

Eight Face Hangman's Noose in South Africa



December 4: At South African embassy in Washington, AFL-CIO officials demand freedom for leaders of black trade unions.

AFL-CIO News

Free Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

At 5:15 a.m. on December 10, the South African government released eleven anti-apartheid fighters from prison, only to rearrest six of them immediately on charges of "high treason"—charges which could mean

death by hanging for many leaders of the current wave of black struggle. At press time eight leading activists associated with the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid political grouping in South

Africa, are facing the hangman's noose. In addition to the UDF leaders charged with treason, five leaders of the powerful two-day stay-away strike which paralyzed the industrial heartland of the Transvaal in early Novem-

ber have been imprisoned and charged with "subversion," which carries a 20-year sentence.

The imprisoned UDF Eight are: Archie Gumede, Paul David, George
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War Budget Targets Workers, Blacks, Poor, Aged

Reagan's Kill-'em-All Cuts

Liberal columnist Tom Wicker observed that Reagan ran for re-election as President Feelgood, promising boundless economic prosperity. But after his landslide victory in November, President Feelgood turned into President Kill 'em All, slashing the wages of federal government workers and cutting practically every social program from veterans' benefits to Medicare. As administration economists talk euphemistically of a "growth recession," 125 programs are targeted for total elimination under what is being called Reagan's chain-saw budget massacre.

At the core of the federal deficit crisis is the massive arms buildup designed to achieve first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union. America's rulers are bent on reconquering the Soviet Union for capitalism or destroying the world in the attempt. To that end, U.S. military spending is slated to increase \$120 billion by 1988. And the Pentagon has been resisting even the most minimal reductions proposed by the budget director and the Treasury. "The joke here," said one White House budget official, "is that we'll throw a champagne party if the Pentagon agrees to one dollar of reductions."

They can save their champagne. The only "cuts" anyone is talking about in the war budget are "reductions" in the planned increase for arms spending!

Apart from some right-wing crackpots, no one took seriously the "supply-side" notion that the trillion-dollar arms buildup could be financed through accelerated economic growth stimulated by tax cuts. No less fantastical was the idea that all the MX missiles and Trident submarines could be paid for by



Rollo/Newsweek

Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive means unemployment, hunger for black ghetto masses.

taking away school lunches. The first-term Reagan cuts were almost surgically concentrated on the poor. And in racist America, poor means largely black and Hispanic. While the Reagan gang is intent on finishing their economic holocaust of the nation's ghettos and barrios, there isn't that much left there to cut.

So this time around it's not just food stamps and Medicaid that are under the budget ax, but also price supports to farmers, subsidized loans to students and small businessmen and much more.



AP

There is even serious talk in Congress of doing away with cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security. Reaganomics is about to hit white Middle America, which voted overwhelmingly for President Feelgood. Pretty soon they may be feeling like the PATCO air controllers who were led away in chains and their union destroyed when they struck against Reagan. But PATCO went down to defeat because the leaders of American labor left them standing alone. The half-million AFL-CIO members who marched in Washington in

1981 showed the power that could have defeated Reagan's union-busting, and could smash his killer cuts today.

A small incident nicely symbolizes the state of the nation. When Reagan telephoned William Schroeder, the recipient of an artificial heart, to congratulate him on the operation, Schroeder complained that he was getting the runaround on Social Security benefits. "I'm having trouble hearing you," the president interrupted. Federal officials said they were checking whether Schroeder's disability payments could be reduced because he was receiving a federal pension. When the check arrived the next day, nine months late, he suffered a stroke. Of course, if Medicaid cuts had prevented Schroeder from getting an artificial heart in the first place, the administration could have gotten its savings through "attrition"!

One might think that opposition to Reagan's fiscal '86 "chain-saw massacre" which affects wide sections of the population would be a perfect issue for the Democratic Party to make a comeback. But Congressional Democrats immediately held out their hands in cooperation. House Speaker Tip O'Neill promised: "If the President is willing to reduce the growth of defense spending, then he will find that we will be helpful in nondefense areas of the budget" (*New York Times*, 6 December). It's not just that the Democrats don't want to buck Reagan so soon after his landslide victory. Reagan is now carrying out the Democrats' own program.

Since Roosevelt's New Deal in the
continued on page 8

Should Trotsky Have Made A Bloc with Zinoviev in 1924?

Arnold Mintz
London
8 May 1984

Workers Vanguard.

I want to take issue with an item which appears in the SWP article in the 27 April *WV* ["Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP," *Workers Vanguard* No. 353]. Reference is made to the Joint Opposition as follows, "the kind of vindictiveness that perhaps prevented a Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc in 1924 when it might have counted." It is not clear if *WV* is criticizing Trotsky or Zinoviev as vindictive but the context says it is meant as a criticism of Trotsky. This is wrong. To my knowledge the situation of Trotsky and his supporters in 1924 was determined by four things; the defeats of the revolution gave control of the Communist Party to the ascendant Stalin bureaucracy which was being fronted by Kamenev/Zinoviev; the consequent strictures on Trotsky's political activity placed on him by the CPSU leadership; the catastrophic defeats in China and

Britain, which showed the consequences of Stalin's ascendancy, had not yet occurred; Trotsky only joined the Bolsheviks in 1917 which was not important in the high tide of revolution but underlined his isolation in the low ebb of reaction.

It is wrong to criticize Trotsky for not effecting a bloc with Zinoviev/Kamenev earlier than 1925 when the adoption of "Socialism in One Country" put Zinoviev/Kamenev into opposition. This programmatic clarity brought about the Joint Opposition. The launching of the Joint Opposition was one of the most brilliant principled maneuvers that Trotsky ever undertook. By achieving a successful bloc with the unstable centrist opposition of Zinoviev/Kamenev it allowed Trotsky three more years to fight inside the Bolshevik Party for a return to Leninism. As Trotsky said, had the revolution triumphed in China or Britain, despite the conciliatory policies of the CI towards the Koumintang and TUC Lefts respectively, the Left Opposition would have found itself renewed massively and in a real position

to win the leadership of the CPSU. When *WV* says about the Joint Opposition, "when it would have counted," this is a slight on the Left Opposition as well as the Joint Opposition. They count because Trotsky rescued Leninism from the mire of Stalinist reaction.

This issue brings to mind a very early article in *Spartacist*. The article, a review by Mage of a book by Deutscher, repeats from Deutscher a whole series of erroneous criticisms of Trotsky's so-called mistakes in the factional struggle in the 1920s. Since it was a signed article and the false positions of the article have not been repeated in *Spartacist* material it would be safe to take the issue as buried. However the reference again in *WV*, although partial, makes the necessity of further clarification.

Comradely,
Arnie

WV replies: Ignoring the counterposed social forces in Soviet Russia that made the triumvirs (Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev) an unstable combination from their inception, Arnie Mintz argues that there was no possibility of a bloc between Trotsky and a Zinoviev/Kamenev opposition in the decisive 1924 period, or at any time before it was actually consummated in July 1926. According to Mintz the "facts" of history are immutable. It would have made no difference what Trotsky and his supporters did in 1923-26 because the triumvirs already held the reins of power and the fate of the Left Opposition was sealed. "Leninist program" is separated from the political struggle for power. Mintz creates a cult of an infallibly clairvoyant Trotsky. At the same time his methodology imitates Isaac Deutscher in denying the subjective factor in shaping history.

The possibility and desirability of a Trotsky-Zinoviev/Kamenev bloc in 1924-25 is one aspect of a more fundamental question: could Trotsky have made different tactical choices in the 1920s which would have strengthened his hand against Stalin and therefore his struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution? We addressed this question in Shane Mage's review of Deutscher's biography of Trotsky ("Trotsky and the Fate of the Russian Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). Mintz has



Trotsky (left) and Zinoviev (center) at 1926 funeral of Felix Dzerzhinsky.

the impression that because this was a signed review we disavow its contents. While we do not endorse all of Mage's historical speculations and judgments, we agree with his basic argument against Deutscher's fatalism that there were in the 1920s "repeated instances when it was, sometimes arguably, sometimes manifestly, within the power of Trotsky and the Left Opposition to bring about the downfall of Stalin."

In that seminal work of the Left Opposition, *Lessons of October*, Trotsky wrote: "If time is, generally speaking, a prime factor in politics, then the importance of time increases a hundred-fold in war and revolution." He might have added: also in combating (in this case a political) counterrevolution.

Already at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, Lenin, mortally ill, recognized the potential danger that Stalin's predilections and the growth of bureaucratism posed for the party and the revolution. In his testament he proposed that Stalin be removed from the powerful position of general secretary. In his last weeks of political activity Lenin formed a bloc with Trotsky against the bureaucratic danger. He urged Trotsky to present his notes denouncing Stalin's complicity in the "Great Russian nationalist campaign" against Georgia and to attack Stalin, showing "no weakness or vacillation," at the upcoming 12th Party Congress in April 1923. But Trotsky disregarded Lenin's advice and made a no-contest agreement with the triumvirs, which they broke once it became clear that Lenin would not recover.

Retrospectively, Trotsky recognized that the 12th Party Congress was a lost opportunity, at least in the short run. In his 1929 autobiography, *My Life*, he wrote: "... I have no doubt that if I had come forward on the eve of the twelfth congress in the spirit of a 'bloc of Lenin

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TROTSKY

What Every Revolutionary Should Know About Repression

Victor Serge (1890-1947) was a revolutionary proletarian propagandist who became a Communist under the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution. Based on tsarist police files and his own experience of repression at the hands of the capitalist governments of Belgium, France and Spain, Serge wrote a manual on state repression, first published by the Bulletin of the Communist International:



LENIN

In the conflicts between capital and labor, the army has often intervened against labor—never against capital.

In court the defense of the poor is nothing short of impossible, because of the cost of any judicial action; in reality, a worker can neither bring a case nor defend one.

The overwhelming majority of crimes are directly caused by poverty and come into the category of attacks on property. The overwhelming majority of prison inmates are from the poor.

To respect legality such as this is to be fooled by it.

... Nonetheless, it would be equally disastrous to ignore it. The advantages for the workers movement are the greater the less one is fooled. The right to exist and to act legally is, for the organizations of the proletariat, something which must constantly be re-won and extended. We stress this because sometimes among good revolutionaries there emerges the diametrical opposite of fetishizing legality—due to a kind of tendency to make the least political effort (it is easier to conspire than to lead mass action) they have a certain disdain for legal action.

We believe that in countries where the reaction has not yet triumphed, destroying the previous democratic constitution, the workers will have to firmly defend every inch of their legal position, and in other countries fight to regain it. In France itself, the legal status the workers movement enjoys must be extended, and this can be done only through struggle. The right of association and the right to strike are still denied or contested for state employees and certain other categories of workers; the right to demonstrate is much more restricted than in the Anglo-Saxon countries; the advanced guards of workers defense have still not conquered the streets and gained legality as in Germany and Austria.

