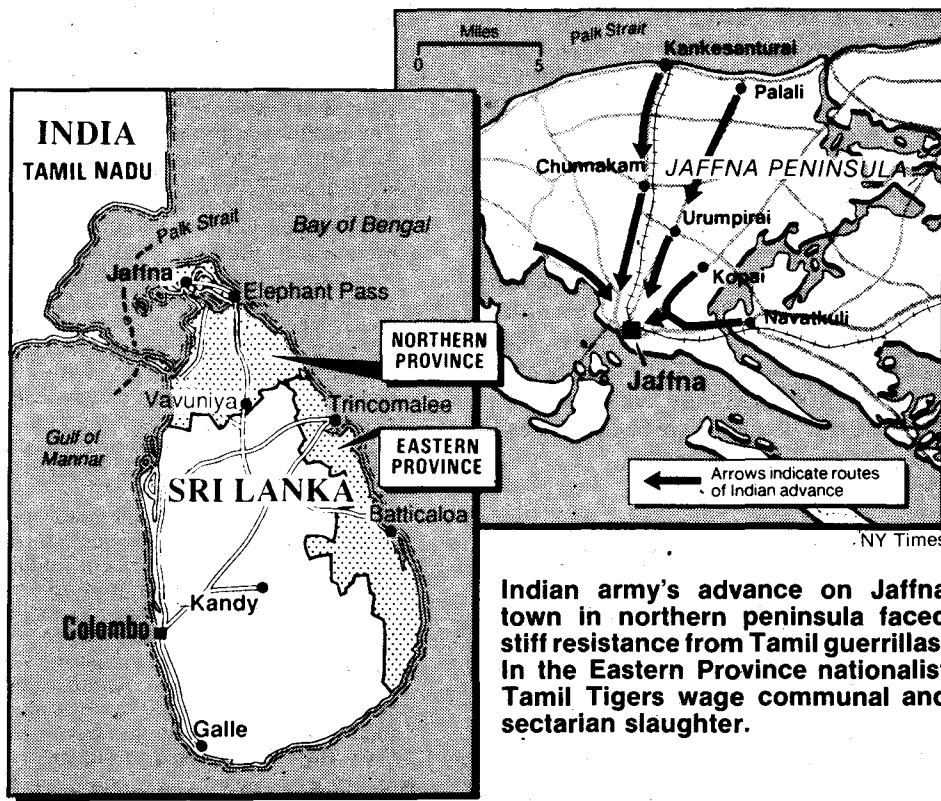
of the TELO group, and delivered bloody body blows to the rival EPRLF and PLOTE groups.

Now, in the Sinhala-dominated south of Lanka, the UNP government is under assault from the same communalist forces that it itself fomented. Even as Gandhi arrived in Colombo to sign the accord, a member of J.R.'s honor guard attacked the Indian prime minister with a rifle butt. In the subsequent antiaccord riots, state property, nationalized services and cooperatives were the particular targets of the enraged communalist mobs. In the forefront of this opposition is the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike, who smashed the 1971 New Left JVP insurrection. Today that same JVP, now rabidly communalist, is allied with Mrs. B and the Buddhist monks are once again the shock troops of Sinhalese-communalist reaction.

In addition there is a shadowy and sinister terrorist organization, the People's Patriotic Movement. The "PPM" claimed responsibility for the August 18 grenade attack on a government caucus meeting which killed two and left both Prime Minister Premadasa and Athulathmudali wounded. Yet the assailant has not been caught. Last week a PPM bomb placed in the offices of the JSS, the government's strikebreaking "trade union," killed three. A former Communist Party MP in the southern town of Matara was shot and seriously wounded. And the newspaper offices of both the CP and the social-democratic LSSP have been attacked with grenades and dynamite.

At the heart of the decline of the once-strong workers organizations of Lanka was their capitulation to Sinhalese chauvinism in the form of popular-front alliances with bourgeois forces they falsely promoted as "anti-imperialist," like the SLFP, architects of the "Sinhala Only" language policy. To this day the CP and LSSP (and its offspring, the NSSP) refuse to fight for the right of Tamil self-determination.

And the "left" tail of these popular-frontist parties is veteran leftist Edmund Samarakkody's "Revolutionary Marxists," who issued a statement demanding "Indian Troops Out of Sri Lanka" at a time when this was the rallying cry of frenzied Sinhalese reaction. Significantly, it did not even mention the Tamil people's right to self-determination! Samarakkody wants to fight to the last Tamil, urging "Tamil Militants Resist the Indian Troops with All Your Might!" Meanwhile, his statement made no appeal to the Sinhala workers to come to the aid of the embattled Tamils. Instead it prettified the Sinhalese-communalist opposition to Jayewardene, claiming that "the Sinhala bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition forces... are using the genuine class hatred of the working class and toilers among the Sinhala people, against the oppressive



Indian army's advance on Jaffna town in northern peninsula faced stiff resistance from Tamil guerrillas. In the Eastern Province nationalist Tamil Tigers wage communal and sectarian slaughter.

response by the Lankan regime in order to force India to act. Even after the Indian army had been slaughtering Tamils for a week, a Tiger-dominated demonstration in London on October 18 still appealed to Gandhi's India! A leaflet for the demonstration denounced India's "hasty genocidal military action" which "even surpasses Sinhalese state atrocities"—only to conclude with the pathetic plea: "India, land of Gandhian pacifism and leader among world's democracies, come to your senses, stop the slaughter."

The Tigers et al. were not ignorant of the fate of the Sikhs and the Bangladeshis at the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie. The truth is, as with all nationalists, they didn't give a damn as long as "their nation" was not on the receiving end. One disillusioned Tamil nationalist interviewed in the *Lanka Guardian* (1 October) observed:

"...we were pawns in a larger chess game, though we thought we were going to liberate Tamil Eelam.... We thought we were the most intelligent, hard-working, educated group of people in the whole country. And we

Lankan state targets, their nationalist strategy ineluctably led to indiscriminate terror against Sinhalese civilians. The massacre of 150 unarmed Sinhalese civilians at the holy city of Anuradhapura in May 1985 marked a watershed. Today, the Tigers adopt Zionist methods in the Eastern Province, driving out the Sinhalese and Muslims to ensure a Tamil majority. The government has for years colonized the province with Sinhalese to successfully overturn the pre-existing Tamil majority. The Tigers in turn demand that all Sinhalese colonized since 1982 be expelled, and their gunmen make no distinction.

Not surprisingly, given their perspective to become the new rulers of their own statelet, the various nationalist groups have also engaged in bloody internecine warfare aimed at securing a monopoly of political power, with the Tigers gaining the upper hand over the years. In 1985 they murdered two former MPs from the moderate bourgeois parliamentarist TULF. In 1986 they wiped out more than 150 militants

Jayewardene regime to strengthen their Sinhala chauvinist forces."

With this sleight of hand, Samarakody obscenely seeks to reach out to the same rabble that—in the name of combatting terrorism—hacked Tamils to death in the 1983 pogroms. What about the miserable unemployed workers in Weimar Germany in the 1930s who, in desperation, turned to the Nazi barbarians? They had genuine class hatred too—and became shock troops in genocide. And there were the mullah-led anti-shah forces in Iran in the late 1970s, which under the guise of "anti-imperialism" brought us the feudalist fanaticism of the Khomeini regime. Samarakody, like many other leftists, supported them too. This populist tailism of the masses' most reactionary impulses amounts to nothing but gross betrayal.

Legacy of Imperialist Divide and Rule

Historically it is rather accidental that Ceylon did not become part of India. The boundaries that the imperialists drew, throughout Africa, Asia, etc., more often than not divided tribe, people and nation. It is the tinpot nationalists who are the most fervent defenders of these "sacred" borders. India is indeed a prison house of nations, religious minorities, oppressed castes and hundreds of millions of horribly exploited working people. At the same time, like Indian capitalism itself, Indian nationalism is attenuated and atrophied, trapped somewhere on the road to national consolidation, reflecting the combined and uneven development of a giant backward country deformed by imperialist exploitation.

What is being played out in Sri Lanka today is the tragic reactionary logic of nationalism and communalism, the continuing horror of British imperialism's divide-and-rule strategy, which exploited traditional communal divisions to set entire peoples against each other in bloody slaughter, reaching its nadir in the 1947 partition of India. Well over five million people fled in both directions across the partition lines as refugee routes became vast open graveyards and trains arrived filled with corpses. Today the Indian capitalist butchers of the Sikhs and Mukti Bahini are butchering Tamils, while in Tamil Nadu thousands have been arrested for protesting. At the time of the anti-Tamil pogroms in 1983 we wrote:

"While Marxists unconditionally defend the Tamils' right to form a separate state, we are less than enthusiastic about the prospects for an independent capitalist state in Jaffna. It would inevitably slide under the suzerainty of the oppressive Indian regime."

—Spartacist No. 35, Autumn 1983

Had they broken from their narrow nationalist perspective, the Tamil militants who are today either dead or embittered racials could have provided an important element for an internationalist proletarian party in Lanka, turning the struggle against the oppression of the Tamil people into a springboard for revolution throughout the subcontinent. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the workers and peasants of the old tsarist empire—a vast prison house of peoples—to power through a program which transcended national particularities and forged unity against the common class enemy.

Today Bolshevik parties are needed in Lanka and India which can unite the rail workers of Calcutta, the Tamil estate workers, the Sinhalese women workers of the "free trade zones," in a struggle to bring down this vile system of racialist horror and grinding exploitation. This is the task to which our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are dedicated. Indian army out of Eelam! For the right of Tamil Eelam! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! Workers must rule! ■

Crash of '87...

(continued from page 1)

the United States. They've increasingly moved off-shore to South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, etc. And especially since the fast Carter years, billions of dollars have been diverted from research and development, education and industrial investment into the Pentagon's drive to restore nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. Reagan added a new twist—he "financed" the biggest peace-time military buildup in U.S. history with tax cuts for the wealthy.

"Supply-side economics" added up to no lunches for ghetto kids and a free lunch for big business. Of course, no one believed that Star Wars, the MX missiles and Trident submarines could be paid for by taking school lunches away from black schoolchildren and food stamps away from welfare mothers. Under Reagan the Pentagon's arsenal has floated on a sea of foreign borrowing. At some Treasury auctions, Japanese investors bought as much as two-thirds of long-term U.S. government bonds.

To help attract foreign money, the U.S. rulers waged a one-sided class war against the labor movement, the black and Hispanic and poor, the sick and the aged. Unions were broken, strikes crushed, millions of workers had give-back contracts rammed down their throats. The black ghettos were starved and terrorized. Old people were left to freeze to death or rot in wretched nursing homes. New York—the financial capital of the world—became a city of yuppies in gentrified co-ops and homeless sleeping in the streets. Reagan, abetted by the Democrats in Congress and the Democratic big-city mayors, sought to make America a safe investment for the Bank of Tokyo and the Deutsche Bank.

And foreign money poured in—a net sum of half a trillion dollars from 1981 to the end of 1986. But precious little of this was spent on improving the nation's productive capacity. In this six-year period the output of capital equipment in the U.S. increased a measly 7 percent. Where did all that money go? Much of it into the Pentagon, whose purchases of military hardware rose an incredible 55 percent between 1981 and '86!