—Victor Serge, *What Every Revolutionary Should Know About Repression* (1926)

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No. 369

21 December 1984

It's 10 O'Clock—Do You Know Where Your Red Avengers Are?

Associated Students of
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, CA

November 5, 1984

To: Noah Wilner, Editor in Chief
Workers Vanguard
P.O. Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10116

From: James F. McDuffie
Business Manager

Please be advised that those who use your name and sell your newspapers on this campus continue to conduct themselves in a manner that is considered by most on this campus to be contrary to the ethics of fairness.

It perhaps should be acknowledged in the beginning that the Associated Students in general and I in particular

do not endorse any political party, issue or candidate, on campus or off. It is however our intention that rules established to ensure fairness to all points of view be adhered to by everyone. That includes those who share your point of view.

At this point, we can not be sure that you and/or your organization condone the actions of those who expound your point of view which in our opinion is at worst illegal and at least impolite, inconsiderate and in bad taste.

If you do condone this type of conduct, that is alright too. It is unfortunate however that the good points of your message should suffer because of the conduct of your messengers.

Please do not assume that this letter is to imply anything. It is to tell you in as

WORKERS VANGUARD

Norfolk Busing: Government Pushes to Restore Jim Crow

By Cliff Carter

Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist, is a frequent guest contributor to Workers Vanguard.

Whenever there is unity between black and white in the United States there is always opposition from the

closed schools all over Norfolk. Ever since the year of 1866 the Ku Klux Klan had preserved white supremacy in Norfolk (and all of the United States). But in the 1950s the United States felt the pressure of the whole world watching, and it had to make a change.

In the '50s came changes. Separate schools were outlawed. The Ku Klux Klan gave themselves a new name,

Justice Department's "civil rights" division, filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the 4th United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and argued that the Norfolk, Virginia school board could end a 13-year-old busing program for elementary school students.

This is just one of the take-offs of Reagan's plan for the racist and segregationist (nearly forgotten that they were once called the KKK). The KKK endorsed Reagan already in his first election in 1980, and it took him until 1984 to refuse to recognize (repudiate) their endorsement. If the workers are separated at the elementary age, it is hard to join them at the adult age. Reagan knows this, and so does the puppeteer ruling class that pulls Reagan's strings.

On May 13, 1983 thousands marched for busing in Norfolk, Virginia organized by the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens headed by Bishop L. E. Willis, a black minister, and other local black leaders. Bishop Willis piped in Sweet Jesse James Jackson from Chicago to lead the march. Earlier that morning at a breakfast meeting at the Holiday Inn executive center on Greenbriar Road, Jackson told more than 225 community leaders and supporters of the demonstration that he was "not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May 1983).

Somebody should tell Democrat Jesse Jackson that slavery was ended by revolutionary struggle (the Civil War), and not by voting. If the Union soldiers had fought with ballots instead of bullets, they would have surely lost the Civil War.

Sweet J.J. Jackson at this demonstration spent a great portion of the time hollering and screaming like a mad man for the marchers to register and vote for the Democrats. Well, the majority of black people registered and voted Democratic. But what happened? Nothing. Reagan stays in the White House. If Mondale had won, then Reagan would have left the White House. Nothing good would have happened for the working people. Mickey Mouse Mondale returning and Reagan leaving is the same as trouble leaving out your front door, but bad luck comes in your back door.

Any man or woman who stands in a voting line trying to decide whether to

vote for a Democrat or a Republican has to be confused right from Jump Street. There is very little difference between a fox and a wolf, for one will eat you slowly, and the other will eat you quickly.

The friend-of-the-court brief by the Justice Department is just one of the many steps to counteract the much-needed revolutionary workers party. The Reagan administration knows the old rule—if you divide, you will conquer. The racist school department of Norfolk knows that there is unity among the workers of the Tidewater area, and something must be done to curtail this unity. The Reagan administration is out to keep the working people down, but we do not need the Democratic Party nor Jesse Jackson with his voter registration drive. Jackson said in a speech at Washington, D.C. on May 10, 1983, "... we can change the nation's course through elections without going through a revolution." A statement like this tells the people to register, then vote, go home and watch TV and everything will be okay: just leave things in the hands of the Democrats.

Everything the working class has accomplished has been through struggle. On November 27, 1982 when the KKK was stopped in Washington, D.C., the Democrats were nowhere in sight. They were home watching TV and making phone calls to the Republicans (saying we did not have nothing to do with them 5,000 people messin' with Reagan's Klansmen). These are the same words an old Uncle Tom would say.

In the Tidewater area, we need the voice and support of every decent person around. The support of the trade unions is needed. If the Tidewater, Virginia Federal Employees Metal Trades' Council of the Norfolk Naval Shipyard (with its 17 affiliate locals), the longshoremen of Norfolk (the ILA) and the United Steelworkers of America of the Newport News Shipyard, decided to act against the decision of the Norfolk school board, this would force the board to do away with their pro-Klan tactics. And this would cause every decent person in the Tidewater to respect the trade unions. We do not need a halt to busing in the Tidewater area. What we need is to finish the Civil War, and the beginning of a workers party. ■



Norfolk: Union contingent marches for busing, May 1983. Signs say, "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools."

ruling class through the U.S. government and through the individual states passed on to their respective citizens. The very small minority that runs and controls the United States knows that if there is unity between the black and white working class, this will be the beginning of a revolution to change the U.S. into a workers state. This ruling class knows if they separate the black children from the white children, then by the time they finish high school, there will be enough negative differences between them that it will take the next 20 years or more to erase.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court (with the okay from the ruling class) ruled in favor of outlawing separate schools for black and white. In 1958, rather than let black and white go to school together, the State of Virginia

"segregationist," and added this word in the American dictionary. Today the KKKer calls himself a "segregationist," and fools a whole lot of people, including blacks. On February 2, 1983 the Norfolk school board voted 5-2 to end school busing. One of the favoring five was a black lady, and as of today she doesn't know she voted with the KKK. This black lady didn't know that a vote for a "segregationist" is a vote for a Klansman.

On the date of December 6, 1984 the Justice Department told a federal appeals court for the first time that a school board could eliminate a court-ordered busing plan, and said the board was free to return to a neighborhood school system even if segregation resulted. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Runnells, head of the

straight forward a manner as possible that the Associated Students will do everything that is legally possible to see to it that the rights of all students are protected at all times under all circumstances.

We expect a reply from you regarding this matter within thirty days of the above date. If we do not hear from you in that amount of time, we will feel safe in assuming one of the following:

- 1) you concur with the actions of those on this campus who use your name.
- 2) you are not interested in the actions of those on this campus who use your name.
- 3) you are not interested in our opinion of the actions of those on this campus who use your name.
- 4) all of the above.

In any event, we appreciate your attention to this matter. Thank you. JFM/pjk

cc: Ms. Ilda Montoya,
Associated Students, President
Dr. Jesselyn Saffold,
Dean of Students
Ms. Betsy Adler, General Counsel
San Francisco Socialist Action
Sylvia Weinstein

Response shoved under our door:

To: James "Let 'em eat snake"
McDuffie
Bu\$ine\$\$ Manager,
Associated Students

From: Above ground friends of the
Underground SYL
Remote International Center

Please be advised that those who use your name (and who are in fact you) have had our supporters beaten, arrested and driven underground for distributing Marxist literature at San Francisco State University.

- Know where you are, pig. Though you may, in your wettest of dreams,



Red Avengers' Ms. Piggy at SF State.

imagine yourself to be in El Salvador with Bobby "Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson, burning leftist lit and leftist people, you are not. Please be advised that SF State is situated on the west coast of a country that at least formally accords certain democratic rights to its populace. Please

be further advised of the convulsive social struggle that was waged outside San Francisco some two hundred years ago which smashed "divine rule." Madame De Farge was our kind of gal.

Perhaps you think this is yet another example of our "bad taste." Who are you, anyway—Emily Post in jackboots? Unlike you and your beansprout totalitarian ilk, our taste doesn't cater to stabbing smokers in SF State elevators, smashing free speech or enlisting as attack dogs for the loser Democrats.

With our friends on the receiving end, we find your professed concern for the protection of the rights of all students somewhat less convincing than Torquemada's concern for the rights of Jews.

Yours truly,
Friends of the Rights of the
Red Avengers

P.S. Don't call us, the Red Avengers will call on you.

Britain's Winter of Class War

For nine hard months, 140,000 British coal miners have been fighting Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's attempt to destroy their livelihoods and their union. It is the sharpest class battle in Britain since the 1926 general strike, also sparked by a bitter miners' strike. So far this year more than 3,000 miners have been injured by police violence and 9,000 arrested. Two strikers have been killed on the picket lines and two miners' children were buried while scavenging for scrap coal to heat their home. But as Christmas approaches and coal stocks dwindle with the cold weather, government attempts to spark a back-to-work movement have failed utterly. The miners are solid as ever.

Thatcher has denounced the strikers as "an organized, revolutionary minority... whose real aim is the breakdown of law and order and the destruction of democratic, parliamentary government." No doubt the "Iron Lady" is recalling the fate of the last Tory prime minister, Edward Heath, who was brought down by the 1974 miners' strike. Last July, Thatcher declared: "We had to fight the enemy without in the Falklands, and now we have to fight the enemy within." The miners, too, know that this is war—*class war*. And to win it they have to be prepared to fight to the finish. Our British comrades have repeatedly called to spread the strike. The London *Guardian* (4 September), reporting on left groups at the Trades Union Congress in Brighton, noted: "The Spartacist League banner was more ambitious. It read: 'Shut down the country'."

One of the main battlefields in the British coal strike has been financial. After judges declared the strike illegal and held the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in contempt of court, in a guerrilla war ranging from Dublin to Luxembourg and Zurich, Thatcher's government has tried to seize more than £9 million in NUM funds which the union sent abroad to escape this legal robbery. But meanwhile, the miners' struggle has awakened sympathy and solidarity around the globe. Soviet unions have contributed more than \$1 million, including food and clothing, and the brutally oppressed South African miners have sent contributions



Miners battle cops outside Ravenscraig steel works in Scotland last May. Extend the strike to steel, power workers, dockers and railwaymen!

to their class brothers fighting in Britain. Even multimillionaire J. Paul Getty, Jr. has donated £100,000 to the miners' Christmas solidarity appeal.

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched a fund drive among American trade unions to aid the families of the heroic British miners (see box on page 5). While *Workers Vanguard* has covered the coal strike from the beginning, in the face of a news blackout by the American media, lately even the bourgeois press has begun to take notice. We reprint below for the interest of our readers, some excerpts from recent stories giving a taste of this crucial class battle.