At the same time, hundreds of billions fueled the speculative boom on Wall Street and also the real estate market. A major factor fueling the stock market boom was corporate takeovers financed almost entirely by borrowed funds, using so-called junk bonds. These bitter faction fights within the bourgeoisie reflect the loss of essential viability of whole units of the American corporate life. Yet the smart money pulled out before the crash—not only real estate mogul Donald Trump but also takeover artist Carl Icahn. A lot of "little guys" who bought the "Bullish on America" propaganda were left holding the bag.

Now the American bourgeoisie is faced with a financial crash because

saving vast sections of the population was not enough to pay for the multi-trillion dollar arms buildup. But the Japanese are not going to pay for Star Wars out of pocket, and one didn't have to be clairvoyant to see the crash coming. Japanese investors had already taken a dive over the last year by going increasingly out of the securities market and into U.S. real estate. A day or so before the crash, a New York-based economist for Deutsche Bank, Mieczyslaw Karczmar, noted "the reason for the higher bond yields [interest rates] is the impaired inflow of foreign capital to the United States." And after the crash Tokyo financial consultant Noboru Kagami stated: "This decline on Wall Street came as a major shock. For a while Japanese investors will feel jittery about being outside Japan" (London *Financial Times*, 22 October).

Wall Street to America: "Pain and Sacrifice"

So who is going to pay? The most immediate victims of the Wall Street

meaning. There is going to be pain and sacrifice of some sort, and part of that sacrifice is going to be changing our previous patterns of consumption."

—New York Times, 19 October

To put this statement in perspective, note that a few years ago Peterson sold out his co-chairmanship of Lehman Brothers for a mere \$6 million—some "sacrifice."

The main response to the crash in Washington is a bipartisan consensus to further slash social spending. The day after Black Monday, the House Budget Committee voted additional cuts for student loans, farm programs and Medicare for the elderly. And the Democrats are mounting a renewed push for higher taxes, which has become their main issue against Reagan, who's now wavering. In fact, for the past several years Reagan has carried out a perversion of liberal Keynesian economic policy of deficit spending with a vengeance, while reducing taxes on the rich, and the Democrats have become the balance-the-budget, raise-taxes party.

Even before the crash, influential sec-



Last flight out of Saigon, April 1975. So-called "American century" was buried in the jungles of Vietnam when heroic Vietnamese beat U.S. imperialism.

crash are older people whose savings, pension funds and IRAs are tied up in the stock market. And they are now voicing bitter resentment toward the millionaire yuppies of Wall Street. "All those guys with 65 credit cards and Porsches who think they are all geniuses at 25—now see what's happened," was the sarcastic reaction of an 80-year-old retiree. A 53-year-old Social Security clerk in Miami, facing margin calls that would have wiped him out, shot his Merrill Lynch stockbroker and then himself.

But it is not just the aged who are going to pay for the crimes of Wall Street and Washington. Whatever their other differences, New York yuppie financial operators and staid Middle America businessmen, Reaganite Republicans and liberal Democrats, all agree on one thing: the American people are going to suffer before investor confidence is restored. Wall Street biggie Peterson, former commerce secretary under Nixon, declares:

"...the need for economic adjustment is going to be given a new kind of urgent

tions of the U.S. ruling class saw Reaganomics as too indulgent and argued what's needed is the kind of austerity program the IMF (International Monetary Fund) imposes on Latin American debtor nations. *Wall Street Journal* economics editor Alfred Malabre projects that only something like cold fascism could restore financial discipline in the United States:

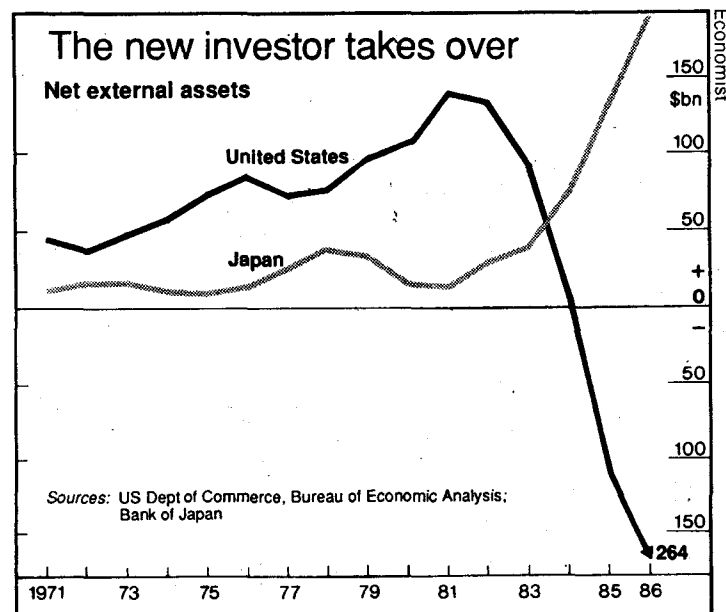
"All banks, indeed all thrift institutions, could wind up being nationalized. Foreign trade and capital transactions most likely would be government managed. Wages and prices would largely be set by people in Washington. Tax rates would be far higher than now and enforcement far stricter. Corporate managers would be under rigid governmental supervision that would make today's regulations seem blissfully relaxed."

—Beyond Our Means (1987)

This is the economic program of a corporate state like Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy—regimes which came to power as the result of profound economic devastation and the rulers' fear of workers revolution. Meanwhile some top U.S. business executives are determined to "get real wage levels down to those of the Brazils and Koreas" (*New York Times*, 4 June).

While preaching austerity at home, the U.S. ruling class will use its state power to shift the economic crisis to its neocolonies and imperialist rivals, centrally Japan, Mexico, Brazil and the other big Third World debtors are screwed because they owe money in dollars, not pesos or cruzados, so they can't get out of it by running their printing presses. The U.S., however, owes dollars to Japan: they could screw Tokyo by taking those container ships that bring cars over here and loading them up with (greatly devalued) greenbacks. Washington isn't going to go that far, but they could impose exchange controls, in effect appropriating a share of

continued on page 14



U.S. goes from world's biggest creditor to world's biggest debtor. Now Japan Inc. props up U.S. economy.

Crash of '87...

(continued from page 13)

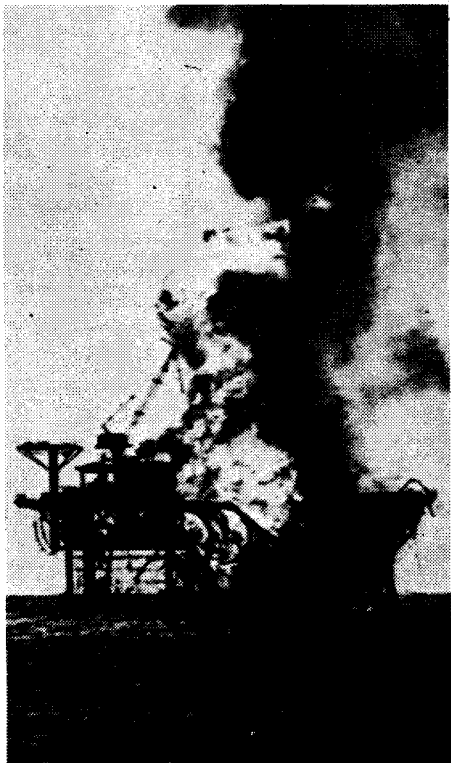
foreign money capital.

In an October 27 interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Keynesian economist Robert Heilbroner said that "after the crash is over and the body count is in," in terms of the functioning of the system:

"The real wild card, something that really nobody knows, is whether or not there'll be a flight from the dollar. If foreign investors in the United States pull out the literally tens and maybe hundreds of billions that are now in dollar securities and bonds, it would probably have to be met by closing the international exchanges, or more likely by throwing up exchange controls."

An even more fundamental question, added Heilbroner, is what is going to be the U.S.' position in the future international division of labor:

"I suspect that's going to give rise in the end to some kind of new regionalism of



AP
Lame duck Reagan's "empire" strikes in the Persian Gulf. Neither Wall Street nor the ayatollahs were impressed.

trade, a kind of protectionism. I don't think it's going to be beggar-thy-neighbor and mutual tariff wars, but some kind of regionalization. North America and its South American periphery, Europe and its Near Eastern-African periphery, and the Japanese and their China periphery or Southeast Asian periphery, and the Soviet Union and its own Eastern European periphery."

Already Reagan is trying to negotiate a "Greater North American Co-Prosperty Sphere" in trade talks with

Canada and next Mexico. But in a deepening financial crash, as Wall Street faced the alternatives of hyperinflation or a chain of bank failures, Washington could resort to bonapartism at home and war abroad to shore up tottering American capitalism.

Capitalism and Crises

Over a century ago Karl Marx pointed in the *Communist Manifesto* (1847) to "the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly." Typically every 40 or 50 years there is a big crash. For decades the American people have been brainwashed that it can't happen again. Marxists were ridiculed for maintaining that an economic crisis on the scale of the 19th century or 1929 could hit present-day capitalism. Well, one just hit.

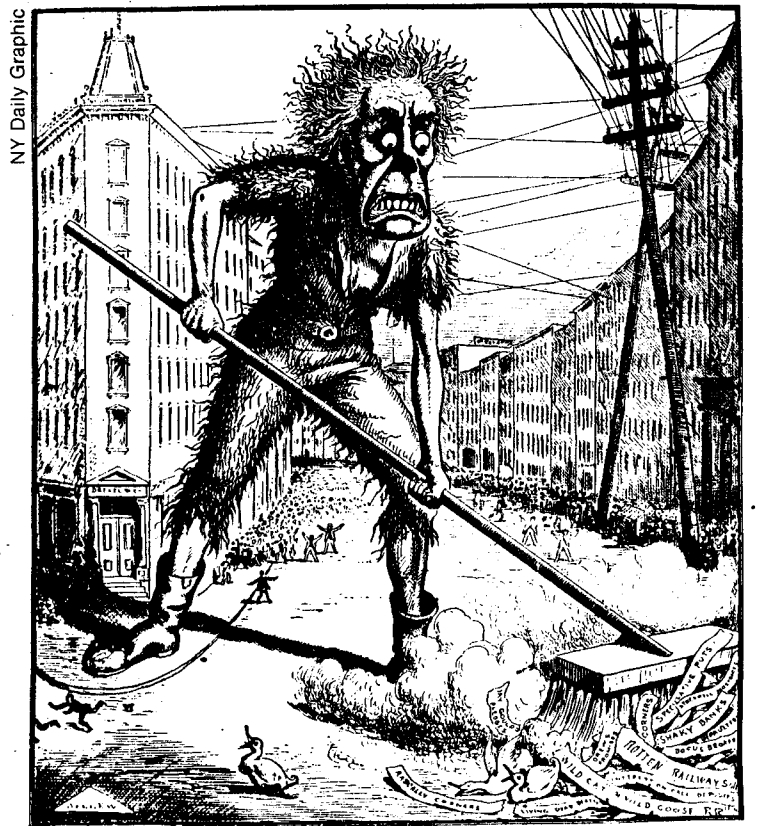
Will the crash of '87 lead to a new depression? A *New York Times* (20 October) editorial reassures readers that the stock market collapse "should have little direct effect on the day-to-day economy. Kansas farmers will be able to grow as much wheat and Ford will be able to churn out as many station wagons as before." The *Times* is here expressing what bourgeois economists call Say's Law of Markets, that what is produced can always be sold. Or "supply creates its own demand."