The liberal New York Village Voice (27 November), published a lengthy article by James Ridgeway in his column, "Annals of the Age of Reagan," on the "Civil War" in England:

"In the class warfare that has marked this strike, the picturesque villages and country lanes of northern England have become a battleground. At times it has almost seemed like a civil war... over the last 10 days thousands of union pickets have fought police hand-to-

hand in the streets of Yorkshire mining villages in some of the worst violence since the strike began.

"In one pit village, Cortonwood, a sharp clash ensued recently when the National Coal Board, which runs the nationalized mines, sought to take a lone returning miner past the pickets. Some 4000 strikers hurled bricks and stones at the police. Steel ball bearings were shot from catapults.

"Last Monday the Yorkshire coalfields once more erupted. Barricades and cars were overturned and set afire, shops and garages were looted, and the police station in the village of Dinnington was evacuated after a Molotov cocktail was thrown through a window. Thirty-three policemen and nine pickets were injured, and 45 miners were arrested....

"What now exists in the north of England amounts to an unusual national police force, made up of men from distant towns and cities who are bused in or brought by plane. To an outsider it looks like an army of occupation. Ill feelings between citizenry of the northern villages and the visiting police run high, and the overall situation has been likened to Belfast....

"Entire villages have been ringed by police, with all traffic in and out stopped in anticipation of a picket. Police have barged into houses where out-of-town pickets have been staying overnight, and have hauled them off. They have gone into pubs and dragged men out. It is commonplace in a mining village for a police car to follow striking miners as they leave one pub and go to another. Miners walk in pairs going home from pubs....

"Last week in the Ollerton miners' welfare club bar the strikers gathered as they do every night to play dominoes and darts and drink beer. Mick McGinty, the treasurer of [the] striking group, unwrapped five gold watches sent by an old Tory lady who wanted to do something to help the miners. There was money from the Belgian unions. The French unions had promised as a gesture of solidarity that every miner's child would receive a Christmas gift from France.... The Indian and Pakistani communities around London have contributed about \$800....

"The most important support group for the strike is made up of women. Miners' wives and other women have been providing emergency food baskets, organizing and running soup kitchens, and arranging for Christmas throughout the strike areas. For these women, the strike has become a social revolu-

tion. Women in the pit villages have never worked outside the home. Now they sit at the strike committee tables with the men and fiercely argue a cause which to them has become more than an industrial dispute."

The haughty and virulently anti-labor *New York Times* (4 December) was struck by the almost Dickensian quality of life in the British coal fields during this bitter strike:

"In this normally law-abiding community, which has seen both mass picketing and mass policing, a brick wall on the road to the colliery was torn up and thrown at the police. The postmistress who delivered letters from management urging the miners to return to work needed a police escort....

"The telephones have been turned off, and the savings have run out. The children depend on school lunches and the mercy of the milkman. There are no strike benefits....

"The weather is bitter, there is no money for heat, and families in this town in southern Yorkshire [Rossington] dig up and burn the dust over which the coal trucks have passed, pressing coal and oil into the ground.

"To light these fires, they are cutting down the trees that provide the only shield against dust for the houses that shoulder up to the edge of the colliery.

"Outraged, one of the residents called the police, who arrived with dogs and arrested Sidney Cherry, a striking miner, and his brother Roy. Both the trees and the dust belong to their employer, the National Coal Board."

The National Union of Miners has stood virtually alone through this nine-month battle. Earlier this month NUM president Arthur Scargill went to the Trades Union Congress to ask for real, effective solidarity action. As the London *Guardian* (5 December) quoted Scargill as saying:

"The NUM have been to see the TUC general secretary and his colleagues and said that the time for mealy-mouthed resolutions in unions or organisations is at an end....

"The time when this movement must react is now. I'm not asking for moral support or resolutions. We are asking for practical assistance and we have asked for the general council of the TUC to be convened to mobilise industrial action in support of this union....

"That means money, to help our organisation function and exist. It means from all over the world, we have to demand more and more from our brothers and sisters."

An article in the London *Guardian* (6 December) reported, accurately, that

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French Workers Dig Deep For British Coal Strikers

PARIS—The Ligue Trotskyiste de France has hosted two striking British miners on a highly successful campaign to raise funds. Paul Brewin and Troy Nattriss, accredited representatives of the Warsaw Main Lodge of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), visited factories, workplaces, unions and campuses in Rouen and Paris together with comrades of the LTF. In ten days a total of more than 17,700 francs (\$1,900) was raised.

From the Rouen dock workers to bank workers in Paris, French workers dug deep into their pockets to aid their embattled brothers and sisters in Britain. One of the most successful collections was at the Banque Nationale de Paris where the visiting British strikers raised over 1,800 francs: officials from the (Socialist-led) CFDT federation organized a collection of about 1,000 francs, the enterprise committee donated 500 francs and the Christian CFTC labor group contributed 300 francs. On Sunday morning at the

Marché D'Aligre, one of Paris' popular markets frequented by workers and immigrants, the strikers raised 1,300 francs.

At Rouen the Committee to Support British Miners along with supporters of the LTF at the Renault plant in Cléon initiated fundraising among the auto workers, and with the participation of CGT union officials quite generous donations were received. A local newspaper, *Le Journal d'Elbeuf*, reported on the fundraising campaign. Both the Rouen dockers and postal workers in Paris gave generously to the miners. One CGT postal worker organized in his own workplace a collection of 300 francs.

To its credit, the Communist-led CGT has mounted a major nationwide campaign of raising funds and organizing convoys of food and Christmas toys to the families of striking miners. Outside Calais, French miners, members of the CGT, dumped truckloads of scab coal destined for Britain.



Wolmuth/The Guardian

London Santa Claus, appealing for toys for miners' children, arrested by Thatcher's cops.

WORKERS VANGUARD

The British Miners Are Fighting This Christmas— Help Them Win!

On strike for nine months, British miners face a hard winter of class war solid and determined to defeat the union-busting Thatcher government and National Coal Board. But the "Iron Lady" has declared the strike "illegal," impounded union funds and is ruthlessly trying to starve these courageous workers and their families into submission. International labor solidarity is urgently needed and the Partisan Defense Committee has launched a \$25,000 "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive among American trade-union locals.

The PDC itself has contributed \$5,000 and is assuming all administrative costs for the campaign. Several trade-union locals have made contributions. Many *Workers Vanguard* readers have answered our appeal to assist in this campaign including with checks for \$100 and \$200. As Eibhlin McDonald

told members of New York Tunnel Workers Local 147, who contributed \$274:

"What Thatcher is trying to do to that union [NUM] is to smash it and crush it like Reagan did to PATCO, the air traffic controllers union here. And that's why international solidarity and funds from trade unions in other countries could make a difference to this union between life and death. Because that's what's going on there. It's really a life and death question for the union. For that reason I want to appeal to the union brothers here, particularly the ones who are working, to give as generously as possible to this cause. It really is in the interest of every trade unionist no matter what country to make sure that this type of union of maybe 200,000 members doesn't go down the way that PATCO went. They have an expression that developed in Britain in the course of the miners' strike, which is 'Dig deep for the miners.' And that's really what I ask the union brothers here this morning to do. Thank you." ■

Comrades,

4 Dec

For the British miners — any cause you undertake is worth a good fight.

Norman, OK 73069
3 December 1984

Partisan Defense Committee

Dear friends,

Please accept this small donation for the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund. I intend to send at least \$10 each Monday.

Fraternally,

Bob

Enclosed is a check for 10.00.

I realize it is a small contribution but it's all I can afford. Please make sure British miners receive it. Let's hope they can win this important class battle.

Comradely greetings,

Richard J. Flury

WORKERS HAMMER

"Break with Labour's Traitors"

Workers Hammer (December 1984), the newspaper of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency, reported on an SL educational conference held last month in London on the theme of "Forging a Revolutionary Leadership." At the conference a miner from the Celynen South colliery, South Wales NUM, Don Hughes, told the audience:

"We have a tradition in South Wales that's been passed down from father to son over many, many generations. The South Wales coalfield has always been involved in struggle against coal owners and against victimisation. A scab in them days is no different than a scab today, because when a man scabs in South Wales he knows, comrades, that he imprisons his soul for the rest of his life. You don't have to be shut behind bars to be a villain because I know of a man who died in a village not far from me when he was 84 years of age and he scabbed on the 1926 strike. That man died with no one at his funeral, and he was a man of 84. We remember in South Wales over a very long period."

Another miner, Dick Hall, Warsop Main strike committee, North Derbyshire NUM, spoke on the politics of the coal strike:

"We've got a TUC which has openly collaborated with the bosses. They hate having struggle, make no mistake about it. They come out with empty promises, this that and the other—and it don't matter whether it's Lord Feather, Vic Feather, Lord Murray, the names change but the faces and the policies carry on. That is why we suddenly find out that today every single time we have a strike there's a back-to-work movement before the strike's even called. It's been an attack on the trade union movement, and the bureaucrats have never tried to fight back because the bureaucrats, and in particular the Communist Party from after the Second World War, were more interested in winning positions of power for themselves, not mobilising the mass of the rank and file. They've got these great positions, then they get all the fringe

**Militant
Welsh miner
addresses
Spartacist
educational
in London,
November 10.**



benefits, will not move on it, and we've been left to suffer.

"But having said that there's still a strategy to win, cos if there wasn't we might as well have gone back tomorrow. The strategy to win is—[points to Spartacist banner, 'Miners, T&G, rail: For a fighting Triple Alliance! All-out joint national strike now! Shut down the country!'] So that's the way it is at the moment: we're at the crossroads and we want a strategy.

"Unfortunately, I'm chairman of Mansfield Woodhouse Labour Party—not very proud of it, to be quite honest, but that nevertheless is how it stands today. And when I read about Neil Kinnock saying that I don't want another Gallipoli, when the leader of the Labour Party can get up and make such statements as that, then I do get worried. When, strangely, he cannot go to a series of five rallies this week because he's here, there and everywhere, god knows what; when he won't come out and give full support to the miners—and it is the party, supposedly, of the working class—then I do get very, very worried. I mean, you can get marvellous individuals within the Labour Party. But in my Labour Party where I come from I get scabs, who sit on the front row. And look at me, I've been picketing 'em all week, they come to the Labour Party, a

socialist party, and see absolutely nothing wrong in being a member of it.

"We have a Labour MP who's infamous, I think. He was the spokesman on Northern Ireland and his only claim to fame was that he went to Bobby Sands' deathbed on his 98th day on hunger strike and said, 'I hope you die, kid.' And then he came back and said, 'Yeah, solid we are.' That is the kind of man—whose son, who has been out on strike for nine months, will not speak to him. That is the kind of party that we've got and it makes me wonder why I am a member, to be quite honest, increasingly so, and I think that at the end of the day everyone within the Labour Party has to examine their consciences to see whether we can change society. Because if we're in the Labour Party to change it through parliamentary means, well at the moment we're not doing very well.