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Lord Keynes built his whole reputation on observing that Say's Law doesn't work, and then calling for a benevolent capitalist state to make it work. But Marx already said it more fundamentally: Say assumed products were exchanged for products, as in a primitive barter economy. This leaves out the essence of the industrial capitalist system and, for that matter, of mercantilist capitalism which preceded it.

Capitalism does not produce wheat or cars in order to meet people's needs. Capitalism produces for *profits*, for accumulation of wealth in the form of stocks, bonds, bank accounts, property and gold. What happened on Wall Street last Monday was once described by Marx as "a slaughtering of the values of capitals." Why does this happen? Because stocks (and bonds) are nothing more than claims to future profits. Their value falls when profits fall or are expected to fall. Why should such a depreciation lead to a fall in real production and output? After all, it's only paper. Because capitalists incur debt and other obligations based on the *market value* of their wealth. When this falls, they cannot pay. Marx explained:

"The chain of payments due at certain times is broken in a hundred places, and

"Panic of 1873." Cartoon from *New York Daily Graphic* was captioned, "Panic as a health officer sweeping the garbage out of Wall Street."



the disaster is intensified by the collapse of the credit-system. Thus violent and acute crises are brought about, sudden and forcible depreciations, an actual stagnation and collapse of the process of reproduction, and finally a real falling off in reproduction."

—*Capital*, Vol. 3 (1894)

Violent and acute crises, often triggered by financial panics and followed by prolonged depressions, have been endemic to the capitalist system from its very beginning.

Economic historians usually date the first international capitalist crises in 1720 with the near-simultaneous collapse of the so-called Mississippi bubble in France and South Sea bubble in England. In 1717 a Scottish banker, John Law, sold the French monarchy on a scheme to raise revenue by selling shares in a company granted a monopoly to develop French territories in North America. The stocks of this company were then used as collateral for Law's bank to make loans which further drove up the stocks' prices. The result was hyperinflation followed by total financial collapse. Across the English Channel, speculation in the South Sea company, which had been granted a monopoly on trade with South America and the Pacific region, ran a parallel course.

With the onset of industrial capitalism the panic of 1837 was the first modern crash, and the world has not changed all that much since then. In the early 1830s British banks were for the first time allowed to sell stock to the general public. The large influx of new capital led to speculation in slave plantations, cotton textiles and railroads. Across the Atlantic wildcat banks, unleashed by Jacksonian democracy, speculated in cotton and land, especially land capable of producing cotton. When the inflationary boom inevitably popped, President Andrew Jackson lamented:

"Two nations, the most commercial in the world, enjoying but recently the highest degree of apparent prosperity, are suddenly, without any great national calamity, arrested in that career, and plunged into embarrassment and distress. In both countries have we witnessed the same redundancy of paper money, and other facilities of credit, the same spirit of speculation, the same partial success, the same difficulties and reverses, and, at length, the same overwhelming catastrophe."

Jackson, at any rate, was a lot franker than Reagan.

The financial panics of the 18th and 19th centuries may seem to the ignorant remote from the present Wall Street crash. But the similarity to 1929 is all too apparent, as the London *Financial Times* (21 October) pointed out: "After the fall of 22.6 per cent in the Dow Jones index on Monday, the crash of 1929 inevitably comes to mind. There are par-

allels too: the euphoria that preceded the decline; the overhang of deadweight sovereign debt; the threat of a major increase in protection in the United States; and, more seriously, the inability of the principal economic powers to follow policies conducive to international economic stability."

During 1928-29 capital from the U.S. and around the world flowed into Wall Street's call-money market. These were funds that bankers lent to stockbrokers, who in turn lent them to their clients thereby fueling the stock market boom. Soon the explosion of paper wealth lost all connection to the real economy. Production had been running smoothly but there was a squeeze on profits because, with or without trade unionism, workers were getting higher wages. Business activity actually peaked in June 1929 and was turning down while stock market speculation was ever more frenzied. After a while it dawned on investors their stocks weren't worth that much since profits were falling.

When the bubble popped, investors could not repay their brokers' loans. The brokers could not repay their bankers. A chain of defaults soon engulfed the entire financial system. Firms which had counted on ready access to the stock and bond market were suddenly short of money capital, and cut their spending. Output fell sharply, inventories were run off. Industrial production fell almost 10 percent between the Wall Street crash in October and the end of the year. By the spring of 1930 a full-scale depression had set in. Something like this can certainly happen in today's debt-laden American economy.

Death Agony of Capitalism

Whoever loses from the stock market crash, the Democrats believe they will gain by exploiting reawakened fears of depression. A few days before Black Monday, Richard Nixon observed that if the economy went down the Democrats could elect a jackass to the White House, which seems in fact to be their program. Writing on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* (22 October) liberal economist Hyman Minsky now trumpets that "a period of conservative Republican dominance leads to a failed capitalism, while a period of liberal Democratic dominance creates and sustains the conditions for successful capitalism." The Democrats are happily preparing to run, once again, against Herbert Hoover.