"I'll tell you something else. I'm not a sectarian, I have been a member of lots of other parties. But I think that at the end of the day the proof is always in the eating. And if we look at one or two of these so-called groups then I think we have a very good idea who our friends and who our enemies are. If you take the SWP [Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party], I had a violent argument in Barnsley the other week with one of their leading members, who tried to

explain to me why their members should cross miners' picket lines to go in Ravenscraig—as a 'tactic.' I think it's absolutely disgraceful.

"And if you look at the WRP [Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party] and their role, not only have we had this attack on the trade unions from the right, we have had an attack on the trade unions actually from the so-called left. Because at the height of the Cold War we had a massive attack on Scargill over his denunciation of Solidarność.

"It's the same with the group in the Labour Party, the Militant. What they've been telling me for years is that what we should do is get the Police Federation to join the TUC. Now some would argue that it would actually turn the TUC leftwards [laughter]. Now I'm being serious, comrades. If we can honestly think that that's a strategy for winning working class people towards socialism—to win these fellows who are knocking our lads in the morning and perhaps voting to support a picket line in the afternoon...that is absolutely ridiculous.

"The next group—this sounds like an obituary, this—must be the Revolutionary Communist Party, whose first strategy was that what we should be having is a dialogue with the scabs in Nottingham, in Leicester, in South Derbyshire. And the IMG [supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat] in their paper [*Socialist Action*], at the height of the strike, the biggest political struggle that we've ever had, they went off the presses for six weeks! Wouldn't even print. The last paper they printed, it's quite true, half their members wouldn't sell that issue because they thought it was novel to have an interview with a scab.

"Finally I'll come up to the Spartacist League. I'm not a member, but what I've said is that you can judge people by what they have done, what they have done in this strike. As far as I'm concerned, in our strike committee we have had marvellous assistance from the tendency on picket lines, on putting our lads up,

continued on page 8

Why Democrats Went Along

Nation Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up

You know things are getting repressive when even "respectable" liberals have trouble getting their voice of "dissent" heard in the *New York Times*. And if the subject is the Americans' KAL 007 war provocation against the Soviet Union, dissent is suddenly not "fit to print" at all. When the liberal *Nation* magazine took out a full-page ad in the 25 October *New York Times* to publicize their sensational findings about Korean Air Lines Flight 007, the *Times* shot back three days later in the unusual form of a "news" story, liberally quoting from Richard Burt/White House handouts, and claiming it had reviewed the charges and "found no evidence." Of course, neither the *New York Times* nor the White House would address the specific evidence. So the *Nation* crowd, together with SANE, that letterhead organization of "State Department pacifists" from 20 years ago, actually went to the lengths of going out and renting a hall for a pre-election forum October 31 about the 007 affair.

Needless to say, the *Times* did not show up, as the speakers bitterly noted, nor did the rest of the bourgeois media.



Fry/LA Times

together point inexorably toward a conscious design. He noted how one and a half hours before the takeoff of the Korean airliner, an electrical maintenance worker at Anchorage was told to turn off one of the military radar feeds to the civilian air traffic controllers, reducing their ability to notice KAL 007's deviation from the prescribed course. Pearson noted that the much-touted "finger error" theory—that the 007 crew had accidentally entered the wrong coordinates in each of three independent inertial navigation systems before takeoff—would have required an "extraordinary" level of incompetence. He traced the peculiar flight pattern, turning twice to fly over the Soviets' most sensitive military installations in Kamchatka and on Sakhalin island,

NSA reported the shootdown was "confirmed by the recorded material," wrote *Der Spiegel*. But after that report, the magazine reveals, a false story that the plane was "safe on Sakhalin" was "spread about by CIA liaison people in Seoul, Tokyo and Washington." Even the family of ultra-rightist Congressman Larry McDonald was fed the cover story. The U.S. arrogantly demanded the Japanese recordings of Soviet transmissions, even though the U.S. had its own more extensive recordings. (For a supposedly "innocent" party, the U.S. was strangely nervous about any independent evidence floating around.) And when the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) later tried to initiate an investigation of the crash, Keppel notes, "almost immediately the Department of State called it off and asked the NTSB to surrender all the documentation that it had started to acquire, and it did. End of story."

Why the CIA cover story? The answer can be deduced from what happened right after the NSA had confirmed the shootdown. *Der Spiegel* reports that shortly after 5 p.m. EDT there was a long-distance telephone conference call between Ed Meese, Lawrence Eagleburger, Secretary of State George Shultz, White House troubleshooter Richard Burt, and CIA director William Casey. In this conference it was decided how to delay the flow of news until the following morning in the United States. Why? In order to buy time to get their story straight and above all, as *Der Spiegel* notes, "in order to see what the Russians had got" (in particular, did they have the telltale black box recorder?) Then, as planned, Shultz could go before the world public and launch a propaganda barrage against the "evil" Soviets, cranking up the war machine several notches—and, not incidentally, easing the deployment of first-strike Pershing missiles in West Europe.

Democrats Take a Dive Over KAL 007

Pearson, Keppel and the *Nation* have been calling for a Congressional investigation into KAL 007, but only ran into a stone wall. As a *WV* reporter said in the question-and-answer session, noting the speakers' great public service in publicizing the evidence about 007: "It's been very obvious that the Democratic Party has not taken up this issue," even though the KAL bombshell would have dramatically exposed the dangerous war mania of the Reagan administration. "Why have [Mondale and the Democrats] avoided this issue? Because they're complicit," he managed to get out before being cut off by a hostile chairwoman, who then stupidly suggested to the audience that people should write letters to Senator Moynihan (the Democratic Party's liaison with the CIA)!

The Democratic tops have been blatantly and deliberately silent on KAL 007 because—whatever their tactical differences over the "mix" of weapons, the use of *contra* mercenaries in Nicaragua, etc.—they are co-authors with Reagan of the anti-Soviet war drive. And there is evidence that the Carter/

Mondale administration engineered a similar KAL spy mission in 1978, when a Korean Boeing 707 deviated drastically from course and overflew the top-secret Soviet military installations at Murmansk (see *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984). According to the 1 October *Der Spiegel*, Pentagon wise guys chortled after the 1978 KAL overflight, "Forget the B-1 bomber, just take the good old 707 with a Korean crew."

KAL Flight 007 which left Alaska on 31 August 1983 was a landmark in U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. In this endeavor Ronald Reagan has struck a chord of bipartisan capitalist unity, and the bourgeois media willfully closed its eyes over the KAL affair because it fit so neatly into the anti-Soviet propaganda blitz. Even the Communist Party, blinded by decades of immersion in the Democratic Party and Stalinist détente illusions, couldn't believe that the Soviet Union might actually defend itself militarily—so the initial response of the CP's *Daily World* was to deny that the Russians had shot down 007! And the liberals of the *Nation* and *Der Spiegel*, after conducting exhaustive studies which, they admit, point overwhelmingly toward a U.S. conspiracy, refuse to draw the conclusion. *Even now* they leave open the door of the "tragic error" theory. When *WV* asked Pearson whether he now thought Flight 007 was on a U.S. spy mission, his liberal faith in the American government was clearly stretched thin when he answered: "All the evidence seems to be compatible with the 'intentional' explanation and very, very little of it seems to be compatible with any other explanation"—i.e., the plane must have deliberately flown into Soviet airspace.

The Spartacist League, dedicated to bringing down bloody U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution, has been able to tell the truth about 007 from the beginning. As Trotskyists, who stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union (in spite of its anti-revolutionary bureaucracy), we immediately pointed to the connection of the KAL provocation to the war mobilization against the homeland of the October Revolution. Those who have looked carefully and honestly into this affair and the subsequent cover-up by both capitalist parties must arrive at the inevitable conclusion: the American ruling class is hell-bent on war with the Soviet Union, and only international socialist revolution can stop the imperialists from sending the planet the way of KAL 007. ■



Left: *New York Post* (1 September 1983) picked up initial CIA cover story that KAL 007 spy plane was forced to land in Russia. Next day U.S. government gave go-ahead for campaign of anti-Soviet hysteria.

And the State Department failed to send a representative despite SANE's eager entreaties. The forum started off with an introduction by *Nation* editor Victor Navasky, one of the few decent liberals who in such matters as KAL and the Rosenberg case has continued to stand for truth against Reaganite anti-Soviet hysteria. The two main speakers provided a wealth of information about the 007 affair: David Pearson, a Yale teacher who wrote the excellent exposé in the *Nation* last August; and John Keppel, a 22-year veteran of the U.S. foreign service (who was once listed in Julius Mader's *Who's Who in the CIA*). The audience of a few hundred liberals and pro-Moscow Communist Party supporters bought over 50 Spartacist literature packets containing the SL pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation" and subsequent *Workers Vanguard* articles on the case published in the past year. (While our Marxist newspaper blasted out the truth about the 007 spy mission from day one, it took a year for even this tiny band of liberals to have their eyes opened—and then only after they had their noses pointed in the right direction by some ex-CIA types.)

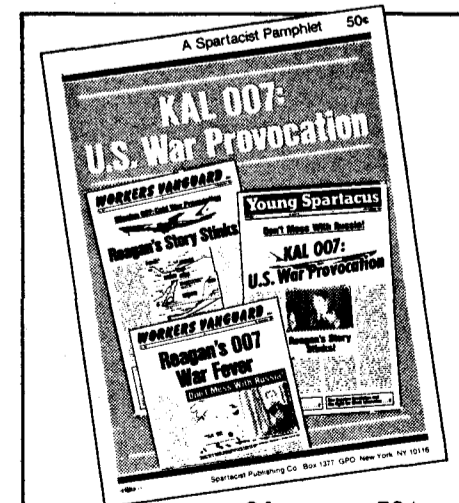
In his presentation, David Pearson laid out the list of innumerable so-called "accidents" and "coincidences" surrounding the flight of 007 which taken

which cannot be explained by any of the "accident" theories. As Pearson and many others have noted, such a penetration of Soviet airspace would (and did) raise Russian defenses (radar, aircraft, etc.) to maximum alert, giving the U.S. a golden opportunity to record the responses with its massive array of electronic eyes and ears.

White House Cover-Up

Former U.S. diplomat John Keppel revealed some of the extraordinary efforts made by the Reagan cabal to cover up details of KAL 007. (Keppel ought to have a good eye for cover-ups—the *New York Post* of 27 August says he "took part in the botched cover-up of the 1960 U-2 incident.") While the official White House version asserts that it took about eight hours for Washington to find out what had happened, Keppel unveiled the revelation in the 15 October *Der Spiegel* magazine (in a series by Wilhelm Bittorf and Anthony Sampson)—ignored by the U.S. press, of course—that the National Security Agency base at Misawa, Japan had informed NSA headquarters at Fort Meade, Maryland about a plane down over south Sakhalin within the first half hour after KAL 007 plunged into the sea.

"Toward 5 o'clock Eastern time" (a little over two hours after the crash), the



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Congratulations on Victory Against New McCarthyism

The November 30 settlement of the Spartacist League lawsuit against the 1983 Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations won an important admission from the FBI: Marxists are not terrorists. Numerous individuals prominent in the legal defense of civil liberties, as well as union officials, fighters for black freedom and even an occasional left spokesman have written us stressing the importance of this victory in defending the democratic rights of all. We publish below some of their letters and statements of support, and look forward to publishing more in our next issue.

Turn Back Government Subversion of People's Rights

This settlement represents a victory. Any type of victory against the government in the current environment is great. The Spartacist lawsuit also brought out an admission on the part of the FBI that they are carrying out a lot of activity that is illegal. Otherwise they wouldn't have made the settlement.

This victory, even a minimal one against the government, is cause for celebration. Hopefully it will inspire a new push and new drive to turn back the true subversive force in this country. Most certainly the government's "terrorist" drive and harassment of blacks and left groups is really action to subvert the constitutional and human rights of the people of this country.

Robert F. Williams
Author of *Negroes With Guns*

A Defense of the Working-Class Movement

Congratulations on your legal victory against the new FBI guidelines. This strikes an important blow against the

Reagan administration's attempt to criminalize political opponents. As a trade unionist, I appreciate your efforts to defend the democratic rights of the working class movement.

Randy Johnese
Senior Field Rep.
SEIU Local 535*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

Freedom from FBI Interference

This is another step in a long road toward achievement of American freedom from interference from FBI and other surveillance agencies. It is particularly illuminating at this time, when an effort is being made to justify domestic repression on "terrorism" grounds.

Frank Donner
Former UE General Counsel,
Author of *Age of Surveillance*

A Civil Liberties Victory

This settlement is a civil liberties victory. Under the Levi Guidelines the FBI needed a reasonable suspicion of crimi-

nal activity before they could conduct a domestic security investigation. The Smith Guidelines changed that by adding a principle which said that the FBI in some circumstances could conduct an investigation based on advocacy of illegal activity alone. The Spartacist decision, by first of all recognizing that the Spartacist organization is a Marxist group and not engaged in violent activity now, and then saying that there is no on-going investigation, implicitly says that the Spartacist League, or a Marxist organization, does not meet the current guidelines.

Jerry Berman
ACLU Legislative Director

Blow Against Cold War Repression

Congratulations on the successful conclusion of your lawsuit against the F.B.I. This legal victory accords some protection not only to your organization but to all those who would be judged "political opponents" by the government.

I, along with all defenders of democratic rights, viewed with real alarm the announcement of the Attorney General's new "Domestic Security" guidelines, which attempt to paint legitimate political opponents as "criminal conspiracies" or "terrorists." Especially with the Reagan administration's campaign to combat "terrorism" (while invading black Grenada and backing terrorist counter-revolutionaries in Ni-

caragua!) these guidelines posed a chilling danger to all those potentially targeted.

Your success is a modest but genuine blow to the government's attempts to stifle domestic opposition in the escalating Cold War climate. Much more struggle will be necessary.

Sincerely,
Wilson Riles, Jr.
Oakland City Councilmember

For Revolutionary Reconstruction of America

The settlement on your case against the F.B.I. on November 30, 1984 was a great victory for the people who know that a revolutionary reconstruction of American society is on the order of the day.

When I forecast on channel 6 in Philadelphia at the beginning of the Reagan Administration that he would prove to be the American fascist leader in Brooks Brothers clothes, the statement was blasted in many corners as too extreme. However, four (4) years later it has become clear that with the vicious and unprincipled backing of his "Moral Majority," Reagan is developing his program to impose a specifically American form of fascism in this country.

His first weapon was to charge anyone advocating fundamental change with being a terrorist. With this technique, the F.B.I. expects to have the United States Supreme Court reverse course and hold that any advocacy of revolutionary means is ipso facto terrorism and unprotected by the First Amendment.

Your settlement is the first victory in this war. Congratulations!

Sincerely,
Conrad J. Lynn
Civil rights attorney

FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

What's Fit to Print in the New York Times?

17 December 1984

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Publisher
and
A.M. Rosenthal, Executive Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Sulzberger
and Mr. Rosenthal:

In today's increasingly conservative social climate, the fact that "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists" is certainly newsworthy. The Spartacist League's successful settlement of its lawsuit against the FBI on November 30 was a modest but genuine blow against the FBI and Attorney General's 1983 Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism. Yet thus far the *New York Times*, the paper of record in the U.S., has not seen fit to print this important story.

We do recall that three years ago the *Times* (26 December 1981) printed a substantial article by Robert Lindsey on our successful effort to get the then-attorney general of California, George Deukmejian, to remove the SL's name from a list of "terrorist organizations" published as part of his "organized crime" report in 1979. Our settlement with the FBI is certainly of broader significance today, as the first successful legal challenge to the 1983 national FBI Guidelines.

The legal Complaint filed by the SL directly challenged the pretexts the secret police have used for over 60 years to harass and victimize the Marxist movement for "crimes" of ideology. As we noted in our press release announcing the settlement, the FBI in agreeing to

change its definition of the SL concedes the central claim of our lawsuit—that *Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.*

This was not just a victory for our organization. In defending ourselves, we in fact are defending the democratic rights of everyone perceived by this government to be political opponents. Believe it or not, this may even extend to the *New York Times*, which isn't looked on too kindly in some parts of this nation, you know (remember the "Pentagon Papers" case).

We do not pretend to know what interpretation or importance the FBI attaches to its agreement. We have no illusions that the government has stopped its malicious "surveillance" of ourselves and others. But our case has struck a blow at the deadly equation of constitutionally protected political dissent with "terrorism," and most everyone we have spoken with who admits to an interest in civil liberties issues expresses enthusiastic interest in this news.

Is it an oversight that the *New York Times*, which in 1981 gave adequate coverage to our legal fight in California against the "terrorist" slander targeting our organization, shows no appreciation of the importance of our national case against the FBI Guidelines directly? Is it simply that the political climate in this country has moved so sharply to the right in this period? Perhaps the *Times*' commitment to providing a platform for Claire Sterling's disinforming anti-Communist conspiracy fantasies is seen to demand that any news that runs counter to right-wing hysteria is just

news that doesn't fit. It sure has been the "Terror Times" lately, with a seemingly endless stream of four-part front-page series retailing as fact the handouts from Reagan's bunker.

Or can it simply be that the Spartacist League is unpopular (not to mention hated in certain circles)? So we're old-fashioned Leninists and Trotskyists, whose defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is seen as more obnoxious at a time of ideological war mobilization, while our forthrightness and elementary Marxist opposition to the capitalist two-party system irritates and embarrasses rad-lib types. And for a year after Reagan set up the passengers on Korean Air Lines Flight 007 for death in a calculated war provocation, our newspaper was the only place in this country where anyone could find the truth told. So maybe the *New York Times* et al. simply consider us to be so obnoxious that we don't exist and therefore our democratic rights to be of no interest. This although, in the straightforward necessity of acting in our own defense, we have gained a modest victory for basic rights which most Americans cherish.

We are aware that this would not be the first time the *Times* has buried newsworthy action on our part. For example the *Times* did not find it appropriate to report on the defense of the working people and oppressed which the Spartacist League has initiated outside the courts: e.g., the substantial mobilization of militants, mainly black workers and youth, which the SL initiated in 1982 to stop the first announced KKK march in Washington since 1925, or the earlier labor-based

rally in San Francisco against the Nazis, who haven't show their faces there since.

We are a small organization which has scored an impressive series of modest legal victories. While the reasons for this aren't entirely clear to us, we believe that our legal strategy, based on neither expecting nor seeking an endorsement of our revolutionary politics in the capitalist courts, has served us well. And we believe also that we benefit from our outspoken and forthright avowal of our Marxist program, a quality which was recognized by no less a bourgeois figure than Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who in an address at Harvard University in 1972 noted that the Spartacists "sail under their own colors."

Copies of this letter are going to the various *Times* reporters to whom we had already delivered our November 30 press release.

We await your response with some interest.

Yours truly,
Marjorie Stamberg
for the Spartacist League

Attachments

cc: Anthony Lewis
Tom Wicker
Paul Delaney
Ed Graveley
Bill Serrin
David Margolick
David Burnham
Robert Pear
Bernard Gwertzman
Philip Taubman
Robert Lindsey
Russell Baker
Stuart Taylor, Jr.
Leslie Maitland Werner

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

1930s, the Democrats have traditionally favored deficit spending while the Republicans have postured as the balance-the-budget party. But in this election these roles were seemingly reversed. Mondale ran as a fiscally responsible representative of American capitalism, proposing over \$100 billion in cuts in federal spending to reduce the mammoth deficit. In fact, fiscal austerity was the Democratic candidate's entire domestic program. President Kill 'em All's cuts will face no serious opposition in Congress, where the Democrats are welcoming Reagan's conversion to "economic realism," and even Treasury's "modified flat tax."

The social programs now under bipartisan attack—Social Security and Medicare, food stamps and public higher education—are not philanthropic gifts to the American people from the ruling class but were won through decades of struggle by the labor movement and oppressed minorities. And this grotesque budget-cutting spectacle demonstrates the tremendous insecurity produced by the "free enterprise system." If you don't have a million bucks stashed away somewhere, after you lose your job through layoffs, you stand to lose your house, your car, your existence. In the richest country on the planet, "fairness" is sharing the cutbacks. In the Soviet Union, which still preserves the economic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution despite its later Stalinist degeneration, with the benefits of a planned economy no worker need fear unemployment and no elderly are reduced to eating dog food because they've lost their pensions.

Blacks Need a Revolutionary Workers Party

While white America was swept up in Reagan's "new patriotism" demagogy,



WV Photo

CHICAGO TEACHERS AX GIVEBACKS—Mayor Harold Washington poses as a defender of black Chicago, but the recent teachers strike showed how the black Democrats are on the bosses' side. In November, 500 teachers were laid off when the federal government slashed over \$100 million in desegregation funds. At the same time the Board of Education demanded hundreds of millions in cuts from the mainly black Chicago Teachers Union. Fighting for their jobs and their union, Chicago teachers went out on strike December 3 demanding a wage increase to boot.