But today the Democratic Party isn't harking back to FDR—instead they're united with the Republicans in pushing a "raw deal" for workers, making the exploited and oppressed pay for capitalism's crimes. Even Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal did *not* lead to an effective recovery. It was, however, suc-

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

cessful in heading off a proletarian socialist movement to bury the bankrupt capitalism of the 1930s. The impact of the Great Depression propelled the American working class to organize itself for the first time in mass industrial unions. However, thanks in large part to the Stalinists and social democrats at the head of those unions, the incipient radicalization of American labor was diverted into FDR's Democratic Party.

It is a *liberal myth* that Roosevelt's New Deal and Keynesian economic policies pulled the U.S. out of the Depression. In 1937, at the height of the New Deal, the U.S. suffered another major economic crisis in which industrial production fell by *one-third* and factory employment by a quarter. The American economy did not recover its pre-1929 level until the imperialist slaughter of World War II set the war industries running in high gear.

That war, especially against Japan in the Far East, originated in inter-imperialist trade wars intensified by the Depression. After 1929 a wave of protectionism swept Western capitalism. Japan, its traditional export markets cut off, moved to create an isolated economic empire in the Far East, the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. To maintain their East Asian colonies and semi-colonies (e.g., China), the Western imperialist powers first resorted to economic warfare against Japan. In July 1941 the Americans, British and Dutch cut off all oil shipments to Japan, which struck back six months later with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

U.S. imperialism ended the war by carrying out a nuclear holocaust: the A-bombing of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ordered by liberal Democrat Harry Truman. Japan was already beaten and its leaders suing for peace. The U.S. dropped the bomb on Japanese civilian populations out of a combination of racist vindictiveness toward the Japanese, to see if it would work (after they'd spent a couple of billion on it), and not least in order to intimidate the Soviet Union. The irradiated corpses of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were, in a sense, the first victims of the Cold War with Russia.

The insane drive of the U.S. rulers to destroy the Soviet Union has now bankrupted the American economy and triggered a financial crash on the scale of 1929. Today the world is again riven by economic crisis as it lurches toward another imperialist war, this time a nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the state issuing out of the world proletariat's greatest victory—the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917.

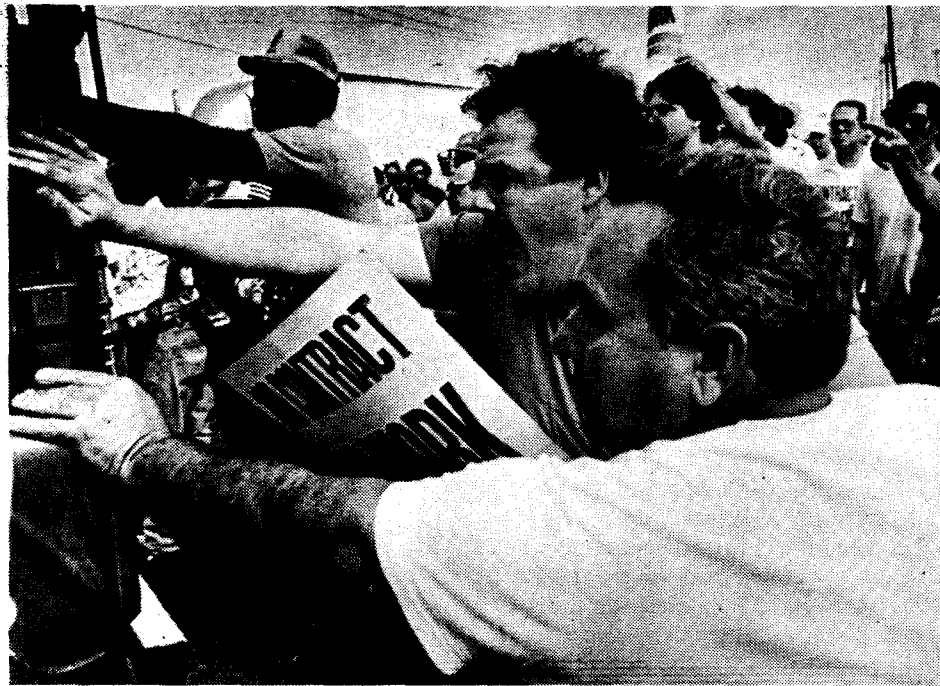
Communism Is America's Last, Best Hope

At home the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive is directed against the unions, blacks and everyone else the labor-baiting, race-baiting ruling class despises. Reagan ripped up the white-

collar air controllers (who endorsed him in '80!) as a message to labor. His black Democratic front man in Philly bombed the black MOVE commune and allowed the neighborhood to burn down to intimidate blacks. And the U.S. invaded tiny black Grenada, kind of an out-of-town tryout against the Russians and all those (like Nicaragua) Reagan thinks are Communists. Today, every index shows that the ordinary people of the U.S. have had their standard of living steadily eroded for the last 15 years, and the further down you are on the economic totem pole the worse off you are. So that now there are 20 million Americans who go to bed hungry at night, and millions more homeless.