The teachers resisted attempts by the board to split the 18-union coalition on race lines while the largely white craft unions refused to buckle under threat of court injunctions. So as temperatures dropped, the legislature discovered some "tax amnesty" money. On December 17 a tentative settlement was reached restoring full medical benefits and granting a 4.5 percent wage increase. By hanging tough, the 40,000 members of the CTU and allied unions struck a blow against Reagan-style austerity, givebacks and union-busting.

blacks were not. For the ghetto poor he was always President Kill 'em All, and although blacks were far from enthusiastic about Mondale they voted Democratic. So black people felt shafted by the Reagan landslide and are cynical about Democratic Party electoral politics. To refurbish their tarnished "anti-racist" credentials black Democratic politicians are flocking to the South African embassy in Washington and its consulates in other cities in order to sit-in and have themselves arrested. Certainly, there is a burning need for militant, mass actions in solidarity with the courageous fighters against white racist terror in South Africa. However, for three months, while unarmed black Africans were shot down in Sharpeville and Soweto, the Jesse Jacksons and Ron Dellums were too busy stumping for Walter "cut the budget" Mondale to notice.

Now being arrested on the steps of the South African embassy along with black leaders are top-level labor officials. One of the protest organizers, Harriet Michel of TransAfrica, observed: "It is an easy issue to rally around, to build the coalitions that have

worked so well in the past." That is, it's a lot easier for black Democratic officials and conservative union bureaucrats to protest apartheid in Botha's South Africa than to fight racism and union-busting at home, in Reagan's America.

Rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, the top level of the American labor bureaucracy stands on the extreme right wing of the Democratic Party in terms of foreign/military policy. George Meany's AFL-CIO supported the war in Vietnam when Nixon and Kissinger were already giving it up as a lost cause. In the late 1970s, Meany's hand-picked successor, Lane Kirkland, was a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, which attacked Carter/Mondale for being too "soft" on Russia and demanded an accelerated nuclear arms buildup. And last year Kirkland was part of the Kissinger Commission which called for massive U.S. intervention to stave off the "Communist menace" in Central America. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy stands foursquare behind the Pentagon's trillion dollar budget.

For blacks especially, the imperialist war budget spells desperate poverty,

illiteracy, disease and hunger. And blacks understand this. Yet the BEOs (black elected officials) play a crucial role in helping Reagan to carry out his cutbacks. Increasingly, America's big cities with their sprawling, poverty-stricken ghettos—Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Atlanta, Washington, D.C.—are administered by black Democratic mayors, who serve as the front line officers in Reagan's economic war on black America.

The job of the black Democratic mayors is to enforce capitalist austerity as U.S. imperialism builds for war with the Soviet Union. Our job is to smash this rotten system based on exploitation, racism and militarism. The struggle for black freedom and the proletarian class struggle are crucially intertwined in racist America. Therefore, black workers occupy a strategic position in the American workers revolution and in building the party that can lead that revolution. What is needed is a multiracial revolutionary party to lead the working class to power and put an end to the miseries of capitalism once and for all. That is the goal of the Spartacist League. ■

Britain...

(continued from page 4)

"The media comes a close second to the police on the striking miners' list of pet hates." No wonder, since the entire bourgeois press—and particularly the TV—has spewed out a solid stream of violence-baiting against the strikers and lies about mythical back-to-work movements. But apparently the *Guardian's* editors decided they needed a fig leaf of "objectivity" and published a report by David Hearst, titled, "Strike spirit unbroken after 39 weeks," quoting David Millar, NUM branch secretary of Kellingley colliery:

"There is a sense of victory among our young miners. Everything has been thrown at them, the police, the courts, the DHSS and the propaganda of the media. They feel there is nothing more that anyone can do to them. They have stood up against the whole state machinery and they have come out on top....

"There is a new feeling about. We are

getting back to the bedrock of socialism in the mining communities. It's like the days when the Welsh valleys sent thousands of miners to the Spanish Civil War....

"It's strange, but our kids are going to have the best Christmas they have ever had—not in terms of consumer goods

Haley/Sipa



Miners' wives catch Iron Lady Thatcher arm in arm with other Führer Hitler.

but in terms of spirit, which is nearly tribal. Although there is hardship there is also an atmosphere of intense comradeship and altruism."

And finally, the *Guardian* (16 November) reported:

"Santa Claus was arrested outside Hamley's toy shop in Regent Street, London, yesterday, while he was launching a Christmas toy appeal for miners' children." ■

which necessarily raises the question of power—which class shall rule:

"In a sense the miners' struggle is breaking out of these old frameworks and that's a good thing, but it also has to be given some coherence and direction and it has to go beyond simply trade union militancy. What we have argued for is bringing other forces in the working class out in action—which was posed concretely with the dockers strike, with the BL strikes—to bring that together in joint strike committees which are rich in possibilities. These strike committees would allow the unemployed and the women's committees to take part. They would provide an organisational basis which could coordinate workers defence guards to stop the police rampage. They would provide a check on the leadership, on what it does and doesn't do, and they would provide a place for a new leadership to be forged. They would be embryonically the basis of a future state power even, soviets.

"We have to use this strike to go forward and that means going forward to a workers government that will expropriate the capitalist class, a Soviet Britain if you like, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"We would have a planned economy which would use the precious human material resources that are still left on this island for the betterment of the whole society. And we'd link up with the socialist federation of Soviet Europe." ■

Workers Hammer...

(continued from page 5)

on collecting money, in fact anything we have asked for has been there for the asking. They've educated lots of our members in certain ways, which has been very good, and it's been an education for me as well. That is the reason why I stand on this platform today, and quite proud of it."

David Strachan of the Spartacist League Central Committee summed up the tasks posed by the miners' strike,

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Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
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Pinochet to the Wall, Workers to Power!

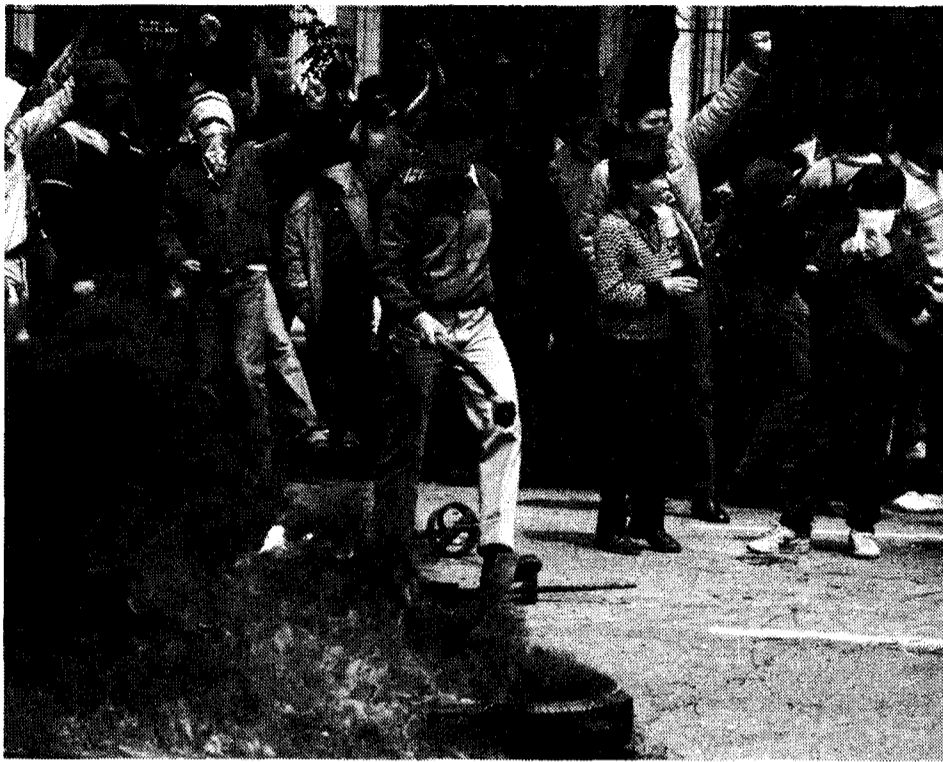
The Chilean Volcano

Once again, there is deadlock in Chile. Over the last month and a half the left staged a successful national strike, the first in eleven years of junta rule, and the Pinochet dictatorship responded by reimposing the infamous "state of siege." Once again the soccer stadiums are filled with thousands of young men seized after army troops cordon off the slum districts. Once again hundreds are sent to concentration camps. To prevent a repeat of the opposition's October strike, during the last week of November the capital was placed under military occupation for the first time since the bloody 1973 coup. But despite Pinochet's military success, the Yankee patrons of Chile's Caesar Augustus are worried. Without any real social backing, the regime can't last on the support of its bayonets alone. The alternative is sharply posed: either continuation of brutal junta rule or revolutionary struggle to bring it down. And most Chileans are convinced, as their chant proclaims, "*se va a acabar, la dictadura militar*"—the military dictatorship is going to end.

Last August General Pinochet announced he was going to hold on to power until 1989 in order to block the Communists. After a year of demonstrations and catastrophic economic depression, he vowed, "if it's necessary we will have another September 11" (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 21 August). Following a crackdown on the anniversary of the overthrow of Salvador Allende's leftist Unidad Popular, apologists of the military regime proclaimed the failure of the monthly one-day *protestas*. But on October 30, the National Workers Command (CNT) and the Communist-led Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) called a nationwide work stoppage. The strike brought the capital of Santiago to a halt; public transportation was crippled, metal factories reported 80 percent absenteeism, at textile plants it was almost total; and the truckers kept their vehicles off the road. This was achieved despite brutal government repression (eight dead and hundreds arrested) and the refusal of the Democratic Alliance, led by the Christian Democrats and including some Socialist sectors as well, to participate.

Pinochet's answer was the state of siege. On November 5, Interior Minister Jarpa, a near-fascist leader of the National Party, resigned as architect of the failed "opening" of the military regime. The next day he signed on again as the interior minister for a "crack-down." But these are only two sides of the same policy. Earlier Jarpa sought to entice the bourgeois opposition away from the left with the carrot of dialogue. Air force general Mattei made some cooing noises and soon "moderate" dissidents were talking of a split between doves and hawks in the junta. But when Christian Democrats began seeking cooperation with the Communist Party after the successful October 30 strike, when bishops of the Chilean Catholic church held a meeting with 200 leftist exiles in Rome in early November, Pinochet and his front man switched over to the stick of repression.

The real target was the left and workers movement. Soon the raids on the slum shantytowns began. Shortly before 5 a.m. on November 10, residents of the Silva Henríquez barrio heard the helicopters and saw the armored personnel carriers pull up. Five days later the scene was repeated in La Victoria,



Santiago is burning: working-class youth defy bloody military dictatorship in the Chilean capital.

the shantytown of 50,000 inhabitants that has been the center of anti-junta protest. Soldiers went methodically door to door, ransacking homes and hauling out every male over age 16. They were herded into military buses and taken to soccer stadiums where they were forced to stand for hours under the machine guns as the CNI (ex-DINA) secret police carried out identity checks. More than 600 were sent to the prison camp at Pisagua, 1,000 miles to the north of Santiago in the barren Atacama desert. Through this hardline policy the Pinochet regime hoped to intimidate militant opposition.

The crackdown reached its zenith during the November 28-29 protest initiated by the center-right Democratic Alliance. Pinochet called up the reserves and placed the entire capital area under army occupation the day beforehand: soldiers were stationed every 100 yards in the slum districts and concentrated at every major intersection. With the leaders forced underground and this massive display of force, the opposition was hemmed in: demonstrations were small, and there were fewer bonfires of burning tires at the entrances of the shantytowns. Even so, the regime was rattled. The roundups continue: on December 7, more than 5,000 men were detained in a raid on the slum district named after leftist folksinger Violeta Parra. And the U.S. is nervous: after a month-long top-level review in Washington, a State Department spokesman expressed concern over "a cycle of terrorism, repression and protest" in Chile.

Repression, Depression and Protest

For the last 18 months, there has indeed been a cycle of protests and repression, ever since the 1983 "May Days" when middle-class housewives began banging their pots against the tyrant Pinochet who seized power with the backing of the bourgeoisie and the United States a decade earlier. The stronghold of opposition to the dictatorship has been the working-class shantytowns where 70 percent of able-bodied males are jobless, where housewives root through garbage dumps for scraps to eat and their children sniff glue to cut the hunger pangs. But here, too,

resistance has grown strong as soup kitchens serve tens of thousands, illegal leftist organizations maintain offices and every time there is a *protesta* the barricades go up anew.

The background to this outcry is the worst depression since 1929. Even according to official statistics, between 1981 and 1984 per capita consumption fell by 21 percent. Even with the backing of Pinochet's guns and massive loans from New York banks, the "free market" economic model of the "Chicago Boys," followers of monetarist economist Milton Friedman, has proved a disaster—not only for the working class and poor, but for the petty bourgeoisie and many domestic capitalists as well. First a wave of cheap imports destroyed local manufactures while a speculative wave sucked capital into real estate.

Live by the sword, die by the sword: the days of Pinochet's junta are numbered.



Then the 1981 crash destroyed the domestic market as unemployment topped 30 percent. And commodity prices for Chile's exports continue to fall. Today Pinochet's regime has the highest per capita foreign debt in Latin America, and no dollars to pay off his friends at Chase Manhattan.

The dictator has alienated the very sectors who placed him in power in 1973. So why haven't the repeated *protestas*, often mobilizing tens of thousands in the streets, driven him from office, as has happened to the military *gorilas* elsewhere in the "South-

ern Cone"? The London *Guardian* (23 October) posed the question, and gave a partial answer:

"How then has Pinochet survived while the generals in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay have gone or are going?..."

"Whereas in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil the middle and upper class are confident that with the return of democracy they will be able to contain the Left, in Chile they are not so sure."

In Chile, class divisions are so sharp that even a decade of military rule has not been able to root out the parties of the working class. But the combativity and consciousness of the Chilean proletariat worries not only the capitalists and the generals. The Communist, Socialist and MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) leaders are terrified at the prospect of a working-class upsurge becoming "isolated" from the bourgeoisie.

Under the Unidad Popular, the reformists treacherously called for faith in "democratic" bourgeois politicians and "constitutionalist" generals (like Allende's last defense minister, Augusto Pinochet). Today these traitors are desperately trying to bind the working class to the Christian Democrats and even ultrarightists of the National Party—the same people who beat the pots and pans for the 1973 coup. Thus the May 1984 manifesto "The Popular Democratic Movement to the People of Chile" calls for a "National Democratic Agreement" with all anti-Pinochet forces, in particular the Democratic Alliance (AD). And in the face of Christian Democratic opposition, the CP-led MDP and former copper workers leader Rodolfo Seguel's CNT put off the national work stoppage for six months until their hand was forced by union militants.

Smash Pinochet— For Chilean Soviets!

Under the guns of the dictatorship, the Communist Party has been forced to adopt a semblance of militancy. The party of arch-peaceful roader Luis Corvalán today speaks of "armed struggle" and hails the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, a guerrilla organization which has claimed credit for bombing a number of government targets in recent months. Their purpose is not to build a movement for a revolutionary insurrection, however, but to pressure the bourgeois opposition into "recognizing" the Communists! In fact, the MDP itself was formed only after the Christian Democrat-led AD

refused to admit the Communists. And the communiqué on the CP's national conference last June calls for an agreement of all "civilian and military" circles favoring "the earliest possible return to democracy," even suggesting participation of the armed forces—"purged of the fascist leadership," of course—in a future government (*International Bulletin*, September 1984).

The "minimum program" of the Stalinists and other reformists is one or another version of "democratic" government: "popular democracy" says the

continued on page 10

Chile...

(continued from page 9)

Communist Party, "full democracy" says the *Combate* group. More militant types call for "revolutionary popular democracy." What this all means is that the immediate goal is *not* workers revolution against the bloody dictatorship, but the establishment of a "democratic" regime with sectors of the bourgeoisie. As the CP puts it (*Punto Final Internacional*, August 1984): "democracy now, socialism tomorrow [mañana]!" What would be the program of such a bourgeois-democratic regime? The MDP manifesto calls for a provisional democratic government to replace the dictatorship, annul Pinochet's 1980 constitution and dissolve the CNI/DINA secret police; for a constituent assembly, human rights and an "emergency economic plan" that would combat unemployment.

Who will dismantle Pinochet's murderous secret police? A parliamentary commission as next door in Argentina, where a few of the assassins are mildly punished while most of these pathological killers walk free? The Chilean workers and poor are burning to avenge the tens of thousands murdered in cold

blood, the untold numbers tortured and "disappeared," the 100,000 sent to rot for years in hellish concentration camps. The insurrectionary masses will head for the offices of the CNI/DINA to carry out revolutionary justice. And a CP/Christian Democratic/military "democratic" government will try to stop them from striking such a body blow to the capitalist state apparatus.

How will mass unemployment be fought? Chile's depression has been brought on by rock-bottom world copper prices (the lowest in this century), impossible interest payments to the imperialist banks (more than half of annual export earnings), the bankruptcy of hundreds of industrial and financial companies. A different economic policy will solve nothing. The reconstruction of this disaster-struck land can only be accomplished by socialist economic planning. It requires breaking the stranglehold of the imperialists and expropriation of the capitalists who put Pinochet in power and brought about the ruin of Chile.

Because of the abject capitulation of the reformist misleaders, Allende's Unidad Popular was brought down with hardly a fight. To avoid a repeat of this catastrophe for the working class there must be a political reckoning with the

Pinochet's cops brutalize protester as general strike paralyzes Santiago, October 29.



popular front which paved the way for Pinochet. The international Spartacist tendency was unique in warning of the impending disaster in Chile *from the very beginning*, calling for revolutionary Marxists "to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December, 1970). In making this prophetic call we based ourselves on the

lessons drawn by the great Russian Communist Leon Trotsky from Stalin's sabotage of the Spanish revolution. Today a Trotskyist party must be forged in Chile to carry out a successful workers insurrection, to establish revolutionary *soviet* democracy through a workers and peasants government, defended by a communist Red Army that will crush Pinochet and his ilk forever. ■

Trotsky/Zinoviev...

(continued from page 2)

and Trotsky' against the Stalin bureaucracy, I should have been victorious even if Lenin had taken no direct part in the struggle."

At the same time, Trotsky pointed out that the ultimate outcome in the struggle would be determined by broader factors, both within Russia and without. The most decisive of these factors was the German revolution. Mintz refers to "the catastrophic defeats in China and Britain" attempting to show that the international ramifications of Stalin's rise to power were not yet apparent in 1924. He fails to mention the no less catastrophic failure of the October 1923 German revolution which sealed Stalin's ascent to power. A proletarian victory in either China or Britain would have enormously strengthened the Left Opposition. But the victory of the German October would have shattered the nationalist bureaucratic caste formation.

After the triumvirs decisively defeated the 1923 Opposition (forerunner of the Left Opposition) at the 13th Party Congress in May 1924, a schism began to open up between Zinoviev and Kamenev on the one hand and Stalin on the other. Mintz's assertion that the nature of this fight was unclear until

Zinoviev openly came out against Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" in late 1925 is at best formalistic. The first appearance of Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" was in an article entitled "October and Comrade Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution," published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* in December 1924. Stalin sought a formal endorsement for his doctrine at the 14th Party Conference in April 1925 when the breakup of the triumvirate was already in progress. But Zinoviev and Kamenev objected and, still avoiding a show of disunity, the triumvirs presented an ambiguously worded resolution to the conference. Zinoviev did not openly attack Stalin's doctrine until September, soon after he together with Kamenev, Krupskaya and Sokolnikov drew up the "Platform of the Four." The attack was contained in Zinoviev's *Leninism* and even there it is not a major theme of the book. Even Zinoviev's speeches to the 14th Party Congress in December made little reference to "socialism in one country."

At bottom the deepening factional struggle represented the different social bases of the two groups. Zinoviev and Kamenev were respectively heads of the Leningrad and Moscow party organizations. Leningrad was the Russian city most dependent on heavy industry and Stalin was not able to destroy Zinoviev's base there until the winter of 1925-26. In addition, Moscow was the most powerful base of support for the Left Opposition. Stalin's base was in the governing

apparatus, hence his bonapartist role. The market-oriented economic policies of the New Economic Policy (NEP) did little to revive heavy industry from the devastation of the Civil War and imperialist intervention. Objective economic conditions under NEP tended to push Zinoviev toward Trotsky's positions regarding industrialization and economic planning, and Stalin toward the pro-peasant policies of the Bukharin right wing.

Mintz seems to think that personal bitterness could not have played any role in the delay of a Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc. It is impossible to determine exactly what motives may have delayed this bloc, but certainly there was great animosity on both sides. During 1923-24, Zinoviev considered Stalin a second-rate figure and the elimination of Trotsky as key to succeeding Lenin. During this period Zinoviev was by far the most bloodthirsty member of the triumvirate toward Trotsky. Stalin, recognizing that the elimination of Trotsky then was premature and would be unpopular with the Russian working masses and Red Army, was able to win a base in the party and government apparatus as the sober leader who avoided extremes.

After the 13th Congress, the Leningraders were in opposition over many of the same issues that Trotsky had done battle over in the preceding two years. Certainly Stalin was worried that the Leningrad opposition and the 1923 Left Opposition would get together, and worked to head this off. He now revealed that in 1923 Zinoviev had wanted to expel Trotsky and that he had opposed this. In this period Stalin hypocritically praised Trotsky as an honorable if errant revolutionist, contrasting him favorably to the demagogic, highhanded and widely despised Zinoviev.