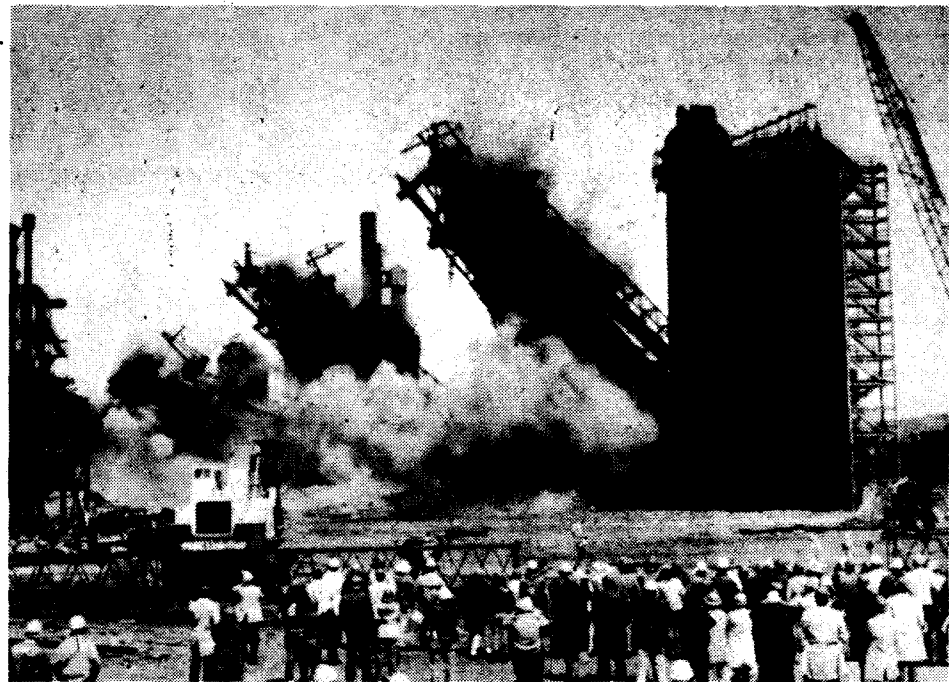
And black people get the worst of it. A recent study by black sociologist William Julius Wilson on *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987) has shown that despite civil rights laws and "Great Society" programs, life has grown more and more miserable for a black "underclass" locked in the ghettos. Unemployment for black men has averaged 17 percent during the 1980s, and double that for black youth. And as the number of employed black men nosedived, the number of households headed by single black women has shot up. Meanwhile in Washington they rant against "misdirected" welfare programs.

The neo-conservatives in the White House and the neo-liberals in Congress



ILA longshore strikers stop scabs, October 1986. American workers need some hard class struggle to win!

slash every program that reflects a human impulse not to see masses of starving, crazed, homeless people in the streets. And to justify that they show that the myriad poverty programs don't work. So like the "social Darwinians" of the 19th century, they preach that something must be wrong with the poor, survival of the fittest, and the devil take the hindmost. But the problem of poor people is that they are poor. You can solve that problem by throwing money at it. But first you have to get the money, and



Youngstown, Ohio steel plant being leveled. U.S. bosses have driven industrial plant into the ground.

governmental taxing authority is not above classes. To really soak the rich the working class has to *take power*.

Reformists like CIA social democrat Michael Harrington (who designed LBJ's "war on poverty") and the Communist Party routinely present wish lists of beneficial programs like massive federal programs to rebuild the cities:

homeless, welfare mothers, drug users, etc. And we communists intend to do so. But you have to first smash the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn't "respect" the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, so *take it*. And when we have the wealth of this country, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts left over by our rulers, like some tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks. As for "compensation" to the people who have driven the United States to ruin, we can offer to those who don't get in our way that they will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society.

We need a workers party to grab the vanishing wealth of America before the bourgeoisie squanders it all. Fight, don't starve—For class war in America! ■

Philly Election...

(continued from page 16)

Greensboro massacre! Similarly, they do the donkey work for the Democratic Party nationally by painting it in the hues of Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. (This is the same Jesse "the fireman" who came to Philly in June '85 to cool out black outrage and grotesquely asked Ramona Africa if MOVE had burned their own house down!)

From the Civil War to today, blacks have paid in blood for the right to vote. But to choose between Goode and Rizzo is picking your executioner. While Wilson Goode, Frank Rizzo and the Reagan gang of war criminals and sleazy crooks celebrate the Constitution, they don't celebrate the smashing of chattel slavery in the Civil War, because they seek through law and terror to maintain *wage slavery* and capitalist rule. We in the Spartacist League are fighting to finish the Civil War with a third American revolution, a socialist revolution. The decent people of Philadelphia and the rest of this country who are outraged by the Goode/Rizzo spectacle should mobilize in the fight to demand *freedom now* for Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! ■

Telegrams and letters demanding immediate freedom without conditions for Ramona Johnson Africa should be sent to: Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 N. Front St., Harrisburg, PA 17110.



Civil War expropriated Southern slaveholders, freed the chattel slaves. For socialist revolution to free the wage slaves! Above: Sherman's march through Georgia.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Philly Election

Goode, Rizzo—Mayors of Murder

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

We won't forget: Mother's Day 1985, the day they bombed black Philadelphia. Eleven black people murdered, including five children, a black neighborhood burned to the ground. Now Philly faces an election with the obscene "choice" between two "mayors of murder": black Democrat Wilson Goode, who ordered the hideous firebombing of MOVE, and sadistic white racist Frank Rizzo, notorious for his stormtrooper attacks on the black ghetto. And as the rulers of this country celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution, they've torn up the Bill of Rights for Ramona Africa—imprisoned for the "crime" of surviving the MOVE massacre. The Spartacist League calls to protest the revolting Goode/Rizzo farce with a fight to free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!

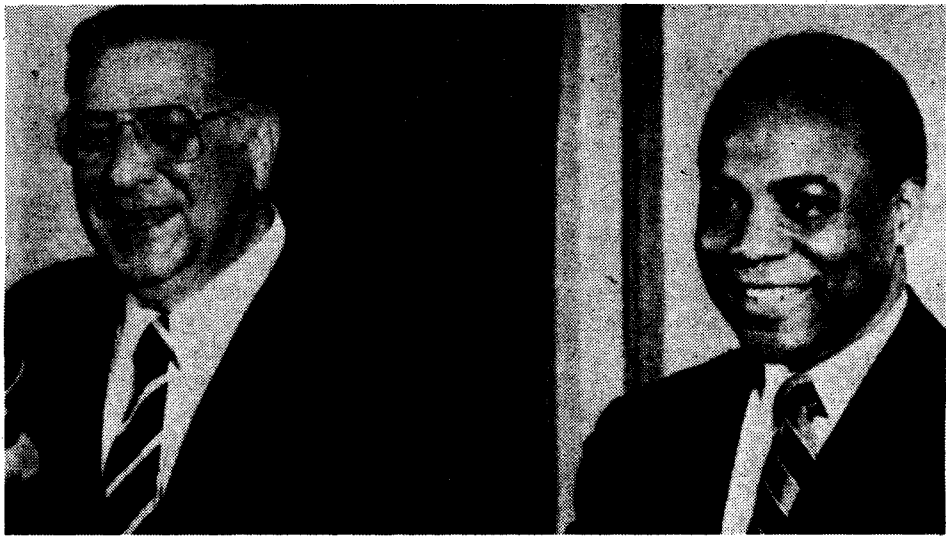
The siege of Osage Avenue began as a cop bullhorn delivered the ultimatum: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Reagan's America, where mass murder of black people is officially sanctioned: the FBI supplies the explosives and approves the plans, and top cop Ed Meese praises this state terrorism as a "good example" for other police to follow. The fiery holocaust in Philadelphia came just days after Reagan returned from saluting SS Nazi graves at Bitburg. For the crazed anti-Soviet crusaders in the White House bunker, the war against the Soviet Union and its "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya means war on blacks and labor at home. And black Democratic front men in City Hall do the dirty work for the White House.

What could be more obscene than the TV "debate" on October 7, with racist pig Rizzo and murderer Goode trading charges of police brutality and incinerating MOVE! As imprisoned Sue Africa cried out at the trial of Ramona, "The

whole city of Philadelphia is trying to wash the blood of MOVE people off their hands." They want us to forget how Ramona Africa was railroaded on riot and conspiracy charges, denied parole and the right of appeal. They want us to forget the Africa family members and supporters in jail: Consuewella Dotson, Susan Leon, Janine Phillips, Debbie Sims, Alberta Wicker, Merle Austin, Janet Holloway, William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Delbert Orr, Charles Sims, Carlos Perez, Michael Davis. Several of the women are mothers of children murdered in the cop firebombing of 6221 Osage Avenue.

They want us to forget Mumia Abu-Jamal, the MOVE sympathizer and former Black Panther who is *on death row* in Huntingdon state prison. A former president of the Association of Black Journalists in Philadelphia, Abu-Jamal was widely known, and bitterly hated by the police, for his reporting of the kangaroo court trial of the 1978 MOVE prisoners. To counter the cops' lies, Abu-Jamal courageously went into the jails to tell the Africas' side of the story. So in 1981 he too was framed, accused of killing a Philadelphia cop. Today his life hangs in the balance following the U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the racist death penalty, opening the floodgate for hundreds of executions. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Free all the MOVE prisoners!

The cops' vendetta against MOVE began under big-mouth racist Rizzo. In 1970 as police commissioner he personally led a raid on Black Panther headquarters, dragging Panthers into the streets, stripping them naked and lining them up against the wall. It was Mayor Rizzo who laid siege to the MOVE commune in Powelton Village for a full year, culminating in August 1978 when 600 police moved in for the kill. Philadel-



Viola/Philadelphia Inquirer



Philadelphia Daily News



UPI

Frank Rizzo and Wilson Goode. Rizzo's cops brutally beat Delbert Africa in 1978 assault on MOVE commune (bottom left). Goode's 1985 firebombing of MOVE killed eleven blacks, incinerated entire black neighborhood.

phians watched in horror as Rizzo's cops brutally stomped on Delbert Africa in full view of TV cameras. Nine MOVE members were sent to prison on sentences up to 99 years because a cop died in that siege (most likely caught in the police crossfire). So whether it's Goode or Rizzo, blacks and other minorities rightly fear for their lives.

There's a full-scale assault on democratic rights in Philly. In the months before and after the '85 MOVE massacre, hundreds were rounded up in repeated police sweeps that terrorized black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Last summer with the hoopla over the 200th birthday of the Constitution, the city labeled demonstrators "terrorists" and declared war on the First Amendment. Police infiltrated protest groups, banned buttons and placards, prevented literature from being handed out, and on Memorial Day weekend they sealed off 300 demonstrators protesting the U.S. war on Central America. From the carpet-bombing of Vietnam to CIA contract killers in Nicaragua to the mass murder at 6221 Osage Avenue, protesting the crimes of American capitalism is *verboten* in the "cradle of liberty."

Goode is still the preferred candidate of the Philadelphia bankers, insurance companies and Main Line bourgeoisie. The *Wall Street Journal* declared last year that by breaking the AFSCME city workers strike with threats of mass firings and fines, Goode had restored "Confidence in His Ability to Lead." Now Goode's out to break the power of the sanitationmen's union. Philadelphia's integrated unions have the muscle to win and a history of militancy, but they're tied to the racist union-busters of the bosses' parties. Philly transit and SEPTA rail workers, teachers, sanitationmen, ILA longshoremen should have *shut the city down* over the MOVE massacre. Break with the Democrats and Republicans—For a workers party that fights on behalf of all the oppressed!

The Spartacist League has sought to sear the bombing of MOVE into the memory of the working class. But the bulk of the left scandalously supported Goode, and will do so again now claiming the Philadelphia bomber is a "lesser evil." That's what they said about Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter, whose federal agents conspired in the hideous

continued on page 15



AP/Wide World

Ramona Africa, imprisoned because she lived to tell the truth about the massacre of Philly MOVE.