Trotsky did not forget that it was Zinoviev who demanded his blood in the period following Lenin's death. Trotsky adopted an above-the-battle position. He took no part in the fierce debates within the leadership in the fall of 1925 and watched silently as the Leningrad opposition was smashed at the 14th Party Congress in December. Trotsky's personal notes made during the Congress refer to the Leningraders as "vociferous, vulgar, and rightly discredited." We can only conjecture whether Trotsky would have been successful in an attempt to form a bloc with Zinoviev in 1924-25. But the potential that existed for such a bloc was not put to the test. When Trotsky recognized that Stalin's conciliation of

the pro-kulak, pro-NEPman right wing was driving Russia to catastrophe and threatening the social gains of October, he consummated a bloc with all left oppositional forces which became the Joint Opposition.

Mintz implies that the breakup of the triumvirate in the fall of 1925 led directly to the formation of the Joint Opposition. In fact, neither group made any overt move toward rapprochement until March or April 1926 when Trotsky and Kamenev met privately for the first time since 1923. The Joint Opposition was actually formed a few months later. And contrary to Mintz's assertion that the bloc with Zinoviev "allowed Trotsky three more years to fight inside the Bolshevik Party," in less than a year and a half both Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party.

What do we mean when we say that the Trotsky/Zinoviev bloc did not take place "when it might have counted"? The formation of the Joint Opposition had little effect *inside* the Russian party, since this was by then bureaucratically controlled by the Stalin/Bukharin bloc. Certainly the Joint Opposition greatly strengthened Trotsky's position internationally in the struggle against the degeneration of the Communist International and later in the fight for the Fourth International. But that is not the issue.

Had Trotsky been able to consummate a bloc with the Zinoviev group in 1924-25, this would have posed the question of *power* within the Soviet state. Had a revolutionary leadership directed the Soviet government and Communist International in the mid-1920s, this could have changed world history. The British general strike of 1926 and more importantly the Chinese revolution of 1926-27 could well have been victorious, ending the terrible isolation of the Soviet Union.

As in all things, Trotsky maintained a critical and scientific attitude toward the history of the Left Opposition which he summed up in conclusion to his definitive reappraisal of the Stalinist Thermidor:

"Our tendency never laid claim to infallibility. We do not receive ready-made truths as a revelation, like the high priests of Stalinism. We study, we discuss, we check our conclusions in the light of existence, we openly correct the admitted mistakes and—we proceed forward. Scientific conscientiousness and personal strictness are the best traditions of Marxism and Leninism. We wish to remain true to our teachers in this respect as well."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism" (February 1935) ■

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Anti-Apartheid Fighters...

(continued from page 1)

Sewpersadh, Mewa Ramgobin, Murgiah Naidoo, Curtis Nkondo, Aubrey Mokoena and Essop Jassat. Gumede, age 72, was also a defendant in the infamous Treason Trial of the African National Congress (ANC) in the late 1950s.

Many of the arrested UDF leaders now facing the death sentence were first arrested last August during the successful election boycott/protest against South African president P.W. Botha's "constitutional new deal" for impotent, separate, segregated "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian parliaments. This was the beginning of an explosive black revolt which for four months has ripped through the apartheid police state, from the impoverished townships to the high schools to the black workers in the gold mines and industrial plants. South Africa's racist rulers are seeking to behead this widening struggle.

Now is the time for mass mobilizations and international labor action in solidarity with our embattled class brothers and sisters in South Africa! Free the UDF Eight, the organizers of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, and all victims of apartheid repression! Smash apartheid slavery—for workers revolution!

Reagan, Black Liberals Take Credit... For What?

The treason charges against the UDF leaders and "subversion" charges against the Transvaal stay-away committee come in the face of the widely publicized sit-ins at the South African embassy in the U.S. by prominent members of the American black liberal establishment. When a number of South African anti-apartheid activists were released from prison in early December, these black Democrats naturally claimed their actions were responsible. Not to be upstaged, Reagan quickly claimed it was a triumph for his policy of "constructive engagement." While Reagan and his black liberal opponents were vying for credit in securing the release of anti-apartheid militants, the leaders were rearrested and threatened with the death penalty!

Botha used the occasion to declare his defiance of American pressure, whether Reagan's "quiet diplomacy" or the black liberals' more militant tactics: "No quiet diplomacy or hard shouting will keep us from... the retention of civilized values" (*New York Times*, 14 December)! For South Africa's racist masters, "civilized values" mean police-state terror against the black toilers whose superexploitation gives the white minority the comforts of "civilization."

Last week the demonstrations led by black Democratic elected officials (BEOs) outside the South African

embassy in Washington continued, spreading to the consulates in New York, Chicago and other cities. Every "constituency" of the Democratic Party was encouraged to come out. There was a "labor day" in which AFL-CIO bureaucrats showed up to get busted; a religious leaders' day in New York, marked by the appearance of figures as diverse as black race-baiting demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry and liberal Zionists from the American Jewish Congress (hoping nobody would remind them that Israel is a major weapons supplier to South Africa); and a "yuppies" day as Gary Hart showed up. Even arch-segregationist Alabama governor George Wallace endorsed the protests (*Washington Post*, 7 December)!

The strategy of the black liberal politicians and their allies is to pressure U.S. imperialism to force South Africa to make cosmetic reforms which deflect black struggle but which do not challenge the capitalist (and therefore white supremacist) status quo. This policy is not only utterly utopian on its own terms, but it is obscene to demand that the American ruling class, the biggest racist criminals in the world, pressure its junior partner South Africa into cleaning up its act. As part of the black liberals' call to "divest" everything South African, the Free South Africa Movement is now planning a stepped-up campaign for (obviously wealthy) Americans to sell off their gold Krugers. The only effect would be to drive down their price slightly so they can be bought at a profit by some Dutch speculator or other capitalist entrepreneur.

Organizers for the Free South Africa committee quite openly admit they needed a quick fix following the black pols' disastrous support for loser Democrat Mondale, who said not one word about South Africa during the whole course of the campaign. "We were down so far we had to do something—you can't fall off the ground," says Randall Robinson of the TransAfrica foreign policy lobby and brain truster of the demonstrations (*Washington Post*, 12 December). And Congressional Black Caucus head Walter Fauntroy told the *Washington Afro-American* (11 December) that the black pols had deliberately put off the South African campaign until after the U.S. elections because "we felt it would be a diversion from... concentrating our energies on voter registration."

It's cheap for the black Dems to talk about a new "civil rights movement" over faraway South Africa, conveniently avoiding the heat of a struggle against the racist budget ax here at home (see "Reagan's Kill 'em All Cuts," page 1). Likewise their role during the 1960s struggles was to keep the movement confined within the "respectable" liberal capitalist framework from which the black radicals of SNCC and the Panthers were already breaking.

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Paralleling the Fauntroys and Del-lums, black South African Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu has pleaded with Reagan to protect South African capitalism by forcing it to "adapt" before it is brought down through social revolution. After his visit to the White House last week, Tutu said he was pleased that Reagan "spoke as he had never before" in criticizing apartheid. When it was announced that he had won the Nobel Peace Prize last October, Tutu appealed to the "enlightened" imperialists, declaring that apartheid and communism are "equal evils," and begged the apartheid rulers to reform, because it is "our last peaceful chance." No wonder this Cold War bishop won the Nobel Prize; for his sermons "sanctify" the Reagan/Botha anti-Soviet war drive, whose victims are the thousands of freedom fighters from Namibia to Mozambique.

Contrast Tutu's anti-Communist appeal to imperialist chieftain Reagan to the heroic leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, in his speech at the 1964 Rivonia trial, where he was sentenced to life imprisonment. (He has been in prison ever since, most of it on the notorious Robben Island.) While stating he was not a communist himself, Mandela went on:

"It is perhaps difficult for White South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against Communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept Communists as their



Cleveland, December 15: spirited Spartacist contingent protests outside South African consulate.

friends. But to us the reason is obvious. Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us and work with us... Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as Communists and bans many of them (who are not Communists) under the Suppression of Communism Act."

—reproduced in Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge*, Vol. 3 (1977)

While the ANC and South African Communist Party have many courageous and dedicated cadres, the strategy of these organizations is one of pressuring the liberal bourgeoisie in South Africa and especially in West Europe and the U.S. to oppose apartheid. However, white-ruled South Africa has always been an important part of the "free world," all the more obviously so under Reagan's stepped-up anti-Soviet war drive, and the liberals are not about to cut the ties that bind these strategic allies. It is South Africa's powerful black proletariat, which, under a revolutionary vanguard, will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism. And on that grave will rise a black-centered workers and peasants government.

The struggle to break the chains of apartheid slavery in South Africa and the struggle for black freedom in racist America have a tremendous reciprocal impact on each other. The dependence of South African capitalism on black labor and the strategic concentration of black workers in the American economy imparts to elementary *race and class solidarity against the oppressor* an enormous revolutionary potential. The emerging proletarian centrality of black revolt in South Africa as demonstrated by the Transvaal general strike serves to rouse the restless black masses in the factories and ghettos of the U.S. When Bay Area longshoremen, despite the victimization by maritime bosses and sabotage by union tops and their "left" flunkies, refuse to unload South African cargo which sat in the SF harbor for ten days, this must fortify black toilers suffering under the U.S.-backed apartheid police state.

Black workers in South Africa and the U.S. can be the motor force for social revolution in their respective countries. The explosive potential of their class solidarity has everyone from Bishop Tutu to the U.S. labor bureaucrats and black Democrats terrified and pleading with Reagan and Botha that it's time to "Adapt or Die." But the South African capitalist rulers cannot "adapt"—for the apartheid system is as fundamental to their existence as an exploiting class as racial oppression is for the American rulers. They can and must be brought down through social revolution.

Just how interlocked the struggles of American blacks and South African freedom fighters are can be seen from the Defiance Campaign against apartheid in the 1950s. Led by Mandela and the Congress Alliance, it had a profound influence on the emerging American civil rights movement—just as American black radicals like Malcolm X and the Panthers had an enormous impact on the developing South African "black consciousness" movement when those black radicals were breaking from the liberal preachers like Desmond Tutu. And while the black liberals talk about "divestment," black workers in the U.S. who've seen their strikes smashed, seen the givebacks and takeaways gut their wages and working conditions, have no illusions in "enlightened" American capitalism. One hundred twenty major capitalist corporations in the U.S.—including Union Carbide (!), the mass murderer of Bhopal, India—now weep crocodile tears about apartheid while busting union contracts, then ruthlessly laying off black workers at home.

Coloured auto workers of Ford Motor Co. in Port Elizabeth, black workers at Detroit's River Rouge—same enemy, same fight. In the U.S., as in South Africa, the key is building a genuinely communist party, a Trotskyist party, at the head of the workers movement, leading behind its banners all the oppressed, from the ghettos and the sprawling bantustans, the women, the revolutionary youth, in the fight for socialist revolution. Real "solidarity" with our embattled class brothers in South Africa is the fight to bring down Reagan and racist American capitalism here at home! ■

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